

Sierra Club Oral History Project

SIERRA CLUB NATIONWIDE II

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| John Amodio            | Lobbyist for Redwood National<br>Park Expansion                              |
| Kathleen Goddard Jones | Defender of California's<br>Nipomo Dunes, Steadfast Sierra<br>Club Volunteer |
| A. Starker Leopold     | Wildlife Biologist   |
| Susan Miller           | Staff Support for Sierra Club<br>Growth and Organization,<br>1964-1977       |
| Tom Turner             | A Perspective on David Brower<br>and the Sierra Club, 1968-1969              |

Interviews Conducted by

Becky Evans  
Carol Holleuffer  
Susan Schrepfer  
Anne Van Tyne

Underwritten by  
The National Endowment for the Humanities  
and the Sierra Club

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984



## PREFACE

### The Oral History Program of the Sierra Club

In fall 1969 and spring 1970 a self-appointed committee of Sierra Clubbers met several times to consider two vexing and related problems. The rapid membership growth of the club and its involvement in environmental issues on a national scale left neither time nor resources to document the club's internal and external history. Club records were stored in a number of locations and were inaccessible for research. Further, we were failing to take advantage of the relatively new techniques of oral history by which the reminiscences of club leaders and members of long standing could be preserved.

The ad hoc committee's recommendation that a standing History Committee be established was approved by the Sierra Club Board of Directors in May 1970. That September the board designated The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley as the official depository of the club's archives. The large collection of records, photographs and other memorabilia known as the "Sierra Club Papers" is thus permanently protected, and the Bancroft is preparing a catalog of these holdings which will be invaluable to students of the conservation movement.

The History Committee then focused its energies on how to develop a significant oral history program. A six-page questionnaire was mailed to members who had joined the club prior to 1931. More than half responded, enabling the committee to identify numerous older members as likely prospects for oral interviews. (Some had hiked with John Muir!) Other interviewees were selected from the ranks of club leadership over the past six decades.

Those committee members who volunteered as interviewers were trained in this discipline by Willa Baum, head of the Bancroft's Regional Oral History Office and a nationally recognized authority in this field. Further interviews have been completed in cooperation with university oral history classes at California State University, Fullerton; Columbia University, New York; and the University of California, Berkeley. Extensive interviews with major club leaders are most often conducted on a professional basis through the Regional Oral History Office.

Copies of the Sierra Club oral interviews are placed at The Bancroft Library, at UCLA, and at the club's Colby Library, and may be purchased for the actual cost of photocopying, binding, and shipping by club regional offices, chapters, and groups, as well as by other libraries and institutions.

Our heartfelt gratitude for their help in making the Sierra Club Oral History Project a success goes to each interviewee and interviewer; to everyone who has written an introduction to an oral history; to the Sierra Club Board of Directors for its recognition of the long-term importance of this effort; to the Trustees of the Sierra Club Foundation for generously providing the necessary funding; to club and foundation staff, especially Michael McCloskey, Denny Wilcher, Colburn Wilbur, and Nicholas Clinch; to Willa Baum and Susan Schrepfer of the Regional Oral History Office; and last but far from least, to the members of the History Committee, and particularly to Ann Lage, who has coordinated the oral history effort since September 1974.

You are cordially invited to read and enjoy any or all of the oral histories in the Sierra Club series. By so doing you will learn much of the club's history which is available nowhere else, and of the fascinating careers and accomplishments of many outstanding club leaders and members.

Marshall H. Kuhn  
Chairman, History Committee  
1970 - 1978

San Francisco  
May 1, 1977  
(revised May 1979, A.L.)

#### PREFACE--1980s

Inspired by the vision of its founder and first chairman, Marshall Kuhn, the Sierra Club History Committee continued to expand its oral history program following his death in 1978. With the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, awarded in July 1980, the Sierra Club has contracted with the Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library to conduct twelve to sixteen major interviews of Sierra Club activists and other environmental leaders of the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, the volunteer interview program has been assisted with funds for training interviewers and transcribing and editing volunteer-conducted interviews, also focusing on the past two decades.

With these efforts, the committee intends to document the programs, strategies, and ideals of the national Sierra Club, as well as the club grass-roots, in all its variety--from education to litigation to legislative lobbying, from energy policy to urban issues to wilderness preservation, from California to the Carolinas to New York.

Together with the written archives in The Bancroft Library, the oral history program of the 1980s will provide a valuable record of the Sierra Club during a period of vastly broadening environmental goals, radically changing strategies of environmental action, and major growth in size and influence on American politics and society.

Special thanks for the project's later phase are due to Susan Schrepfer, codirector of the Sierra Club Documentation Project; Ray Lage, cochair of the History Committee; the Sierra Club Board and staff; members of the project advisory board and the History Committee; and most importantly, the interviewees and interviewers for their unfailing cooperation.

Ann Lage  
Cochair, History Committee  
Codirector, Sierra Club  
Documentation Project

Oakland, California  
April 1981

SIERRA CLUB ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

April 1984

Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library

David R. Brower, Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet, 1980

J. William Futrell, "Love for the Land and Justice for Its People":  
Sierra Club National and Southern Leader, 1968-1982, 1984

Richard M. Leonard, Mountaineer, Lawyer, Environmentalist, 1976

Norman B. Livermore, Jr., Man in the Middle: High Sierra Packer,  
Timberman, Conservationist, California Resources Secretary, 1983

Michael McCloskey, Sierra Club Executive Director: The Evolving Club  
and the Environmental Movement, 1961-1981, 1983

SIERRA CLUB LEADERS, 1950s-1970s:

Alexander Hildebrand, Sierra Club Leader and Critic: Perspective  
on Club Growth, Scope, and Tactics, 1950s-1970s, 1982

Martin Litton, Sierra Club Director and Uncompromising  
Preservationist, 1950s-1970s, 1982

Raymond J. Sherwin, Conservationist, Judge, and Sierra Club  
President, 1960s-1970s, 1982

Theodore A. Snyder, Jr., Southeast Conservation Leader and Sierra  
Club President, 1960s-1970s, 1982

William E. Siri, Reflections on The Sierra Club, the Environment, and  
Mountaineering, 1950s-1970s, 1979

David Sive, Pioneering Environmental Lawyer, Atlantic Chapter Leader,  
1961-1982, 1984

Wallace Stegner, The Artist as Environmental Advocate, 1983

In Process: Ansel Adams, Phillip S. Berry, Claire Dedrick,  
Pauline Dyer, Brock Evans, Patrick Goldsworthy, Stewart Udall,  
Edgar Wayburn, John Zierold

Sierra Club History Committee

John Amodio, Lobbyist for Redwood National Park Expansion, 1984

Elizabeth Marston Bade, Recollections of William F. Bade and the Early  
Sierra Club, 1976

Philip S. Bernays, Founding the Southern California Chapter, 1975

Harold C. Bradley, Furthering the Sierra Club Tradition, 1975

Cicely M. Christy, Contributions to the Sierra Club and the San  
Francisco Bay Chapter, 1938-1970s, 1982

Lewis Clark, Perdurable and Peripatetic Sierran: Club Officer and  
Outings Leader, 1928-1984, 1984

Nathan C. Clark, Sierra Club Leader, Outdoorsman, and Engineer, 1977

Harold E. Crowe, Sierra Club Physician, Baron, and President, 1975

Glen Dawson, Pioneer Rock Climber and Ski Mountaineer, 1975

Nora Evans, Sixty Years with the Sierra Club, 1976

Francis Farquhar, Sierra Club Mountaineer and Editor, 1974

Marjory Bridge Farquhar, Pioneer Woman Rock Climber and Sierra Club Director, 1977  
Alfred Forsyth, The Sierra Club in New York and New Mexico, 1965-1978, 1981  
Wanda B. Goody, A Hiker's View of the Early Sierra Club, 1982  
C. Nelson Hackett, Lasting Impressions of the Early Sierra Club, 1975  
Joel Hildebrand, Sierra Club Leader and Ski Mountaineer, 1974  
Ethel Rose Taylor Horsfall, On the Trail with the Sierra Club, 1920s-1960s, 1982  
Kathleen Goddard Jones, Defender of California's Nipomo Dunes, Steadfast Sierra Club Volunteer, 1984  
Helen LeConte, Reminiscences of LeConte Family Outings, the Sierra Club, and Ansel Adams, 1977  
A. Starker Leopold, Wildlife Biologist, 1984  
Grant McConnell, Conservation and Politics in the North Cascades, 1983  
John and Ruth Mendenhall, Forty Years of Sierra Club Mountaineering Leadership, 1938-1978, 1979  
Susan Miller, Staff Support for Sierra Club Growth and Organization, 1964-1977, 1984  
Stewart M. Ogilvy, Sierra Club Expansion and Evolution: The Atlantic Chapter, 1957-1969, 1982  
Harriet T. Parsons, A Half-Century of Sierra Club Involvement, 1981  
Ruth E. Prager, Remembering the High Trips, 1976  
Bestor Robinson, Thoughts on Conservation and the Sierra Club, 1974  
Gordon Robinson, Forestry Consultant to the Sierra Club, 1979  
James E. Rother, The Sierra Club in the Early 1900s, 1974  
Tom Turner, A Perspective on David Brower and the Sierra Club, 1968-1969, 1982  
Anne Van Tyne, Sierra Club Stalwart: Conservationist, Hiker, Chapter and Council Leader, 1981

In Process: George Alderson, Ruth Bradley, Robert Braun, Clyde S. Brooks, Estelle Brown, Hasse Bunnelle, Frank Duveneck, Jules Eichorn, Nina Eloesser, Joseph Fontaine, Robin Ives, Stewart Kimball, Joseph LeConte, Keith Lummis, George Marshall, James Moorman, Sigurd Olson

#### California State University, Fullerton--Southern Sierrans Project

Thomas Amneus, New Directions for the Angeles Chapter, 1977  
Robert Bear, Desert Conservation and Exploration with the Sierra Club, 1946-1978, 1980  
Irene Charnock, Portrait of a Sierra Club Volunteer, 1977  
J. Gordon Chelew, Reflections of an Angeles Chapter Member, 1921-1975, 1976  
Arthur B. Johnson, Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra Club's Southern California Chapter, 1930-1960s, 1980  
Olivia R. Johnson, High Trip Reminiscences, 1904-1945, 1977  
E. Stanley Jones, Sierra Club Officer and Angeles Chapter Leader, 1931-1975, 1976

Marion Jones, Reminiscences of the Southern California Sierra Club, 1927-1975, 1976  
Robert R. Marshall, Angeles Chapter Leader and Wilderness Spokesman, 1960s, 1977  
Dorothy Leavitt Pepper, High Trip High Jinks, 1976  
Roscoe and Wilma Poland, Desert Conservation: Voices from the Sierra Club's San Diego Chapter, 1980  
Richard Searle, Grassroots Sierra Club Leader, 1976

University of California, Berkeley--The Sierra Club and the Urban Environment

SAN FRANCISCO BAY CHAPTER INNER CITY OUTINGS:

Patrick Colgan, "Just One of the Kids Myself," 1980  
Jordan Hall, Trial and Error: the Early Years, 1980  
Duff LaBoyteaux, Towards a National Sierra Club Program, 1980  
Marlene Sarnat, Laying the Foundations for ICO, 1980  
George Zuni, From the Inner City Out, 1980

SIERRA CLUB OUTREACH TO WOMEN:

Helen Burke, Women's Issues in the Environmental Movement, 1980

LABOR AND THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, 1960s-1970s:

David Jenkins, Environmental Controversies and the Labor Movement in the Bay Area, 1981

Amy Meyer, Preserving Bay Area Parklands, 1981

Anthony L. Ramos, A Labor Leader Concerned with the Environment, 1981

Dwight C. Steele, Environmentalist and Labor Ally, 1981

SERIES PREFACE -- THE SIERRA CLUB NATIONWIDE

The Sierra Club Nationwide is a series of interviews with local and regional leaders of the Sierra Club. The interviews focus on the growth and expansion of club chapters across the United States and in Canada and document the most important conservation campaigns undertaken by those chapters.

Attempting to preserve historical information not usually found in the written record, these interviews explore the ideals and perceptions which motivate the club's grassroots leadership. They discuss the behind-the-scenes decision-making processes and formulation of strategies in local and regional environmental battles; the structure and operations of the chapter organizations and their relationship to the national club; and the dealings between chapter leaders and local government, labor, business, media, and other organizations.

All of the interviews in this series are conducted by volunteer interviewers, with the training and guidance of the Sierra Club History Committee. Many interviewers are themselves club activists and chapter leaders who have participated in, or have firsthand knowledge of, the events discussed by their interviewees. Sometimes interviewer and interviewee are personal friends and colleagues in the club. It is hoped that this personal touch lends a lively immediacy to the interviews, while the interviewer training process guards against the intrusion of bias which sometimes results from such interview arrangements.

A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities has made possible the processing of History Committee interviews, the preparation of interviewer training materials, and the coordination of the project. All interview tapes are placed in the University of California's Bancroft Library.

Ann Lage  
Cochair, Sierra Club History Committee  
Codirector, Sierra Club Documentation  
Project

Berkeley, California  
October 14, 1982



Sierra Club Oral History Project

John Amodio

LOBBYIST FOR REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK EXPANSION

With an Introduction by  
Paul Swatek

An Interview Conducted by  
Carol Holleuffer  
1982

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984

Sierra Club Oral History Project

Copyright © 1984 by Sierra Club, San Francisco, California  
All rights reserved

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- John Amodio

|   |    |
|---|----|
| INTRODUCTION  | i  |
| INTERVIEW HISTORY   | iv |
| I PERSONAL BACKGROUND                                     | 1  |
| First Experience in the West                              | 1  |
| Student at Humboldt State                                 | 2  |
| Formation of Emerald Creek Committee                      | 3  |
| II AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK ACT, 1968 | 5  |
| Deficiencies of the Park Act                              | 5  |
| Effort to Expand the Park                                 | 7  |
| Work in Washington, D.C.                                  | 8  |
| Logging in Emerald Creek                                  | 9  |
| III LOCAL ACTIVITIES TO ENLARGE THE PARK                  | 11 |
| David Brower and Friends of the Earth                     | 11 |
| North Coast Environmental Center                          | 12 |
| Public Response   | 12 |
| Burton's Subcommittee Hearing, April, 1977                | 13 |
| IV WORKING TO INFLUENCE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT      | 16 |
| Lobbying in Washington                                    | 16 |
| Timber Company Informants                                 | 17 |
| How a Lobbyist Works                                      | 21 |
| Phillip Burton  | 24 |
| Change in Administrations                                 | 24 |
| Sit-in in Governor Jerry Brown's Office                   | 26 |
| V PERSONAL EXPERIENCES                                    | 29 |
| Charles Manson Involvement                                | 29 |
| Future Plans  | 31 |
| TAPE GUIDE  | 33 |
| INDEX   | 34 |

## INTRODUCTION by Paul Swatek

Following the passage of the act which added 48,000 acres to Redwood National Park in 1978, there were, of course, a number of victory parties. The battle had been waged over the ten years since the original park was established in 1968, but the heavy conflict took place in the period John Amodio describes in this interview. It was heaviest on the North Coast, where the timber companies cynically exploited the rainy season unemployment of the woods workers to incite the local communities against conservationists' attempts to preserve a few remnants of the once-vast old-growth redwood forests. Battling became heavy in the media and in the halls of Congress, where a group of courageous conservationists from the locale of the park, assisted by national conservation groups and the Carter administration, overcame massive opposition from business and labor interests.

I remember one of the victory parties hosted by Congressman Phil Burton in San Francisco. Phil was terribly proud of what he had been able to champion for conservationists and was grateful for the political support that conservationists nationally had provided. He was our hero, but he had some heroes, also. John Amodio was one of those heroes, and Phil went out of his way at that party to praise John's dedication and skill in working to help pass the Redwood Park Expansion bill.

John had devoted the major part of several years of his life to the legislative battle. He and a group of local conservationists, at considerable personal risk, kept track of what was going on on private lands adjacent to the endangered "worm" part of the park. They spoke out courageously in favor of the park as minority voices in their community, against the active disapproval of the local power structure. They were a constant prod to the national groups, enlisting support from those groups to rally the public of the nation to save its heritage. John moved to Washington for months at a time with minimal financial support to fight for protection of the forest he loved.

I remember John at another of the victory celebrations, a three-day backpacking trip in July 1978, which John led for a group of us who had worked together on the legislative battle. We hiked down to Redwood Creek from the Bald Hills Road, intercepting the creek just upstream from the end of the "worm." Gordon Robinson, the Sierra Club's consulting forester was along, as well as Steve Lau, another local, who like John had assisted with the Washington, D.C., lobbying. Linda Billings, one of the club's senior lobbyists, was along. She had never seen Redwood Creek until after she had successfully and skillfully coordinated the lobbying effort.

Our group clambered down Redwood Creek the length of the worm and visited a number of the tributary canyons. We camped in the area that had been devastated by landslide material caused by erosion triggered by logging. We

also visited parts of the untouched eight to nine thousand acres that were part of the 48,000-acre addition. Then is when John really lit up, especially as we explored Harry Weir Creek, which John and his friends had renamed Emerald Creek, and which had inspired the formation of the Emerald Creek Committee.

John had come from northern New Jersey to fall in love with the redwood forest. The hold it has on him has reshaped and given direction to his life. It made him a professional conservationist. It gave him a chance to come in contact with the political process by which we make laws to protect things like a Redwood National Park. After the Redwood National Park expansion effort, the Sierra Club hired John Amodio to be a wilderness organizer in northern California. He now works as executive director and lobbyist for the Tuolumne River Preservation Trust. John has taken me down the Tuolumne, and I saw there in John the same love and respect for wild nature that he displayed in Redwood Creek.

John's motivation comes from a very strong love of, and caring for, the land. It is fun to be with him in these battles, because he never loses sight of how important it is to keep in close touch with what it is you are fighting to protect. You celebrate with him the beauty you fight to protect. John communicates this positive motivation to both his allies and his adversaries. As a result, he is very effective in enlisting support from anyone inclined to be an ally. He also sometimes disarms his adversaries, who end up admiring him, even though they may be locked in battle with him. John played a valuable role during the Redwood Park expansion campaign as a bridge to some of the local labor leadership. Ultimately, he helped them see the sincerity of the attempt by Congressman Burton to fashion effective economic relief to individual workers put out of a job by the park expansion. John also worked to show them how park expansion could ultimately help diversify an overly timber-dependent economy.

As in many conservation battles, I believe it was our adversaries overplaying their hand that helped ensure conservation victory. The North Coast economy was weak, in part because overcutting and mechanization had robbed a timber-dependent economy of its future and cut employment in the mills. The companies were cynically using park preservation as a scapegoat for all economic ills and pretending to be the workers' friend. Ultimately, the attempts that John and others made to expose the timber company's true motives and to demonstrate, with Burton's help and active support from conservationists, more practical help to the workers and communities than what the timber companies offered were very important to gaining the victory. These efforts, in the long run, have been important in changing the politics of the North Coast toward an outlook much more favorable toward protection of the region's outstanding natural resources.

The Redwood National Park expansion battle could not have been won if local conservationists had not been there to play the role they played. They provided accurate intelligence as to what the other side was doing and saying. The value of this was never more clear than when the national groups learned that the

angry loggers, incensed at President Carter's support of an expanded park, carved a massive redwood log in the shape of a peanut and hauled it across the country to the White House on a flatbed truck. Warned ahead of time, the Sierra Club organized press events all along the way. People who had never seen a tree as large as a redwood were offended by this almost sacrilegious abuse of a beautiful redwood tree.

The Redwood National Park expansion effort was filled with many fascinating stories, and John has told a few of them. One of the most fascinating things, though, about conservation politics is the way in which events can transform someone like John, a young, inexperienced college student from New Jersey, into an effective public spokesman and advocate, close advisor to a powerful Congressman, and effective champion of conservation causes.

The legacy of John's work can be found on the ground in 48,000 acres of the expanded park. Part of the park expansion act was a unique title which called for a special program to rehabilitate the cutover lands that were added to the park along with the remnant of magnificent old growth. This arose out of a study which John suggested the Sierra Club commission from some acquaintances of his who were pioneering alternative forestry practices on how to use labor-intensive restoration techniques to rehabilitate the damaged watershed. Senator Cranston was impressed with the study and had the Park Service enlarge on the initial study, and he wrote the rehabilitation effort into the Senate version of the bill. As a result of this effort and with the healing passage of time, Redwood Creek is recovering. The logging road network is being put to bed or converted to hiking trails. Even on our victory backpacking trip down the length of the "worm," one could appreciate the natural beauty. The whine of the chain saws and heavy machinery and the crash of falling giant trees, there just a few months before, were stilled. The beauty and peace of the old-growth redwood forest that captivated John Amodio will be there to captivate generations of others from New Jersey and everywhere.

Paul Swatek  
Former Administrator  
Conservation Department  
Sierra Club

February 26, 1984  
Lafayette, California

## INTERVIEW HISTORY

The name of John Amodio was suggested to the Oral History Project by Sierra Club Executive Director Michael McCloskey who knew of John's work on the Redwood National Park.

John grew up in the East with little interest or experience in the out-of-doors. This oral history chronicles his exposure to the natural environment and his growing commitment to conservation.

As a student in Eureka, California, in the 1970s, John was involved in local efforts to expand the park, but he also worked in Washington, D.C., as a lobbyist trying to influence national policy.

The interview was conducted in two convivial sessions on June 17 and November 11, 1982, at my apartment. John reviewed the transcription and made a few changes--mostly to add information. The tapes are deposited in The Bancroft Library.

Carol Holleuffer  
Interviewer/Editor  
Sierra Club History Committee

November 2, 1983  
Lafayette, California





## I PERSONAL BACKGROUND

[Interview 1: June 17, 1982]##

First Experience in the West

Holleuffer: This is an interview with John Amodio about his involvement with the Sierra Club and the battle in the 1970s for the expansion of Redwood National Park. Since the passage of the second park bill in 1978, John has worked for a variety of conservation groups and managed a congressional campaign. At present he directs the Toulumne River Preservation Trust with headquarters in San Francisco. The interview is being conducted on June 17, 1982, in Lafayette, California at the apartment of the interviewer, Carol Holleuffer.

John, you grew up in a suburban eastern environment with very little experience in the out-of-doors except for summer camp. What was it that really changed the direction of your life and made you a full-time conservation activist?

Amodio: It was my first trip West which occurred when I was twenty years old. I had been attending school in Washington, D.C., and like many of my compatriots was involved in the anti-Vietnam war struggle and like many of them had reached a point of great frustration, in fact despair, that our efforts were going to have meaningful impact. I decided with a friend to, in essence, back away from what was an increasingly violent time in that effort. We decided to go and explore America. We decided we really needed to understand it better since we were having such strong feelings about what it was doing overseas, and so we headed West. The greatest discovery of that trip was just the vast outdoors. It staggered us. We did some backpacking--picking up our gear at surplus stores--and wandered around the desert in the Tonto National Forest in Arizona and were immediately hooked.

---

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 33.

Holleuffer: What year was that?

Amodio: That would have been 1970, and we headed on into California. California, of course, was the end of the rainbow for any young person who grew up in New Jersey and listened to the Beach Boys and all the images of the good life out here.

Actually, our first introduction to California was extremely deflating. We drove in overnight from Las Vegas to the megalopolis of Los Angeles. It just simply didn't meet the image that had been projected. It wasn't until we started heading north and got to Santa Barbara and all along the Big Sur coast that we realized there was a lot behind the magic aura to the name of California.

Holleuffer: So, your involvement with conservation grew out of a social and political concern?

Amodio: Well, I guess I shifted. I was concerned and active in trying to bring about what seemed to be positive changes. My really first, initial political involvement was with the "Clean for Gene" McCarthy campaign in 1968. After that, in my mind I became kind of radicalized into moving more toward demonstrations than the standard political process, which a lot of us abandoned for some years because it did not seem responsive.

#### Student at Humboldt State

Holleuffer: How did you go back into the political process then--when you were in Eureka?

Amodio: That's when it did, in fact, occur. When I first came to California I lived in Santa Cruz, and I really was apolitical and wanted to just discover other things. It was when I decided I was ready to resume college and had decided to change from a political affairs student to a natural resources student that I was drawn back into the political process. And it took a time because, I think, like a lot of people I carried a high degree of alienation from the process and was extremely skeptical as to whether it could be responsive to our efforts. And I'd have to credit a few people in Humboldt County who gave myself, and others whom I knew, the kind of inspiration by their example that they were actively working it (the process) and working it with some success.

Holleuffer: Who were these people? Can you describe what they were doing that so impressed you?

Amodio: With pleasure. They're two of my heroes. There were others too, but these were the initial ones who kind of punctured that real deep state of alienation. One was a professor--still is--at Humboldt State University, Dr. Rudolph Becking. Dr. Becking was a forestry professor until he started to challenge the conventional theories of production at any cost.

At the time I arrived he was teaching in a new School of Natural Resources at Humboldt State. I was fortunate enough to be advised to take his basic introduction to natural resources and was really wowed by him--an erudite, very well-spoken and magnetic person. He went beyond the classroom in his efforts to educate. He had a campus organization called Humboldt Tomorrow, which was a vehicle for students who cared to be actively involved in a number of local conservation issues. And one of these was a committee called the Emerald Creek Committee to try to protect at least one small watershed of redwoods.

The other person was a man whom Dr. Becking invited to be a guest speaker in his class. At the time he was a county supervisor, Ray Pearth. I just assumed that this guy, excuse the language but it was the early seventies, and I figured that probably anyone who was an elected official was a "pig" of some sort. He came in and spoke from the heart, and he spoke sincerely, and he spoke candidly, and he was a very impressive man. I really was pleased to realize that such folks were in there working the process. It made it seem worthwhile and possible.

#### Formation of Emerald Creek Committee

Holleuffer: Then you started with the Emerald Creek Committee?

Amodio: In fact, I started with Humboldt Tomorrow organization. It was Thanksgiving of 1972 when Dr. Becking planned a small trip into this special watershed called Emerald Creek. The purpose of the trip was to take Howard King, who was the Save-the-Redwoods-League premier photographer, in so that he could try and capture some of the beauty and grandeur of this really rugged and remote watershed. It was my first real exposure to the primeval redwood forest, and for those of us who went it was a life experience that bound us together. We decided after that that under Dr. Becking's guidance we felt some responsibility to do something for this place--so we organized the Emerald Creek Committee.

Our initial purpose was very simply to just add this one watershed to Redwood National Park. It was one of many tributaries of Redwood Creek of which only the lower quarter mile was within

Amodio: the original park boundary in what was popularly called "the worm." It was an 1800 acre watershed. It wasn't very large, but the bulk of it was still outside the park, and it was owned and actively being cut upon by Arcata Redwood Company. There was nothing within the existing state or federal park that approached the wilderness qualities of this place. We thought the park was a political compromise but that it should at least have one complete watershed--the integrity of it--so people could have the total experience of starting off at the ridge, going through the natural grass prairies, and make the transition to the various forest types that exist in the redwoods.

## II AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK ACT, 1968

### Deficiencies of the Park Act

Holleuffer: Maybe you could briefly describe what exactly was wrong with that first Redwoods bill. Our listeners won't know, perhaps, that there was a Redwoods bill that was passed by President Johnson in 1968. It had some deficiencies.

Amodio: Oh, deficiencies is being kind. It was a classic example of political gerrymandering. By that, I mean that it was a fierce battle on which conservationists with strong public support were making the case that we, as a nation, had a responsibility to protect and pass on some of this unique heritage. And the timber industry was clamoring up on both legs and shouting and claiming that any acreage set aside would cause the collapse of the entire north coast industry. And, as so often is the case, the wisdom of Congress was to play Solomon and, in essence, cut the baby in half.

While there were some differences within the conservation community as to which location was preferable for the park, every conservation organization stressed the absolute need to respect the ecological integrity of watersheds. Congress, in its version of wisdom, decided otherwise and created a park that went up from ridge to ridge for a very short distance in Redwood Creek and then narrowed down quickly--the boundary cut down right to the creek--and it continued being only one-quarter of a mile wide for an additional twelve miles up Redwood Creek.

Holleuffer: Excuse me, so that timber could be cut to within a quarter of a mile of the entire creek?

Amodio: Well, actually because it was a quarter of a mile total it was only an eighth of a mile on each side. So, what you had--it did look like a worm--was a pathetic line that just wiggled its way up Redwood Creek with the vast part of the slopes in corporate timber ownership. And they were not shy about immediately plunging in and clearcutting.

Amodio: The consequences of the clearcutting were predicted and visually were guaranteed to be a disaster. The actual physical impacts could be argued until they were demonstrated on the ground, but it did not take long for those impacts to be expressed--partially because the landscape is so steep and geologically unstable. It's not often recognized that that part of California is literally one of the most geologically unstable landforms in the world.

Secondly, though, compounding that was that the industry was using methods that by one of the early studies were described as "the most destructive combination of methods heretofore employed or envisioned." They were clearcutting it, and they were also using large tractors to haul the logs down to the roads where they were to be hauled away. What this did was to denude the slopes of all the vegetation exposing it fully to what is very high rainfall, over 100 inches per year. They were then also carving channels as they dragged the logs downslope to the one loading zone.

So, they were concentrating all the runoff into these channels that the logs created and down to one spot--the high amount of rainfall was also concentrated and very rapidly gouged just huge gashes in the slope. That volume of soil was moved downslope, by gravity and rain, downstream into the park.

The other major thing that was occurring was that once the soil entered the park, once it entered any stream, it would naturally just fill up the streambed. So what occurred was that now, with a higher streambed, the stream itself reached higher on the sideslopes. And the sideslopes were very steep and unstable, and they [streams] would cut into the sideslopes and this would trigger landslides because you would essentially have an overhang where the toe of the slope was eroded away and then the slope above it didn't have anything to support it, and it just slid right into the creek. And that, in fact, became the major source of new material in Redwood Creek.

Holleuffer: The park was definitely threatened?

Amodio: The park was being damaged. It took them a lot of years to establish that just because of the slowness and the nature of the scientific process--the proving beyond a doubt. And, of course, the industry played it to the hilt, raising questions as to--how can you be sure that this is the cause? But, eventually these things were proven to the extent that our science is capable of proving them.

Amodio: Although, common sense, a person who lives on the land--I think a farmer, a forester who's studied these natural processes, I know an Indian who lived with the land--would foresee such consequences. We initially spoke from the common sense perspective, and we had to wait until the research caught up and substantiated what our predictions were.

#### Effort to Expand the Park

Holleuffer: The real effort then to expand the park so that it could include a watershed began at the local level in Humboldt County and then spread throughout the Sierra Club, and then throughout the country and came to the attention of the people?

Amodio: Yes, I think that's very true. It was the Sierra Club, along with some other conservation groups, that spearheaded the establishment of Redwood National Park. It was a time of great expansion for the conservation movement, both in terms of public interest and also in terms of the issues it was taking on. So, after expansion, it [Redwood Park] got absorbed with the great array of crises that existed. So, the Redwood Park and the consequences of that ill-defined boundary really fell on local conservationists. Several who were instrumental in the establishment of the park, Lucille Vineyard and Dave Van de Mark, two leaders of the Redwood Chapter of the Sierra Club, stayed active in this later period, and they were joined by this whole new cast of characters--primarily students who were inspired and led by Dr. Becking.

Although, it did not take too long for the students to develop into their own organization, and, in fact, we had our differences within our organization. I say this because for a long time the timber industry tried to dismiss us as having been programmed by Dr. Becking, whereas, in fact, Dr. Becking very much encouraged people to think things through on their own. And we did and sometimes came to different conclusions. In fact, the Emerald Creek Committee in time removed itself from the campus and became a community organization in which Dr. Becking was always a respected advisor but not always a really involved and active person because he was taking some sabbatical time.

[there is a gap on the tape at this point for a tea break--mike turned off but tape recorder still running.]

Amodio: When we decided to formalize the Emerald Creek Committee, our initial plan was to put together a brochure as a means of informing and educating the public. We were thoroughly convinced that if the public became aware of what was occurring in Redwood Creek, that a resource that was so venerated and had been such a major national campaign, was being so threatened and damaged, that the public would rally around it.

So we went through the process of educating ourselves more thoroughly and getting that information pieced out, and it was factual, although it has some flowery rhetoric to it, because that was our own source of motivation as to what we thought the greatest gift of the redwoods was--how it did humble people and instill a sense of reverence and knock you out with more than their size--in fact, the delicacy and the beauty of the whole ecosystem.

We (Christie Fairchild, Dave DeShon, Bill Radstrom, Dan Sealey) produced that and then distributed it. We got some nice responses because people did care about the redwoods and we were just ecstatic when we learned that Representative Jerome Waldie from California introduced a bill to add Emerald Creek to Redwood National Park. We almost started to celebrate. We thought this was it--my gosh, if one congressman had seen the need for this then he, of course, would be able to convince the others because we were right. This was organized right after Thanksgiving of '72 and this was in the spring of '73. We were real pleased with ourselves! [laughter]

At the same time, we had come to the attention of the timber industry and several of us--Dr. Becking and myself received a certified letter threatening us with full legal action if they ever caught us trespassing. They did this because we were having regular public meetings at that time and describing in detail the wonders of this land that just laid across this invisible little line that seemed to be the same forest as was in the park. So they knew that we had some direct knowledge of the place, and they started their harassment campaign.

#### Work in Washington, D.C.

Amodio: In any event, that summer, being from the East, I had the opportunity to go back there and visit my family and also I had some work opportunities for the summer there to help pay for my education, and while back there I took several weeks to go down to Washington, D.C., to lobby for our bill. Representative



Amodio: Waldie's staff was exceedingly cooperative and supportive, and they let me use their office, but they couldn't really--and they were honest--give much hope that that bill was going to go anywhere. [tape interruption]

At the time, Representative Roy Taylor from North Carolina was chairman of the National Park Subcommittee. I visited with his staff and learned that Representative Taylor was just not interested in holding hearings or taking this bill very seriously. Apparently, he was getting very strong messages from Congressman Don Clausen, the representative from the North Coast, that this was not the type of bill he wanted to even publicly discuss. So we learned very painfully that Representative Waldie was in essence giving us both our first public exposure and making a personal statement that this was something that was right and needed. He also knew, though, that there was no real political prospect in moving the bill at that time.

That was a jolt, that was a jolt to our whole committee and kind of actually scattered us for a good period after that. Some of us who were involved in the formation were particularly discouraged.

#### Logging in Emerald Creek

Amodio: One thing that really brought that back was when I returned to Humboldt County. Dan Sealey, who was extremely active and one of the leaders of the early Emerald Creek Committee, and I hiked into Emerald Creek to do kind of a total recon and we went to a place that none of us had visited except for Dr. Becking--Devil's Creek, which was three-and-a-half miles upstream from the park boundary. We were astounded by the ruggedness of that place, but we then went to Emerald Creek, which we knew, and hiked up the creek and came not just to hear the sickening sounds of big machines and chain saws and the earth actually shake when a tree fell. We went up after the loggers had left the site for the evening. We went up and saw that really right in the heart--they had penetrated through the heart of Emerald Creek. They had just blitzed in that summer. They knew exactly what they were doing. They were going to try and defuse our argument that this was the last virgin watershed.

[Interview 2: November 11, 1982]##

Holleuffer: We finished up the first side of the tape talking about your going back to Emerald Creek and seeing the results of the logging there that the companies had done while the park bill was being considered. They just went down and blitzed, as you said, the

Holleuffer: creek area. Maybe you could tell us something now of the public reaction up in Eureka and also the reaction of the timber companies to what you were doing with the Emerald Creek Committee.

Amodio: Okay, at that time actually when we first returned to Emerald Creek and became aware of how deeply they had penetrated into that sanctuary of old growth redwoods, it really dispirited the group and it put us in a lull. We had kind of confronted our false hope that the bill introduced by Representative Waldie was going to result in a quick and a successful response to the tragedy that was occurring, and we also then confronted the fact that the timber companies were proceeding more than on pace, probably accelerating their own plans to cut the area. In fact, we were thoroughly convinced, and I have remained convinced to this day, that they were making a strategic move to devalue the place, destroy the unique aspects that we were pointing out. So for a period of about almost a year, our group went into a state of essentially nonproduction. Some of us dropped out. I myself actually did for that school year and did not really see hope in the efforts we were making, and some other people came in and kept the organization and effort alive.

So during that period, we were not really making any news in the Humboldt area. We were probably not much of a visible force right then. Shut it off a second. I want to think.  
[tape interruption]

### III LOCAL ACTIVITIES TO ENLARGE THE PARK

#### David Brower and Friends of the Earth

Amodio: It was essentially August of '73 when we went back in and witnessed this really full-on assault of Emerald Creek. In the following year of the summer of '74, a group of us (Steve Lau, Steve Brewer, Randy Stemler and others) who were starting to feel that we had to again take on the issue and reorganize and try to make it a more prominent one were organizing a local chapter of Friends of the Earth. As maybe I mentioned before, the Sierra Club was long established up there. They were recognized leaders on the whole front of environmental issues and perhaps it was because the leadership was well established and probably for other reasons, we thought that we could just be a stronger, maybe more radical force as part of this new organization for starting a new chapter. The California representative for Friends of the Earth, Connie Parrish, came up, and that kind of charged us to get some attention from the national organization.

But still there was nothing really happening and it continued that way, and then that following January, David Brower came to Humboldt County. We were really thrilled. David Brower is certainly a hero for many of us, and we got to escort him around, several of us, at the time. I was one of the co-coordinators for the Six Rivers branch of Friends of the Earth. One of our main concerns was the redwoods and we had a special meeting on that. Dave very graciously offered to do something special in Not Man Apart to feature the plight of the redwoods. That, of course, supercharged us, and we then went into a tizzy over producing this major article for Not Man Apart, which we considered a very major break in our effort.

Then we did do that and we gave them probably enough copy to fill a book if it were good copy, and Dave and Tom Turner did some superlative editing and rewriting and came out with a special insert in Not Man Apart, which certainly started to raise the issue again.

North Coast Environmental Center

Amodio: About that same time, the director of the North Coast Environmental Center was resigning for personal reasons, partially because he had been elected to the Arcata City Council and found that he just couldn't hold both positions and do justice to them as he wished. So that position became available and I applied. We were very fortunate because there were two of us who it came down to a decision between, and at the same time that they were making that decision, we had a successful application to the county government for two Ceta positions for the North Coast Environmental Center. So we got two positions funded and so they were able to hire both of us, and I became the (quote) "executive director" for the North Coast Environmental Center and Tim McKay became the internal coordinator. So from that point on, we had two of us who were really, from an environmental (particularly rural, behind the redwood curtain) perspective, were well funded to pursue our particular passions on a full-time basis.

Holleuffer: In part you were funded then by the state government--not the state government, but the local government.

Amodio: The federal government. Well, that's true. Humboldt County was channelling the money through to us, and the Environmental Center had gained a reputation both for establishing a recycling center, which was fledgling but well supported, and also for holding a series of public symposiums over a proposal to build a new major dam on the Mad River. Those symposiums were recognized as being both fair and thorough and having probably made the difference in the citizens of Humboldt County rejecting overwhelmingly that new dam proposal. In fact that particular episode was celebrated in Grassroots Primer, a Sierra Club book, as an example of the ability of local grassroot organization to defend environmental values. So it was an organization that was recognized.

Public Response

Holleuffer: In terms of the local response, it seems from what you have said that it was quite varied. I have heard from people who were up there at the time that it was worth your life to have a Sierra Club bumper sticker and that there were very passionate feelings against the Sierra Club and what was happening up there on the part of the local population, which is an economically depressed area.

Amodio: Absolutely.

Holleuffer: What was your feeling about what was going on and how did the public respond to you personally?

Amodio: Well, that varied, too, because for a while we were not so prominent and less recognized and less perhaps perceived as a threat, and those were times in which there was more dialogue and communication than was generally the state. We were still in a minority and still not well received in some quarters, but there came a point in which it became just viciously ugly and there were definitely physical threats laid on a number of us.

Holleuffer: By whom?

Amodio: Oh, by individuals within the logging industry, by a lot of people who had been sold a bill of goods that we simply didn't care about the local area and were dupes not only of the Sierra Club but probably of Moscow. There really was that very simplistic perception that we were out to destroy the place. It was fostered by some pretty powerful interests. That is part of the problem in a rural area such as up north where the media is really the captive of the local major industry, and it is not a local industry. It is really a national and international industry, which is what it was here, the timber industry, and they just pour in a lot of money into creating this facade of what reality is. I mean it is basically the big lie technique and it works. So we couldn't challenge it in the media.

Burton's Subcommittee Hearing, April, 1977

Holleuffer: There was an incident when Phillip Burton's subcommittee came to Eureka in April of 1977 to have a public hearing on the new park bill. Apparently, men with axes, men from the timber companies were in the hall, and there was a police escort for the congressional people because--

Amodio: It was for more than the congressional people. There were several local elected officials who testified on behalf of the park. There were some of us who as citizens testified on behalf of the park. It was perhaps the most graphic and most extreme illustration of the type of fear that turns to anger and hatred that we experienced in that whole process, and it stunned me because I knew it was building with a lot of emotions and they were really trying to whip the community into a frenzy. But I

Amodio: had dealt with the community long enough to expect otherwise. I did not until that day realize that they had succeeded in turning it into almost mob lynch hysteria, and it simply was that. I remember walking into the hall and there was a group of some local loggers standing around talking, all of whom I knew, and I walked up and I said, "Oh, hey, how are you doing?" I started to talk with them, and it was just more than icy cold. One of them who worked for the Arcata Redwood Company just said, "The only thing I hope is that before this is over you get yours." "Oh, okay." I went up to the front and it was an overwhelmingly anti-park crowd. They had been driven, not only by the local media and not only by local elected officials, but by the unions very much and by the companies.

There was a small cadre of pro-park people on hand, and we were kind of clustered up front, and one of the most vivid memories that I have is that this person--I mean it just could have come out of a B-grade gangster movie literally in terms of his whole image, the way he was dressed, the way he conducted himself. He led this group of very large and [snorts] and obviously angry and husky men up to the front and pointed us out, pointed out this cadre, this small group of environmentalists and whispered in their ear. From that moment on for the rest of the hearing, they would--whatever opportunity they had to catch our eye, they would do it and just not only make very ugly faces but yell obscenities and vicious comments and threats right at us. I could recognize it. It was an overt effort to intimidate us and even though my rational mind understood that, it was pretty successful because it was damn scary, very scary!

First of all, there was the mayor of Eureka, Sam Sacco--he was described in a Smithsonian Magazine article as this dirigible set loose from his mooring because he is a very large person. He got up there in front of the crowd with a bullhorn and was like a cheer leader just driving them on to get angry and be vocal and be nasty, and he was successful.

Burton came into a situation that never would have been tolerated, never would have been tolerated by probably any other congressman. They would have shut the hearing down. They would have just said, "This is not the way we conduct hearings under the rules of the House of Representatives." But Burton has always been one who particularly has wanted to hear the concerns and grievances of those who are on the opposite side of the issue from him.

So he just let them go at it, and he let them go at it most of the day. Then finally he called on us and essentially he asked me--because I had met him and he knew me as a local park person--to put together a panel for the park. But actually

Amodio: prior to that, he knew of this one woman, Ru-Flo Harper Lee, who is a native of Eureka. Ru-Flo when she was the high school valedictorian of the Eureka High School in 1921, had written this eloquent, impassioned speech on saving the redwoods. She had gone away for a long time and returned in the early sixties and from then on, had really challenged the local powers that be and they were strictly white men lumber barons. That was the heritage of Eureka and she used to go at them--you know, who are they representing? Who are they speaking for? She was well recognized. The Saturday Evening Post in 1968 during the original park battle had described her as the original little old lady in tennis sneakers. A classic story that described her best said that one time when they were discussing putting in pulp mills in Eureka and she had challenged them on air pollution and the foul odors that would be associated, the local paper editorialized, "We could put up with a stink ten times as bad as anything from any pulp mill if only it would drive Ru-Flo Harper Lee from town."

Ru-Flo never gave up. She remained a force. She had a stroke, but here she was in her mid or late seventies and she wanted to testify. So she went up and gave her testimony on behalf of protecting the park. That was the only time during the day there was even a semblance of quiet. Even she got hooted and howled on occasion, but they listened to her more than anyone.

Prior to her, they had spit on the mayor of Arcata who spoke for the park. They spat on him.

Holleuffer: Who? The people in the front row or something?

Amodio: Yes, yes, and they had just cursed and drowned out one of the Humboldt County supervisors who spoke on behalf of the park.

Holleuffer: How did everything calm down after this, if this was really the high point of the emotional issue?

Amodio: It didn't initially. I mean that day played out--our panel had a very brief time to give its pitch, and we were basically all drowned out in boos and hisses. Most of us had to be escorted out by police escort. They were all fired up and the next day they took a caravan of logging trucks down to San Francisco because there was a hearing the next day in San Francisco. They got front page press in the Chronicle. I think that fueled them on even more, and they thought, "Ah, this is our way. This is the way we go out and make our case and show why we think it's unfair."

So they decided to do a cross-country convoy, and they lined up the money from the companies and others to pay for this convoy of trucks to go to Washington, D.C., and storm the capitol.

## IV WORKING TO INFLUENCE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT

Lobbying in Washington

Amodio: By that point I was back in Washington again. I had been there two months before, and I was back working very closely with Linda Billings, the Sierra Club lobbyist, at that point.

We were concerned. We felt we might be losing the momentum, that this really could be a threat to the park bill, and so we really took it seriously and worked extra hard. But it was one of those classic situations where we undersold the redwoods because as the logging trucks went cross-country--and they had a number of stops in which they had local rallies and tried to make their case on how this was going to cost local jobs and that it wasn't worth it--we came out with a whole string of editorials in papers that essentially said, "We sympathize with anyone losing their job and we think that there should be due consideration given to those who lose their jobs for something that benefits the overall public."

But seeing the redwoods that the convoy was carrying, some of the old growth redwoods, was their undoing. They said, "Seeing the redwoods, we were just astonished at the power, strength, and beauty of nature, and we think that whatever price that needs to be paid in terms of displaced employment has to be paid because this is a heritage that we cannot afford to lose." It really was astonishing.

So they came into town with this string of losses behind them. They came into town, and we knew they were coming in on a certain day, and they were going to blitz the hill. They had this 747 plane that was bringing in all of the other loggers and wives to come and storm the hill. The day before, we went around and we had volunteers from the whole East Coast of the Sierra Club come in. They helped us do a complete lobbying of all of the members of Congress. We presented our case, the facts on why the



Amodio: redwood park needed to be expanded, what was at stake, and how the job thing was way out of perspective, that these were jobs that were going to be lost in five or six years anyway because the redwoods would all be gone, and then we would be double losers.

Timber Company Informants

Amodio: Another thing I would add to that is that we also learned from an informant in the timber industry, to give you a sense--because we always had informants in the timber industry and they were one of our richest sources of information who would tell us when they were doing a particularly obnoxious operation and we could make changes and get a review.

We were told that one of their plans was to come back and give seedlings of redwoods and make the case that essentially, "We're not destroying the redwood forest. We are planting these young productive trees." So what we did in our day before, in our total lobbying around, we gave out seedlings also, which ironically this informant managed to get to us from the Louisiana Pacific Nursery and air ship them to us ahead of the convoy. We brought them to all of the key offices, and we had a special sheet that went with them. We gave them the gift, and the sheet essentially said, "How to take care of your redwood seedling and your redwood heritage." In that, we kind of made them understand that this was a beautiful little seedling, but we're talking about trees that are literally a thousand to two thousand years old, and that is a gift of nature and one that we can only respect and protect.

Holleuffer: I would like to hear some more about these informants in the timber companies. What type of people would you characterize them as?

Amodio: Oh, I would say that they were people out working in the woods. There were people out there whose livelihood was dependent on the major corporations and probably felt good about what they were doing because it was fairly rugged and there had to be some satisfying work to it, although they may have had some misapprehensions about the overall consequences, but who were at times utterly disgusted in the way they were going about (quote) "harvesting" these trees with no regard whatsoever for values which they recognized, particularly fishery values. This is the thing that seemed to hook them; even more than wildlife was fisheries.

Amodio: So they would call us and say, "Hey, listen, I can't tell you anything more except right now Louisiana Pacific, Arcata, or Simpson, the three companies that are operating there, whichever one, is doing this logging show in Copper Creek, and they are just destroying the creek. You've got to do something about it. I can't, but I hope you will."

Holleuffer: Would they identify themselves?

Amodio: Usually not, usually not, no. No, they didn't want to take that much of a risk.

Holleuffer: So you didn't know whether they were young or older?

Amodio: I don't think they were necessarily young, no. I think there are people out there who cut across the spectrum of ages who just --even if their livelihood depended on it, even if they thought that logging was an okay profession--knew that the way it was being done was just unnecessary and highly destructive of other values that they felt should be respected.

Holleuffer: Did you notice a change over the long period of years that the whole battle was going on within the local community? Did they go from maybe complete nonsympathy with extending the park to maybe understanding the need for it?

Amodio: I think we made some inroads.

Holleuffer: --And really changing their attitudes?

Amodio: I think we made some inroads. I think we got some people to question it more, some people to sit on the fence more, although the spector of job loss and the horrors that were portrayed by the companies was a very powerful force that warped a lot of people's thinking on it and turned it into a very simplistic issue. But overall I think there were times in which even the local paper was doing feature stories and reviewing redwood park and the logging and made it quite clear that they understood that certain of the industry lines were complete bunk, such as that enlightened self-interest would assure that they would do all that was necessary to protect the forest and the other resources. In one article they just said, "Let's face it, the industry has only improved its practices by being forced to do so. Most of their logging has been horrendous to date and the improvements have been a result of the environmentalists compelling those changes, and that is to their credit."

They also at another time--after what was it?--after the industry had just been outrageous in their response. It was at a time when in the original park act it said that areas that were

Amodio: within view of Highway 101 formed a special visual corridor and that the logging in those areas was going to destroy those visual aesthetic values, that the secretary of the Interior had the authority to condemn them to acquire them and protect them.

The Arcata Redwood Company, who always was simply the most outrageous, most contemptuous of public values, decided to just log right along 101 again. We arranged with Secretary of Resources Claire Dedrick to really make a special effort to protect that area, and she secured from the Save-the-Redwoods League a pledge of a million dollars to buy that area, an area that had been approved for logging. The timber company, Arcata Redwood, initially said, "Oh, well, we'll consider it and we won't do anything until we see what the direction of the new administration and Congress is." The new administration and Congress came along and made it very clear that they wanted to preserve not only that area but to substantially expand the park.

Arcata Redwood had been requested by the secretary of the Interior to voluntarily not log in the area of the proposed park expansion. They thumbed their nose at the secretary of the Interior just came out with a very highly inflammatory statement against President Carter, who was just in about three months, and then proceeded to begin logging that area. [clicks fingers] And that just brought down the wrath. I mean it just kind of crystalized the public awareness and newspaper awareness that these were interests who just had a public-be-damned attitude. The secretary of the Interior moved very quickly to condemn those areas using the million dollars from the Save-the-Redwoods League, and the local paper did this major editorial just saying, "We have to wonder--" I think the headline was something like, "Just Who are Our Friends?" It really questioned whether the major timber corporations were acting at all in the local interest or whether they weren't egging on the federal government to condemn the land by this type of just very strident behavior.

So that put a crack in. We had raised enough questions because from the beginning--I mean we were local people, and we really cared about the local area and we didn't think that the local area should bear the brunt of protecting a national resource. We had long advocated that not only should stockholders be compensated, but that there should be some form of compensation to any worker who might be dislocated as a result of necessary park expansion.

We had taken that position long enough and consistently enough that they started to see that we were sincere and they started to question are the corporations really acting in the local interest? We were, of course, alleging that the corporations

Amodio: are doing everything they are doing because it maximizes short-term profit and as soon as they squeeze out that profit, they are going to be reinvesting those funds elsewhere. A second growth doesn't pay that type of profit dividend. They are going to reinvest it like Arcata Redwood was already doing--in some other economic activity, be it timber in the South as Louisiana Pacific was doing or in Arcata Redwood Company's case, they were becoming the second largest printing conglomerate in the country. They went from a company that started off as a hundred percent logging redwoods to one by the time at the end of the park issue, ten percent of their net revenue was from logging, the rest was from publishing, but fifty percent of their profits was still from logging because they were just skimming off of the old growth redwood.

Holleuffer: Have you been back since the passage of the park bill to see what economic effect it has had?

Amodio: The park was expanded and I guess it was officially signed at the end of March of '77 and I lived there; I didn't move away until the summer of '81. So I lived there for a few more years and I have been back there since. That's a complex answer because--

Holleuffer: The mills, for example, have shut down, haven't they?

Amodio: Yes, the mills have shut down. The mills have shut down to no greater degree, though, than throughout the Northwest where the timber is in its worst depression since the Great Depression. The housing market is nonexistent and they have been shutting down throughout the area. I think it's very hard anyway for anyone to with any accuracy attribute cause, although it's very clear that even without redwood park expansion, all of those mills would be shut down. There is no market.

I think the difference that federal park expansion has made has been a very positive one for the local economy, and this in fact has even been recognized in a special publication called Hard Times in Humboldt County, which is put out by a consortium of labor and community groups who are concerned that there is very serious, high unemployment. What they basically recognize is that in the Redwood Park Act it established an historic precedent recognizing, just as we had pointed to, that workers needed to be given due consideration as much as stockholders. Phil Burton put in place what is called Title II, which assures that workers who work for major industries involved with Redwood Creek and who were dislocated because of park expansion would be given replacement income for a period of up to six years; that was maximum.

##

Holleuffer: John was just finishing up talking about the compensation for workers to the redwood bill. Maybe we could go on to--

Amodio: The only thing to conclude with that is that there really was an historic breakthrough in environmentalists' recognition and in Congress's response to the rights of workers, and it also, I think, brought us finally to a point of unity with the labor movement over expansion of the park, whereas I have just recently--in fact, in working on the Phil Burton campaign--I saw someone who I had last seen on the redwood issue, a lobbyist for the carpenter's union who now works for the AFL-CIO. He was kind of saying how startling it was on the day of the final vote by the House of Representatives that at the doorway as people entered--a traditional place where lobbyists give their final signals to members who are trying to know where the different interests stand on these things --they walked in and here was he and the person from the AFL-CIO and Linda Billings from the Sierra Club and myself all standing with our thumbs up. More than a few people came out and looked and said, "Wait a second, you are both saying thumbs up," because we had been so polarized on the park issue. We had come to a situation which both the environmentalists and those who were making a livelihood off of exploiting were supporting the expansion of the park.

#### How a Lobbyist Works

Holleuffer: I'm interested about this business of standing outside of the doors. Would you explain more about that and being a lobbyist, the personal experiences of being a lobbyist?

Amodio: Sure. Oh, yes, it's fascinating for me because this was my first real experience as a lobbyist. As members go to make their vote on legislation, the lobbyists from the interests who are concerned with that legislation will stand out, and they will be known to a number of the members whom they have lobbied on this issue. they give where they stand on the issue because most members don't have a chance to keep up on all of the changes going on. So most people, most members of Congress, will read off of someone whom they know as a leader within Congress, or off the lobbyists from the interests they respect.

Holleuffer: Do you mean they will look towards you and look for a sign?

Amodio: Yes.

Holleuffer: For you to give a thumbs up sign on a vote, and then they will vote that way?

Amodio: That's right because they will say, "I care about what the environmentalists feel about this issue," or "On this one, I am standing with whoever." So the lobbyists from that interest will be there and give the signal that in this final form, here is what we say.

Holleuffer: So when they call for a vote--

Amodio: When they call for a vote, they ring bells throughout the different houses, the office buildings, in the capitol. The members then have fifteen minutes to get to the floor of the house or the senate and cast their votes. So they are scurrying with probably many other things on their mind, and they walk in, and some of them will look for that signal.

Holleuffer: That's very interesting. I never knew that's how it operated.

Amodio: It is, it's very fascinating what occurs like that.

Holleuffer: Can you tell us some more behind-the-scenes stories of what happens in Washington?

Amodio: I started the whole process as a very alienated individual basically because of the Vietnam War. I went back to Washington not expecting to have much response, thinking that it was going to just be the captive of some powerful economic interests, and there is no doubt that they exercise a disproportionate influence. It is the presence they can afford to have there. But I also did learn delightfully that members of the public, to the degree that they expressed their will, will be heard and listened to. We saw that over and over. We turned people around. We budged things. We moved things. We got people who were either not willing to listen, or who were sitting on the fence, to swing to our side, or those who were against us to at least be neutralized. and that was a delightful experience.

Holleuffer: Which tactics were most effective in doing this?

Amodio: It depended upon the individual. It really had to be tailored to the individual. I mean in some cases it was just making the case on the facts and logic. They were the wonderful ones because we felt that factually and logically we were the way to go. We went in and we would either talk to their staff, which was the usual way to make the case, or with those who were particularly important to us, we would arrange to meet with the member of the Congress. I remember one man, Lamar Gudger, a true southern

Amodio: gentleman from, I believe, North Carolina, who represented a rural area where there are a lot of logging interests. He was getting a lot of pressure from the industry associations. We went in, and we had a sequence of photos that just told the story more than ten thousand words easily could have.

It started off with an aerial view of Redwood Creek in the late sixties when Congress was first deliberating on establishment of a redwood park, and it's what we called "the grand sweep," ridge to ridge of unbroken old growth redwoods. Then we showed the way it was right then, that summer, with just tattered remnants. I mean it was just heartbreaking what we had allowed the logging industry to do, and here was the area that we had protected lying at the bottom of the basin just being encroached on by all of these clearcuts, and then a few details which showed the consequences. For someone who was sensitive and cared like Lamar Gudger, that told the tale. We then had to fill in some details on how it was affordable and the other aspects of the package.

There were others who we just had to basically strong arm in a sense. You go in and you do it very politely, but you make it very clear that the people in his district are aware of this issue, that they care, and they are watching and if you don't swing the right way, we are going to make certain that they know that and good-bye maybe. In the latter category, I am thinking of a person in Maryland, this guy Goodloe Byron, who both his dad and his mom had been in Congress before him. It was great.

Two of us from the Emerald Creek Committee, locals from Humboldt County, went in there with a lobbyist of the Sierra Club, Jim Elder, and he was kind of coaching us, giving us signals, and he would tell us when to kind of get tougher. He would slap his fist into his hand behind the congressman's back or put his hand to his knee to say, "Really give him your strongest shot." We would increasingly get tougher in terms of our arguments and what we were prepared to do.

We had been informed prior to that meeting by Phil Burton that this particular member of Congress was scared stiff of the environmentalists. He was in a close district and he knew we could swing it, and he came on board, and that made a lot of difference.

Phillip Burton

Holleuffer: It sounds as though Phillip Burton gave you an awful lot of direction.

Amodio: Phillip Burton was remarkable. Phil Burton has a reputation for being difficult to work with, yet I don't think that's true. I think Burton has his own style. It's a proven, highly effective way of working. You go to him, and you tell him what you want to accomplish. You give him the facts he needs. He'll really question you and go over it until he understands it, probably from his need better than you understand it, and then he goes to work. He doesn't really keep you necessarily well-tracked into what he is doing because he operates that way. But he gave us very clear signals on what he needed. He told us, "I need editorial support. You go out there and get me major newspaper editorials. I need pressure on these people." He reduced what would have been like an overwhelming task to the key pressure points that were going to make the difference, and that made us much more effective.

We were able to grab--and we did, we succeeded. I mean redwoods were a choice issue. We came in with editorials from across the country. We just systematically went about them and we were getting them from major papers across the country, little papers in key districts across the country, and I guess that helped with the members. It certainly buoyed up Phil Burton's spirits. So he went at it with renewed vigor and for that alone it was worth it.

Change in Administrations

Holleuffer: Did you notice much of a difference between the attitude taken towards the park expansion by a Democratic government and by a Republican government? I am thinking first of when you began the campaign we had Nixon, and then Carter came in midway.

Amodio: We had Nixon. It was hopeless, it was hopeless. We knew that. We knew we were not going to succeed legislatively under Nixon. There was a deep relationship between Richard Nixon and the timber companies. In fact, this woman, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, in 1946 introduced legislation to essentially nationalize two million acres of the redwood forest. It was going to be called the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Forest. It would have included major park areas and the rest would have been managed by the Forest Service for multiple use including forestry. It had a real chance of succeeding. It was pushed over until the next



Amodio: Congress, which would have begun in '49. She was challenged that year and defeated in what became renowned as the "pink lady campaign" in which a young upstart, Richard Milhous Nixon, just portrayed her as a pinko.

Holleuffer: As a Communist sympathizer.

Amodio: That's right, "the pink lady." He defeated her, and he had actual financial support from the timber industry, strong support. They just wanted to see her knocked off. From that moment on, on the redwoods Richard Nixon was hopeless. We encountered that over and over. He put definite restraints on Interior and the Park Service in dealing administratively with the problems created by that impossible park configuration.

When Ford came in, we had some hopes, but he never supported us. We worked closely with Carter. He had extraordinary grass-roots campaigning and he had an environmentalist: Carleton Nevil, in fact, was his name. He came up to Humboldt County and he met with us. He had dinner with us, and we briefed him. He was very supportive and literally like three days before he was elected in Los Angeles, Jimmy Carter came out with a statement saying, "If I am elected president, I will call for a moratorium on cutting in Redwood Creek. That resource must be protected." He essentially described it as the epitome of the Ford administration's insensitivity and contempt for our natural resources.

So when he was elected, we wasted no time--I think it was one of the most important things we did. We did not sit back. We were in Washington literally within two weeks of Jimmy Carter's election. We had that delightful opportunity because there was an oversight hearing being held by Representative Leo Ryan within the first two weeks, and I was invited to be the lead witness--and I didn't realize what a special, prominent position that was--for that hearing. That's the time that I met Linda Billings and we, along with Destry Jarvis of the National Parks and Conservation Association, started to really work the new administration. Shortly thereafter, I was hired by the Sierra Club and worked steadily on the redwoods with Paul Swatek and Linda Billings of the conservation staff, and board member Dr. Ed Wayburn.

We just lined ourselves up being one of the first interests knocking on their door to get ourselves high on their agenda. I have no doubt that if we were six months later we never would have succeeded because Carter and the administration were by that point too bogged down with the whole front of initiatives they had taken on. They had overextended themselves, and also fiscal matters would have prevented them expending \$500 million to protect the park. So it was real fortuitous, our timing.

Sit-in in Governor Jerry Brown's Office

Holleuffer: What about at the state level when the change went from Reagan to Governor Jerry Brown?

Amodio: Again, very substantial, very substantial. We hadn't been trying to work the Reagan administration. Our local effort was too much of a neophyte effort at that point, but as soon as Brown came in, there was a court ruling which declared that environmental impact statements were required under California law on any logging operation. That brought down the wrath of the loggers who went to Sacramento with their logging trucks, circled the capitol, and called for the dismissal of Claire Detrick who was former vice-president of the Sierra Club and appointed by Brown as the secretary of resources. Claire, of course, had nothing to do with that court ruling, but they blamed it on her and that mobilized us.

Holleuffer: Is this the time at which your campaign thought of other tactics, more direct tactics?

Amodio: Actually, not yet. Brown was just in. We did not have early success with Brown. In fact, the loggers who had gone to Sacramento apparently had a deep impact on him. He at one point was quoted as saying, "Damn it, solve it, I'm tired of this problem," and he did not take a personal interest in it. In the summer of '65, in July, the Sierra Club lawsuit which alleged that the secretary of the Interior was being arbitrary and capricious in performance of his duty was favorably ruled on. The judge said in fact that the park was not being protected and that they (the federal government) needed to take action. That sent all of the officials into this frenzy of at least making some public appearance of taking action, if not at least covering their own hides, which was probably more the case.

But in any event, we were all Brown supporters and our first success with Brown was when he started to appoint new members to the State Board of Forestry and he started to balance out a board which was totally oriented, totally the captive of the timber industry to one which had more of a public resource perspective. But it wasn't really--and we worked hard on Secretary Detrick and tried to work on Brown--until the summer of '76, [that] we were at a point of being exasperated with the failure of the Brown administration to provide the leadership which we thought they should. We were feeling almost hopeless on the whole situation because we had a court ruling which said we were correct, and there had not been remedial action.

Amodio: We had had studies which documented clearly that the park was being damaged and destroyed. There was no remedial action. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas came to Humboldt State University. I remember asking him a question about what do you do when you have gone through all of these legal processes and you have not had any response that addressed your grievance. He was the one who said, "It is a time-honored American practice, when you have exhausted the legal processes and they are being unresponsive, that civil disobedience is your choice if you think it is important enough and you care enough."

We certainly thought it was important enough and we cared enough, and then we went through a long series of what would work, and it was difficult.

Holleuffer: What did you decide?

Amodio: We really talked about it a lot, and we realized that our isolation from the major media markets required that it would have to be something highly dramatic. We thought about things such as stopping the logging by chaining ourselves to trees or blocking--being out there and physically obstructing it. We realized that essentially no major statewide or definitely national media would ever get there before they dealt with us, and they would probably deal with us very ruthlessly. We were sure of that. We really wanted to be effective so we eventually decided--well, we came very close to doing this. It was a choice between going to either the major corporation offices and stealing from the practices of this person called "the fox" in Chicago, who used to go to the outlets of major industries who were polluting, get their effluence, and go into the corporate offices and dump it on a desk of the responsible officials and let them know, "Do you want to live with this stuff? Go ahead!" We thought about doing that. It was either corporations or it was Governor Brown because we felt at that point he was equally being irresponsible.

What we eventually did was we did a sit-in in Brown's office, and that was fascinating.

Holleuffer: How long did that last? How long did you have to sit in?

Amodio: I had been part of planning it, and I had looked forward to going to the sit-in, but then I couldn't go because of the death of my mother. But my friends who did go, they sat in one night, maybe two nights steadily, and finally in the evening they were told that "the governor will meet with you." They went in and they met with him for maybe a half-an-hour or forty-five minutes. He was taken, I think, with both the merits of our issue, and there were also some strong personal sparks that occurred there because I think he was very taken with the individuals, and he then invited the group to go out and have dinner with him.

Holleuffer: How many were there would you say?

Amodio: There may have been about ten who sat in. By the time they had got down to meeting with him, there might have been six. That was the beginning of September. In the middle of September of '76 was when Representative Leo Ryan had the first hearing on the redwood park situation and on that occasion the Brown administration came out in support of expanding the park. There was no question in my mind whatsoever but that our action had finally penetrated through all of these other issues that he was dealing with and put on him personally what was at stake, and he directed Claire Dedrick to go there and testify to protect the park.

## V PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Charles Manson Involvement

Holleuffer: What other personal experiences that aren't on the official record could you relate?

Amodio: Oh, I think the most bizarre, it must have been in the summer again of '76 which was personally on the local level the most intense summer. I mean we were back against the wall. We cared so much about Emerald Creek and the eastern slope of Redwood Creek, and Arcata Redwood Company had just filed a series of plans that would bring a logging road right into the last unbroken block of old growth redwood and several clearcuts moved right into Emerald Creek and then down to the park boundary elsewhere along the eastern border of Redwood Creek. We were under a lot of pressure to fight back, and we were not being successful with the Board of Forestry. We missed by one vote getting a resolution that would have put a moratorium on any further logging of Redwood Creek, and frankly I blame that on the Park Service. They were there at that hearing in Chesterton, California. We made our case very strongly. We thought we had the votes.

The representative from Arcata Redwood came in with this soft shoe and said, "We are in the midst of negotiating and we think we are within days of a settlement that will resolve this with the Park Service. The representative from the Park Service got up and did not challenge that at all and left clearly the impression that that might be the case, which was not at all true, and the five-to-four vote turned down the moratorium.

But the most bizarre thing, in the midst of all of that was that Charlie Manson earlier had drawn up a list of enemies which included those who were destroying the redwoods. As you may recall, Squeaky Frome had made the assassination attempt on President Ford and said that it was because of his insensitivity to the redwoods.

Amodio: One day I was at the Environmental Center and they got a call from someone who identified himself as the local agent of the FBI, and he was calling to say that I was on a hit list which Charlie Manson had smuggled out from the prison, of people who were responsible for doing the redwoods in. I took it as a joke. I thought it was one of my friends playing a practical joke on me, and I just started teasing him, just getting real bravado about it, and he finally made me believe and understand that he was from the FBI. What convinced me was that day's headlines in the San Francisco paper that Manson had sneaked such a list out, and it included a whole variety of people, most of whom I don't understand how they got on the list. I mean there was a foreman for the timber industry who obviously was not a decision maker. He was just doing his job. He wasn't responsible. There was John Dewitt, the director of the Save-the-Redwoods League. There was Connie Parrish from Friends of the Earth who was working hard for the park, and there was myself and others in the environmental movement.

Anyway, this lieutenant of Manson's called Connie Parrish. She was just horrified, and she called me.

Holleuffer: Do you mean she received a threat from him?

Amodio: He called up saying, "What are you guys doing? How come you are not protecting the redwoods? You must be part of the conspiracy to do them in." So she called me and asked me if I would call this person up and make it very clear to him that Connie was sincerely working to protect the redwoods.

Somehow before I got to him, he got to me. He called me at home, which was a little disturbing because I didn't really want him to know where I lived. But I actually went in and had a long talk. I called him from the Arcata Environmental Center, and I was as tactful and diplomatic as I could be in explaining what we were doing and that what they were proposing to do--because he was saying, "We'll do anything. We'll bring a busload of people up there and we'll stop that logging."

I explained to him, "I am not making a judgment on Charlie and the boys and the gang, but the fact is that there is a strong public perception that you are really lunatics. If you were associated on the side of the redwoods it would really not help the issue. So I don't think your coming up here will help. If you really want to help, and I know you are sincere in wanting to help, the thing that is going to be the most valuable is for you to really stay very legal and get people to write letters.

To my surprise, he was responsive and said, "I understand." He decided not to come up there or do anything, but eventually this person was arrested as he crossed the Golden Gate Bridge

Amodio: heading into San Francisco. He had previously been in prison for some violence. On this occasion they arrested him for violation of his parole because he had a number of guns with him. He had been having discussions with John Dewitt at Save-the-Redwoods League, and the FBI had been tracking him. They thought that he might be taking some direct action.

So it was very bizarre, very bizarre. That was the most bizarre--that was one of the only two times which I really did feel actual fear in the sense of threat on my well-being.

Holleuffer: The other time being at the subcommittee hearing?

Amodio: That's right, after that. They were the two times in all of the years I lived in Arcata where I locked my door at night.

Holleuffer: Were there any incidents of violence?

Amodio: Sure, yes. Well, there was--

Holleuffer: Not directed at you but at other people?

Amodio: Yes, and more so--not really ever at people. I mean at the subcommittee hearing, Dave Van de Mark, who was one of the very well-known Sierra Club leaders, when he went to give an interview to a San Francisco TV station had some thugs follow him. They then sharply kind of punched him in the chest and said, "Watch it, you're going to get yours." But the violence was really more directed at the forest. There were two particular incidences, one in the Lady Bird Johnson Grove, which is along Bald Hill Road, the ridge top of Redwood Creek. They felled several of the old growth trees trying to knock down the foot bridge that provided access to that grove.

Then later, in an ugly series of vandalism, they cut down, they girdled essentially, a number of trees in Humboldt Redwood State Park, and those trees had to be felled because they would die and be hazards. Whoever did that, I think it was some sick individual and it certainly hurt the cause of the anti-park people.

#### Future Plans

Holleuffer: In summation, John, since the redwood expansion bill, you have worked for Congressman Burton in his reelection campaign, which was just successful.

Amodio: Yay! [laughter]

Holleuffer: You are now head of the Tuolumne River Preservation Trust working to get through a bill to preserve the Tuolumne River from dams. What do you see in your future after these efforts are over?

Amodio: We are just midstream at best on the Tuolumne. It's going to be a very major issue. I would love to see it succeed in one to three years, and that's what we are aiming for. It is hard to say. Politics are very volatile. Beyond that, I mean right now, I don't know with certainty, but I am sure there is a lot that in those intervening years, I am going to learn and it will clarify my own personal desires of the future. I mean, I certainly expect to continue in similar efforts, although I must say one of the things that I am most excited about in the overall environmental effort is to broaden our constituency and be more in coalitions, recognizing other groups. Basically, we represent a powerless group, the non-human life forms that don't have a voice in decision-making forums that decide their fates. There are others in similar situations, powerless or unrepresented interest groups, and I think there are natural alliances to be made there.

I think there is a continuity of logic and justice in all entities being empowered and being represented. I wish in some way to be associated with broadening that overall base of those who assert the rights of such entities. So I look forward to that. At the end of the Tuolumne--who knows if I will do it--but I am very excited about the idea of taking some time, doing some traveling, and getting some broadening perspectives. I think that is always refreshing, renewing, and also I think whatever I return to will only be enriched by that experience.

Holleuffer: Thank you very much and good luck to you.

Amodio: Thank you for this.

Transcriber: Michelle Stafford  
Final Typist: Marie Herold



## TAPE GUIDE -- John Amodio

|                                |    |
|--------------------------------|----|
| Interview 1: June 17, 1982     | 1  |
| tape 1, side A                 | 1  |
| Interview 2: November 11, 1982 | 9  |
| tape 1, side B                 | 9  |
| tape 2, side A                 | 21 |

## INDEX -- John Amodio

- Arcata Redwood Company, 4, 19, 20, 29
- Becking, Dr. Rudolph, 3, 7-9  
 Brower, David, 11  
 Brown, Edmund G., Jr. [Jerry], 26-28  
 Burton, Phillip, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23-24, 31
- California State  
 Board of Forestry, 26, 29  
 Carter, Jimmy, 25
- Dedrick, Claire, 26, 28  
 Dewitt, John, 30, 31  
 Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 24-25  
 Douglas, William O., 27
- Emerald Creek Committee, 3-4, 7-10, 23  
 environmental protection  
   campaign strategies and tactics, 26-28  
   coalitions, 32  
   lobbying for. See legislative lobbying  
   motivations for, 1-4
- forests, management. See redwood timber industry
- Friends of the Earth, 11
- Gudger, Lamar, 22-23
- Humboldt State University, 3  
 Humboldt Tomorrow, 3
- labor and the environment  
 redwoods, 13-15, 19-21  
 Lee, Ru-Flo Harper, 15  
 legislative lobbying, 21-24
- lumber industry. See redwood timber industry
- Manson, Charles, 29-31
- Nixon, Richard Milhous, 24-25  
 North Coast Environmental Center, 12  
Not Man Apart, 11
- Parrish, Connie, 11, 30  
 Pearth, Ray, 3
- Redwood National Park, 3-4, 6  
   Emerald Creek, 3-4, 8-10  
   Redwood Creek, 3, 5, 6, 8, 23  
 Redwood National Park Act, 1968, 5  
 Redwood National Park Enlargement Act, 1978  
   Burton Subcommittee hearings, 13-15  
   congressional politics, 8-9, 16-17, 21-25  
   economic impact, 20-21  
   local campaign for, 7-8, 12-13, 18  
 redwood timber industry, 5-10, 13-14, 17-21, 24-26. See also Arcata Redwood Company
- Sealey, Dan, 8, 9  
 Sierra Club, 7, 25  
   public reaction to, 12-13  
   Redwood Chapter, 7, 11
- Tuolumne River Preservation Trust, 32

United States

Congress, 5, 13-15, 21-24

National Park Service, 29

Van de Mark, David, 7, 31

Vietnam war, 1, 22

Vineyard, Lucille, 7

Waldie, Jerome, 8-9



Sierra Club Oral History Project

Kathleen Goddard Jones

DEFENDER OF CALIFORNIA'S NIPOMO DUNES,  
STEADFAST SIERRA CLUB VOLUNTEER

With Introductions by  
John Ashbaugh  
and  
Dirk Walters

An Interview Conducted by  
Anne Van Tyne  
1983

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984



TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Kathleen Goddard Jones

|   |    |
|---|----|
| INTRODUCTION by John Ashbaugh   | i  |
| INTRODUCTION by Dirk Walters  | ii |
| INTERVIEW HISTORY   | iv |
| <br>  |    |
| I INTRODUCTION TO THE SIERRA CLUB   | 1  |
| Early Years in Santa Barbara  | 1  |
| Cedric Wright   | 3  |
| Joining the Sierra Club   | 4  |
| <br>  |    |
| II FOUNDING THE LOS PADRES AND SANTA LUCIA CHAPTERS AND THE SIERRA CLUB COUNCIL | 5  |
| Organizing a Sierra Club Unit in Santa Barbara, 1949                            | 5  |
| First High Trip, 1949   | 5  |
| Formation of the Los Padres Chapter, 1952                                       | 7  |
| Organization of the Council, 1956   | 8  |
| First Council Chairman  | 10 |
| The Sierra Club in San Luis Opispo County                                       | 11 |
| Club Politics and the Founding of the Santa Lucia Chapter, 1968                 | 12 |
| Activities in the Chapter   | 13 |
| First Conservation Efforts of the Los Padres Chapter                            | 14 |
| Wilderness in the Los Padres National Forest                                    | 16 |
| <br>  |    |
| III NIPOMO DUNES, DIABLO CANYON, PG&E, 1962-1983                                | 19 |
| First Threat to the Dunes   | 19 |
| PG&E Attempts to Get Support  | 20 |
| Education of PG&E's Representative  | 25 |
| PG&E Seeks a New Site at Diablo Canyon  | 28 |
| Other Threats to the Dunes  | 31 |
| ORVs and the Dunes  | 35 |
| Oil--A New Threat   | 39 |
| <br>  |    |
| IV WORKING WITH OTHER GROUPS AND CLUB LEADERS                                   | 41 |
| Nature Conservancy, Audubon, and the Native Plant Society                       | 41 |
| BLM and the Forest Service  | 43 |
| Local Officials   | 45 |
| Comments on Sierra Club Leaders   | 46 |
| <br>  |    |
| TAPE GUIDE  | 52 |
| <br>  |    |
| APPENDIX  | 53 |
| <br>  |    |
| INDEX   | 54 |

## INTRODUCTION by John Ashbaugh

The history of the Sierra Club, particularly on the Central Coast, could not be written without devoting a major chapter to Kathleen Goddard Jones, our redoubtable "lady of the Dunes." For Kathy has herself devoted a major part of her life to the Sierra Club and to that particular corner of the coast of San Luis Obispo County which has become for her, and for so many others, a living example of Nature's finest handiwork: the Nipomo Dunes.

Kathy is the type of volunteer every Sierra Club chapter should have: resolved, knowledgeable, and relentless. Her battle on behalf of the Nipomo Dunes represents the finest qualities of courage and commitment so necessary to the success of the Sierra Club. Her achievements include the following:

- State Park acquisition of most of the Nipomo Dunes in San Luis Obispo County
- Protection from off-road vehicle abuses of the most significant vegetation and wildlife habitat in the dunes through Coastal Commission and county regulations
- Cofounder and early chairman of the Santa Lucia group of the Los Padres Chapter
- Recognized throughout the county and the state as the spokesperson for preservation of the Nipomo Dunes--a recognition granted not only by the conservation community but by the off-road vehicle crowd as well, with whom she has never hesitated to sit down and talk nor to join in the occasional fence-building or fence-mending efforts which they would undertake.

In her unique role, Kathy has led hikes beyond measure, attended countless meetings before public agencies, and written literally mountains of correspondence to friends, foes, and decision-makers. Her modest home overlooks the dunes, south of Arroyo Grande, and it is delightfully cluttered with Dunes memorabilia, including a staggering collection of slides of the dunes' floral displays. For Kathy, each day is a new adventure in her non-stop odyssey to preserve, enjoy, and help the world to know and enjoy the Nipomo Dunes.

This Saturday (January 7, 1984), Kathy and her husband Gaylord will lead the twenty-third anniversary hike celebrating the first outing of the Santa Lucia group of the Sierra Club in January, 1962. The place? Where else but the Nipomo Dunes, where Kathy will lead the group to "the shade of Maidenform Flats, a sheltered campground hidden in a dunes woodland of willow and wax-myrtle trees... Little Coreopsis Hill will be pointed out enroute and may possibly offer a few early wildflowers in bloom... The deep magenta sand verbena is reported this week to be spreading its purple over dune slopes close to the beach... some yellow goldenrod is still left from autumn..."

John Ashbaugh  
Former Chairman  
Santa Lucia Chapter, Sierra Club

January 4, 1984  
Arroyo Grande, California



## INTRODUCTION by Dirk Walters

It is not often that a student gets the opportunity to write an introduction for his teacher. I have looked on in amazement while Kathy has mobilized the public, appeared before government agencies, and written letters long after others had given up. No one has approached her in the perseverance and skill she continues to show in recruiting "experts" to her cause.

I first came to California right after graduate school, where I had spent my time doing my studies and research and had not involved myself in community activities. Right after arriving in San Luis Obispo, I was elected president of the local chapter of California Native Plant Society. How I remember that first board meeting. As the board members arrived for the meeting, I can remember noting how old they were, and wondering, "How did I get into this mess?" Soon after the meeting started, however, it was I who was in for a surprise! These people were really with it. They not only knew the problems, they knew the solutions. And, more importantly, they knew who to contact to get the job done. Although Kathy was not technically on this board, she often attended. She personified all that is good in the older volunteer. She was energetic, reliable, and effective. However, she was a self-starter, and that made her stand out from the rest. It made her much more valuable than most.

One of the most persistent and bothersome problems with which our environmental organizations have had to deal is the Nipomo Dunes. Since there are over a dozen rare and/or endangered plants growing on them, it was not long until Kathy was approaching CNPS for expert testimony and support. It was here that I first worked with Kathy, although her reputation as a fighter for the dunes had preceded her. I had been told how she almost single-handedly mobilized enough public and bureaucratic support to cause PG&E to move its nuclear power plant out of the dunes and into Diablo Canyon. She was using these same techniques when I joined her during the early attempts to stem the destruction of the dunes by off-highway vehicles. First, Kathy helped set up dialogue with the off-highway vehicle groups, then spearheaded a massive education campaign to instruct them on the consequences of driving on vegetation. When all of this failed, she championed a Santa Lucia Chapter proposal for a moratorium on off-highway use of the dune areas. She obtained press coverage; organized letter-writing campaigns based on long lists of names she has kept on people who have taken her many dune walks; lined-up experts in botany, geology, wildlife to testify as to the dunes' value and uniqueness. She helped coordinate the rising number of non-environmental interest groups that were tired of unrestricted dune use and the negative impacts to neighboring communities. As a result of these actions, State Parks and Recreation officials were forced to develop a meaningful management plan, which gave some protection to some of the more sensitive areas of the dunes.

My acquaintance with Kathy only goes back some fifteen years. In all that time there has not been one who has been more reliable and few as effective in the struggle to preserve our natural heritage than she. This is all the more remarkable because she continues to work when others of equal reputations for effectiveness have tired and left the struggle. The viability of the Nipomo Dunes as a functioning ecosystem speaks the highest praise for Kathy's dedication.

Dirk Walters  
Botanist  
California Polytechnic State  
University

January 1984  
San Luis Obispo, California

## INTERVIEW HISTORY

The following interview with Kathy Jones was held on April 19, 1983, in her home in Arroyo Grande, overlooking the dunes for whose preservation she has fought for so long. Kathy's long membership in the Sierra Club, and her activities as a founding member of two chapters (Los Padres and Santa Lucia) should make her interview of interest in its description of a long-time volunteer leader.

While Kathy insists that she has somewhat retired from activity and acts now as more of a resource person, the number of phone calls regarding upcoming hearings, or requests for information which unfortunately punctuated this interview, would seem to indicate that her retirement is not to be taken too seriously.

As the interview indicates she has been a chapter chairman, and was one of the original delegates to the Sierra Club Council, as well as its first chairman. Like so many volunteers of thirty or more years ago, she was active both in the conservation field and in her chapter's outings program. She still leads an annual hike in her beloved dunes.

Anne Van Tyne  
Interviewer/Editor  
Sierra Club History  
Committee

February 1984  
Santa Barbara, California



## I INTRODUCTION TO THE SIERRA CLUB

[Date of Interview: April 19, 1983]##

Early Years in Santa Barbara

Van Tyne: This is an interview with Kathleen Goddard Jones (Kathy Jackson to many old-time Sierrans), conducted at her home in Arroyo Grande on Tuesday, April 19, 1983.

Kathy, you grew up in Santa Barbara. Did that have any effect on what happened to you later in your activity in the Sierra Club?

Jones: Undoubtedly it did. I like to begin by saying that I am a native Californian. I happen to have been born in Sacramento, but at the age of a few months came with my parents down the coast on a boat and we made our home in Santa Barbara on one of the hills. Although I do know all of California, the fact that I am a native Californian has seemed to me important enough that I usually mention it in the many hearings in which I've participated because my roots are in this land, and I love it.

From the mountains to the sea, Santa Barbara is somewhat of the gem of California in that it has a fortuitous location beside the ocean. With a friendly coast, swimming is easy and safe. The beaches have warmth and welcome. The foothills have pleasant places to walk when one gets beyond the houses, which have come since the year 1907 when I came there. And the mountains offer rugged hiking if one wants that.

All of these things have been part of my background, and it was very easy for me to understand some of the impetus of the Sierra Club in its vast outing routes, which led to not only larger outings

---

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 52.

Jones: programs but to the conservation which characterizes one of the chief concerns of the club. [brief tape interruption]

An outdoor life or a life which included much enjoyment of the outdoors comes very naturally to those who live in Santa Barbara, particularly in the earlier years of the twentieth century.

Although I walked with my father--who was a YMCA secretary who enjoyed particularly outdoor work with boys--although we walked together in the hills when I was growing up in the years before my teens and although our family--my mother and my two sisters were part of this--it seems that it was the eyes upon the hilltop and wondering what was on the other side, which was one of the things my father wondered about, which led me to my enjoyment of summits and high places.

Then, when I was twelve years old, the Campfire Girls had their first chapter organized in Santa Barbara, and that would be at the end of the World War I years, about 1919. At the age of twelve I began to really hike, to go to the higher peaks and to learn to sleep outdoors and to cook outdoors, and to find that this was something that was important to me at that time and has continued to be one of the most important facets of my whole life. A kinship with the earth, a spiritual refreshment from moving easily along trails and over the contours of the earth.

Growing up in Santa Barbara, there was a family crisis when my father disagreed with the policies of a new board of directors at the YMCA. He felt that they were not sufficiently [brief tape interruption] Christian from his point of view. He was a fundamentalist of old New England, and our Sundays were always devoted to the church doings. In fact, the Campfire Girls grew out of the efforts of the minister of our church in 1919.

Van Tyne: Well, now you didn't go to college in Santa Barbara? You went away to college?

Jones: Yes, I did, and I was just coming to that. The high school years were satisfactory, and I participated in a certain amount of leadership in my class and in the school. Such things as secretary of the student body. And it just so happens that I was the first and only freshman ever to win the Silver Barry Oratory Cup in Santa Barbara High School. Talking is one of the things that has come easily to me. [laughter]

However, after high school there was a year at the Santa Barbara Teachers' College up on the Riviera of Santa Barbara. Meanwhile, having taken a year of library science, I worked in the public library as well as the college library, saved enough

Jones: money so that when an opportunity came to join two young women and go to Europe I knew that this was something that I very much wanted to do. In fact, the urge to see more of the world than my home town had been growing very strong since my reading of many books about far countries and far places.

In particular I was interested in the Near East, and later that interest came to flower when I married a Persian and lived in Persia. However, to go on with my education. First, after one year of college, there was a summer with three months in Europe. I became separated from the people I was with due to a problem in one of my feet, and the fact that I was left alone to travel through a number of countries in Europe at the age of nineteen was an exhilarating challenge and a very fun, independent experience that all turned out well.

Returning home my sophomore year, I selected a college. My father had in mind Mount Holyoke in the East, and we seemed to find its counterpart in Mills College in California. So my sophomore and junior years were spent at Mills College. I was an English major. I took up horseback riding at Mills and again found that there was always a thread leading me away from the classrooms to the hills of then-undeveloped Oakland. And the horseback riding classes meant a great deal to me.

### Cedric Wright

Jones: At the end of my junior year I met a man with whom I became better acquainted, one of the professors on Mills campus who taught violin. His name was Cedric Wright. And one of the happiest facets of his conversations were his descriptions of Sierra Club outings. This was my first contact with the Sierra Club, and it was a strong and a delightful one. I was even invited to the home of his parents and to his own home in Berkeley, where I met other musicians who were Sierra Club members. Among them was Ansel Adams.

Cedric Wright, the violinist; Ansel Adams, the pianist; and Ernst Bacon, the cellist, were an inseparable trio. They were a lot of fun. We had many music parties, many albums of snapshots of Sierra Club trips, and much talk of Sierra Club. [brief tape interruption]

The situation was that Cedric and I were very fond of each other, and I was supposed to join the Sierra Club and perhaps go on a honeymoon with Cedric to the high country. But there was a difference between us in years and in outlook. I was only twenty and he was about thirty, and it wasn't going to work out. And

Jones: then suddenly, a month after we broke our engagement, there came into my life a Persian who was romantic and who swept me off my feet. I left college at the end of my junior year, was married to the Persian, and we went to live in the Persian legation in Washington, D.C., and thereafter to live in New York. And there I became familiar with my Persian husband's background. I understood why he was the strong patriot that he was.

He was a flyer; he had been an aviator with the American army in World War I. With the help of many people, we raised funds for an international flight from the United States to Iran. We set out, we crashed, and thereafter went to California for a year and then to the Far East, where I lived in Burma, in India, and in Iran for two years. [brief tape interruption]

The patriotism did not work out in Iran. We found ourselves back in the United States with the whole Iran story behind us. For seven and a half years I worked in radio, at National Broadcasting Company in New York. And then, after my husband and I were divorced, fortunately an opportunity came up for me to move to California, and happily I came home. [brief tape interruption]

#### Joining the Sierra Club

Jones: Cedric Wright and I had kept up an on-again-off-again correspondence, so as soon as I arrived back in California he said to me, "Now you can join the Sierra Club." Meanwhile, he had married a pianist, and we became friends, and I did indeed join the Sierra Club within a few years. That was the year 1949. [brief tape interruption]

Van Tyne: Why did you join the Sierra Club, Kathy? What were your reasons?

Jones: My reasons were that I was back in my beloved land, and at last I could pick up the threads of something that had been sleeping in my heart all those years, and that was the stories of the joys of the outdoor life as presented to me many years before by Cedric Wright, Ansel Adams, and Ernst Bacon in Berkeley.

Van Tyne: When you came back, you were living in Santa Barbara again, right?

Jones: Yes, I had remarried, and my husband and I, not having children of our own, had adopted six children, and so my home life was a very busy one.



II FOUNDING THE LOS PADRES AND SANTA LUCIA CHAPTERS AND THE SIERRA CLUB COUNCIL

Organizing a Sierra Club Unit in Santa Barbara, 1949

Van Tyne: Let's see, if you were living in Santa Barbara, was there a chapter of the Sierra Club in Santa Barbara in 1949 when you joined?

Jones: No, there was not a chapter in Santa Barbara. There were people whom I met who enjoyed hiking, and we got together and took walks. [brief tape interruption]

Then the discussion came about in this hiking group, "Should we in Santa Barbara County become a unit of the Sierra Club?" We found out that the nearest chapter was way down in Los Angeles County. I said, "I am very busy because my husband I are shepherding the formation of the Santa Barbara County Symphony Society." However, the tug was strong toward the out-of-doors, and a woman named Lemoille Pugh gathered us for a meeting at the Montecito School for Girls. The famous and charming Pearl Chase was present. And I can't remember exactly who else; someone named John Cross, whom we called Jack Cross, was part of that organizational meeting.

And that night, in the Montecito School for Girls, we decided, those of us there, that we would like to become a unit of the Sierra Club. And if I am not mistaken, that was to be called the Santa Barbara Group of the Angeles Chapter of the Sierra Club. We elected Preston Webster as our chairman, and the proper efforts were made to establish us as a Sierra Club unit. [brief tape interruption]

First High Trip, 1949

Jones: The primary reason that I joined the Sierra Club in 1949 was to go on a wonderful high trip with the Sierra Club to the High Sierra. Cedric Wright promoted this, he was my mentor. His wife went on

Jones: many trips and particularly enjoyed helping with commissary. She was not along on this particular trip, but Cedric was along with very heavy camera equipment and was allowed to have a horse to carry it. I enjoyed the fact that he walked slowly enough that there was plenty of time to look around at all the country. We started at Mineral King.

First of all I should say, before the trip he said to my husband, Duncan Jackson, and me, "Do come up to Sequoia and stay at the big cottage which Sierra Club president Francis Farquhar has. We're all going to meet there, and the superintendent of Sequoia National Park will be our guest at dinner the first night and it will be a good chance to start getting acquainted." To me, it was a great eye-opener, these people who were serving the Sierra Club and serving the national park system in true leadership fashion.

At any rate, in the next couple of days we moved on up the canyon to Mineral King, and all the cityfolk left, and we were a wonderfully integrated group. Our leader, Dave Brower, had a way of making all of us feel welcome and important to the success of the total venture of walking for two weeks through the mountains. He was a good leader and played the accordian delightfully.

The two-week trip was a success. Many friendships and acquaintances were made. I can remember walking with Anne Brower and her saying to me, "I believe I am just a little bit pregnant, but I am not getting too tired!"

Let me see, Dr. Tom Jukes was along, and his exploits in the mountains were the subject of one of the evening campfire talks, which made me wish to go on other trips to other canyons and see other summits. [brief tape interruption]

Van Tyne: When you came back, what was happening with this group in Santa Barbara?

Jones: All right. Back in Santa Barbara, during the 1950s, this was the time when our group enjoyed walking so much, enjoying what I had to record of this high trip, set about the plans for hopefully a Sierra Club chapter. Now, I've given the details of that previously. I told how Lemoille Pugh got together the people and how we elected a chairman, and it was in 1952 that we had achieved the--

Formation of the Los Padres Chapter, 1952

Van Tyne: I can fill in the history since I'm also a Los Padres Chapter member and have acquainted myself with the history. The Los Padres Chapter was given chapter status at the board meeting in February of 1952.

Jones: Oh, really.

Van Tyne: Yes. All right, let's talk some about now you have a chapter of your own. What were the activities in the chapter to begin with?

Jones: Well, one of the first things that I wanted to do was to start a chapter bulletin. So under our new chairman, Preston Webster, I was allowed to get out an early bulletin. I believe that they actually called me the "bulletin editor." And the first thing we did in the first issue was to start a contest to name our chapter bulletin.

Van Tyne: But you realize you cannot call any chapter newsletter a "bulletin," only the Sierra Club Bulletin was a bulletin.

Jones: I see, I see. By the third newsletter issue, that contest was won by Nancy Serr.

Van Tyne: You now had a name for your chapter newsletter and it was the Condor Call.

Jones: That's right.

Van Tyne: How long did you edit it?

Jones: I probably edited that into the beginning of the second year. Let's see, 1952. Then our chairman, Preston Webster, probably went to San Francisco to a meeting of the national board of directors in May of 1952, but when he came back from the meeting of May, 1953, I could hardly wait for him to come back. I was so excited about what kind of decisions he would have experienced that the board was making. I had said to him before he left, "As soon as you come back, come right to my house and please tell me everything that went on at the meeting."

He brought me back as a present a beautiful book from himself and his wife of the High Sierra. It was the earliest Ansel Adams book, Yosemite--

Van Tyne: Yosemite and the Range of Light?

Jones: No, no, no. This was a very early one. At any rate, we can fill in that title; I have it here on the shelf. [probably a reference to Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada] And Preston did tell me what went on at the board of directors meeting. Then he said, "And now, I am leaving the chairmanship and you are to be the next chairman of this chapter." And I said, "Oh, no. I don't feel that I have enough information about the club, probably not enough leadership expertise." And he said, "Oh, yes, you have." So that is what happened. The election was held, and I became chairman of the chapter.

Van Tyne: Yes, so you gave up the editorship then?

Jones: I don't remember that I did. I know that we had some kind of a search for an editor, and I cannot remember who became the editor.

Van Tyne: How long were you chairman? You became chairman in '53--

Jones: I was chairman two and a half years, and I've forgotten exactly how the half-year happened.

Van Tyne: You may have changed the date of elections?

Jones: It could be.

Van Tyne: It might well be.

Jones: One of the important things is that during the first part of my chairmanship, I came smack up against the first national Sierra Club preservation campaign and immediately plunged in and took a very active part in that, and that was the protection of Dinosaur National Monument.

#### Organization of the Council, 1956

Van Tyne: Yes, I'd like to really discuss that a little bit later. Let's stay with internal club matters for a while. I believe the Sierra Club Council was started in 1956, and I know you were a delegate from the Los Padres Chapter to the first meeting of that council, and you were elected chairman of the council.

Jones: Yes, the way in which that took place was interesting. I was aware that there had been discussions of having a committee or a group within the national organization of the club which would be a community of chapters so that chapters could share their problems and could take some of the workload off the board of directors. Nate Clark was one of the chief helpers in the organization of the chapter council.

Jones: At any rate, one night coming home from a meeting, Ed Wayburn--I was staying with the Wayburns for a meeting at that time--he said, "Please come in and sit down; I want to talk to you in the living room." And he said, "This group of chapters is a very important entity in the club, and we need someone who will pull it together, all the states, from New York state on through to California. I will be frank. I think that you would make a good council first chairman." And I was quite astonished at this suggestion, and I said, "I will need so much help." And he said, "We will help you. There are many of us who will help you."

Van Tyne: As I remember, there were about twelve chapters then?

Jones: Perhaps. I just don't remember.

Van Tyne: I think there were twelve chapters, and I know that the council was not trying to represent just chapters; it also included representatives from club committees. And I believe there were probably about an equal number of club committees represented. Mountaineering, and at that time there was a national conservation committee, membership committee, lodges and lands, and several other committees.

Jones: And my impression was that able leadership was evident in that first council. One of the people who was very helpful and quite critical was Randal Dickey, and Randal Dickey was the club's national conservation chairman at that time. I appreciated the fact that he would be very outspoken in criticizing the way I'd handled a meeting or the way I'd handled a project. And Ed Wayburn continued to be one of the stalwart people to whom I felt I could always turn.

Van Tyne: He would not have been on the council though. He was on the board, right?

Jones: No, he was not on the council. He was on the sidelines, on the board of directors.

Van Tyne: Was Cicely Christy on the council from the very beginning?

##

Jones: Yes, she was. And Cicely Christy was the most beloved person, I think, of anyone who was on that council. She was helpful, she had good judgement, and, as you have remarked in your oral history, she was a good evaluator of people.

My impression is that the Sierra Club Council did not have rough beginnings, that our meetings went smoothly; they were too long, just too much talk, and this is what happened to chapter executive committee meetings I noticed on the local level.

Jones: At that time--that year of council formation was 1956--it coincided with my family and myself leaving Santa Barbara and moving 130 miles north to be near my husband's ranch lands in Paso Robles, San Luis Obispo County, California. So I was adjusting to a new town in which there was much social life and no interest at all in the out-of-doors, nor in conservation. My first impulse was not to organize a chapter in San Luis Obispo County but to focus on this new responsibility, the Sierra Club Council. Whenever my husband and I took trips I took my typewriter with me and did a great deal of correspondence. [brief tape interruption]

First Council Chairman

Van Tyne: How long were you council chairman?

Jones: I was council chairman two years [1956-1957], and those two years went well. We had a few small impasses, but they were resolved. At the end of two years, I was asked to accept election to the chairmanship for a third year. Cicely Christy talked to me about this and really rather urged me to accept. And I felt very firm that Sierra Club offices should pass around. I was not for long tenures on the board of directors, nor long terms for chapter chairmen. I felt that the club was doing such a creative job that leadership should constantly make itself flexible to receive input from new minds and new enthusiasm, even of new members, because I remembered how new I was to the whole Sierra Club concept when I came into the chairmanship of the Los Padres Chapter.

Van Tyne: Well, now, you were living in Paso Robles. That's in San Luis Obispo County. Was that part of the Los Padres Chapter too?

Jones: No, San Luis Obispo geographically was part of the Los Padres Chapter, which covered then primarily Santa Barbara County (where the bulk of its members were), Ventura County, and San Luis Obispo County.

Van Tyne: But there was no kind of club organization in San Luis Obispo County when you moved there?

Jones: Not even a loose group of hikers who went outdoors together. When I had been chairman of the Los Padres Chapter, I had written letters myself to all outlying members way up in all parts of San Luis Obispo County because they did not come to our meetings, and I wanted them to feel that they were part of us. I encouraged them to come.

Meanwhile, Ventura County did take an active part in the Los Padres Chapter. One reason is that geographically it's closer, it was quicker for people to get to Santa Barbara meetings. There

Jones: was a Sespe Hiking Club in Ojai Valley of Ventura County, which eventually gave up its status as a hiking club and joined the Los Padres Chapter.

Van Tyne: In a body?

Jones: In a body, that's right.

The Sierra Club in San Luis Obispo County

Van Tyne: So since we know that there is a Santa Lucia Chapter that grew out of a Santa Lucia group, I presume you had something to do with the formation of that group. How did that come about? That was in, I think, what, 1961?

Jones: Yes, it was November the ninth, 1961, when a group of us--led by a young graduate student whose name was Jay Holliday, met and decided that we would become a group, a formal group under the Los Padres Chapter.

I wish I could remember all the people who were at that meeting, and I cannot. I would have to go back to the minutes. At any rate, Jay Holliday was young, enthusiastic, he was a biologist, and he was quite willing to accept the chairmanship and did. And I was elected to the vice-chairmanship, and I requested that the first job I would like to do would be to start a bulletin, a monthly newsletter. And no one seemed to want that more than I did.

Writing is one of the things that has come easily to me. In fact, back in my New York days I was active with the Riverside Church and was editor of their youth bulletin.

However, we had a good outings chairman. Page was his name, his wife was Sally Page and I believe she was our first group secretary. And we immediately set about planning a public hike to which we would invite others. And this is a historically interesting point, that the very first outing, held right after New Year's in January, was an outing to the Nipomo Dunes. A man said, "I know just the place for us to go," and he took us to the Great Sand Dunes of south San Luis Obispo County. We met at Oso Flaco Lake and we walked northward. That hike has been conducted every year since, in early January soon after New Year's. This year marked the twenty-second year that it was conducted, and this year is 1983.

Van Tyne: I believe you subsequently became chairman of Santa Lucia?

Jones: Yes, I was chairman for two and a half terms, and the way that happened is that Jay Holliday got a job in biology and left the area after he had been chairman only half a year. So, being vice-chairman, I stepped into the chairmanship.

Let me see, that was the year 1962, and I held the chairmanship for two and a half terms. Now, 1962 was the beginning of our awareness suddenly by a little newspaper article that Pacific Gas and Electric Company--

Club Politics and the Founding of the Santa Lucia Chapter, 1968

Van Tyne: Yes, I'd like to wind up on the Santa Lucia group/chapter, and then go back to some of these conservation things. Were you particularly active in the efforts of the Santa Lucia group to subsequently become a chapter, which it did, as of the first of October, 1968?

Jones: That's interesting that that's the date.

Van Tyne: I was Los Padres chapter chairman at that time. So were you active in--

Jones: I did not want the Santa Lucia group to become a separate chapter. I had been to so many board of directors' meetings, I knew that the Sierra Club board was overloaded with details, and we were a small chapter. I felt that the leadership of the Los Padres Chapter was the best thing for us to follow, that we were not quite ready to fly from the nest. And my chief reason for that was the burden on the national Sierra Club of one more chapter to which to send dues subventions and to pay for a chairman and a council representative to go to the national meetings. It seemed to me that it was putting an unnecessary burden on the national club.

Van Tyne: Well, at that time you had just about 120 members in a county that had a very small population so that there was no likelihood that you were going to have a great mass movement in San Luis Obispo County.

Jones: Yes, I did not envision us growing quickly into a large chapter, and time has proven that this is true. Now, it is interesting in this year 1983 we have one thousand members, but there is not enough total involvement of all those members. I'm thinking of how much we need a new outings chairman because our outings chairman feels that the office should be passed on, and I feel that all the offices should bring in new blood and new ideas. We even have difficulty finding members enough to make up a slate of candidates for election to our chapter executive committee.



Van Tyne: Well, actually, you know, when the Santa Lucia group applied, it had to go through the council first, and the council unanimously voted down chapter status.

Jones: It did what?

Van Tyne: The Sierra Club Council voted against chapter status for the group; it was the board of directors who decided, and that was part of a power struggle that was going on.

Jones: Yes. There's something I want to go back and say. When I became the chairman of the Sierra Club Council--and this should be inserted back at the beginning--my philosophy, which I spoke about at that time frequently, was, "We of the Sierra Club Council are the house-keepers for the Sierra Club. Let us take everything in the way of internal affairs off the hands of the board of directors, everything related to chapters, everything we possibly can that is internal affairs."

Van Tyne: And that of course is what the council is still doing.

Jones: Yes, and this seems to be logical that the best brains, the top leadership of the club, should concern itself with national matters.

Van Tyne: Well, now, I wouldn't say that necessarily the best brains all wound up on the board; I think there are some pretty good ones on the council myself. Out of the council have come some of our best board members.

Jones: Very good. You know more about that than I do. I haven't followed that as much as you have.

Van Tyne: Like Kent Gill, who had been the council chairman and became board president, is I think one of the best we've had.

Are you still active in the Santa Lucia group?

Jones: Santa Lucia Chapter!

Van Tyne: Chapter. I'm sorry.

#### Activities in the Chapter

Jones: Yes, I am. I represent their interest in the state parks acquisition of the Nipomo Dunes, eighteen miles of our beautiful shoreline.

Van Tyne: Yes, I just wondered whether you participated much in chapter activity now or not.

Jones: I am seventy-five now, and a half. Because of the distance that I live from the meetings of the chapter, I live a round trip of about thirty-seven, thirty-eight miles, I live even further than that from conservation committee meetings, I do not any longer go regularly up to San Luis Obispo for meetings of the executive committee and the conservation committee. Once in a while I go, particularly if there's an emergency related to the dunes or some other emergency. I do take part in other Sierra Club concerns of a conservation nature. Sometimes this is tied in with the California Native Plant Society.

For instance, there was a tremendous development planned in an area where the water problem is very critical, where there are rare and endangered plants, and the Sierra Club didn't want the development, the California Native Plant Society chapter in San Luis Obispo County did not want the rare, endangered plants to be disturbed by this development, so I sometimes almost wear two hats, but I do work for both organizations. And the organizations work well together.

#### First Conservation Efforts of the Los Padres Chapter

Van Tyne: We've talked about the internal organization, and you've been involved in it from a way back, let's go back to some of the conservation activities that were going on all this time. You mentioned earlier the first national campaign on which you worked. It was to save Dinosaur National Monument from dams. Do you want to talk a little bit about that?

Jones: Well, this is very personal. I was chairman of the Los Padres Chapter, and we had at that time 150 members, and I decided that the most effective thing I could do was to write a personal letter to each one. I handwrote 150 letters, and I decided that I would do it all day and all night and keep on until I finished. And to each one I said, "I am writing 150 letters tonight, asking you to write five." And I gave them the names and addresses of people to write to, who should be influenced.

In that campaign, one of the things we did was to get Martin Litton to come to Santa Barbara. We secured a very large public hall, the Armory. His pictures of Dinosaur were exciting, and the music was the music of Die Walküre, and it was so effective. Oh, you just felt as if you were hurtling down that river. Now, we didn't charge for that; that was pure come-one-come-all. And if I remember correctly, we did fill that hall.

Van Tyne: Did you get any members from that campaign?

Jones: That I cannot remember.

Van Tyne: This was really the first time the Sierra Club was making a public bow here.

Jones: Yes. And, oh yes, I do want to mention that from the moment I became active in the Sierra Club, from the Los Padres Chapter days, I decided that the media was important. This may have come from my work in radio in New York. I was familiar with media channels, and so I made it a point to go to the newspaper, invite a reporter to come, and if they said they couldn't come, offer to sit down and discuss details of some problem, whether it was a housing development or Dinosaur National Monument. And this has been one of the most valuable efforts of my entire conservation life so far.

Van Tyne: Was the chapter active on local issues, or did it have to be big national things before they got involved?

Jones: You mean in Santa Barbara?

Van Tyne: In Santa Barbara.

Jones: I do remember going to a Forest Service hearing, and I am not sure whether it meant altering Forest Service boundaries or what it was. I would have to go way back in--

Van Tyne: I just wondered how much the chapter may have been doing on local issues.

Jones: But one thing also which I personally believe in and tried to explain to the chapter at that time and follow through on was the fact that I believed we should make friends with public entities such as the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. And early in my days as chairman I made an appointment and went to the office of the supervisor of Los Padres National Forest and sat down and talked with him about our problems. In those days it seems to me that the condor problem was being discussed in the 1950s.

Van Tyne: It probably was.

Jones: And Gus Rickel was a very fine supervisor of Los Padres National Forest. He became a Sierra Club member. Our friendship continued until his death. The years went by and it pleased me when Bill Hanson, for instance, supervisor of Los Padres National Forest, became a member too, because this was one of the things that I had worked on.

Van Tyne: Well, it pleased me when Bill became a member, also. I was his sponsor.

Jones: Whether or not we can always agree is less important than the fact that we can talk together, without hitting each other! [brief tape interruption]

Wilderness in the Los Padres National Forest

Van Tyne: I guess you would have left Santa Barbara by the time the San Rafael Wilderness came up.

Jones: I had moved away from Santa Barbara, but I went back for the San Rafael Wilderness hearings. I attended and gave testimony for the wilderness.

Van Tyne: The Wilderness Act, of course, was passed in 1964.

Jones: And 1964 was such an important year, but before that I had been very aware of wilderness. I had walked, not only hiked with groups, led overnights, led week-long trips back in the San Rafael Wilderness, but I had led groups up into the Ventana Wilderness of Monterey County. I used to take my children, even though they were very young, into Monterey County to camp, and I had a feeling that we should reach out for wilderness wherever we could find it or wherever it could happen some day, such as Lopez Canyon here in San Luis Obispo County.

When I came to San Luis Obispo County one of my first urgencies was, "I must get to know this Lopez Canyon; it could be a wilderness some day."

Van Tyne: Were you active in the work to get--

Jones: Actually I would say I was not--

Van Tyne: Isn't it called the Santa Lucia Wilderness now?

Jones: Yes, the Santa Lucia Wilderness.

Van Tyne: But originally I remember it being referred to as Lopez Wilderness.

Jones: Yes. I would say that I played a minor role, except that I did go to hearings and give testimony about the San Rafael Wilderness because I knew it so well. I could get up and say, "I know this land. I've been there on foot, and I've taken others there."

The same was true of the Ventana Wilderness in Monterey County, which is also within the very large Los Padres National Forest; I had been there on foot; I'd camped there with my family, with others;

Jones: I had urged people to go there; so I went up to Salinas to hearings on that, and I wrote letters. But as far as doing a great deal as an activist, that is not true.

With regard to the Santa Lucia Wilderness, which originally was called the Lopez Canyon Wilderness, I took a great part in it at first--that is in the late 1950s and some of the 1960s. I led trips that were rather unusual trips. We would start at one end of the canyon way to the north on top of Cuesta Ridge; people would hike down into the canyon and through the three-mile length, and then we would have this twenty-mile shuttle to pick them up at the bottom, so that people would become familiar with particularly Lopez Canyon itself. Although living in San Luis Obispo County, hiking a great deal, I did know the country well and I knew all the area which was hopefully to be included in what was eventually called the Santa Lucia Wilderness.

Van Tyne: And that came about, I believe, in 1980?

Jones: Oh, before that. The bill in Congress requesting wilderness designation was signed by President Carter in February, 1978.

Van Tyne: You said you worked hard for the Lopez Wilderness only at first?

Jones: Well, the reason that I didn't work harder on it later on is because way back in the sixties when there became such stress in our chapter over whether or not PG&E should build their atomic power plant down in the sand dunes--

Van Tyne: Yes, and we'll talk about the Nipomo Dunes later.

Jones: But this ties in with this wilderness. We had an agreement. Lee Wilson and I had a great, hot argument about the dunes one day in his pickup, going up to the Lopez Wilderness for a group hike, and I said, "I have an idea, Lee. Why don't you work on the Lopez Canyon Wilderness. I will work on the sand dunes. You stay out of the sand dune campaign, I'll stay out of your Lopez Canyon campaign, but I want you to know I support you all the way." And, up to a point, this was carried out. I do not feel that he carried out his part of the bargain as much as he should have. He did too much talk against state park status for the dunes, and he favored the dunes as a location for PG&E's nuclear plant rather than Diablo Canyon.

Van Tyne: Right now, the Santa Lucia Chapter is pushing hard for the Machesna Mountain wilderness, aren't they?

Jones: Yes, and if only they would include the Garcia Mountain wilderness.

Van Tyne: Haven't they?

Jones: No, not any longer. Garcia Mountain has been dropped out of the bill, and they don't mention it anymore, and the reason is--

Van Tyne: Well, is that a political reason?

Jones: It's an effort to get the wilderness at all. If we ask for both Garcia and Machesna, the feeling is that we'll lose all of it. So they settled on just Machesna, but as for Garcia Mountain, here again, I've walked over it, I've backpacked over it, led others there, and both of these areas I know. They are both de facto wilderness of quality. Lee Wilson is doing, I understand, a good job on this wilderness in San Luis Obispo County. He has traveled to Washington, D.C., at his own expense to promote wilderness here! I wish it could go even further. I wish our wilderness efforts could include Freeborn Mountain and Hubbard Hill, but because a road runs between them, they don't exactly qualify; they're both BLM land over in California Valley at the east side of San Luis Obispo County.

But, you know, there should be a category for such places. Freeborn Mountain is just a marvelous mountain. It's on the edge of California Valley, and Hubbard Hill adjoins it.

### III NIPOMO DUNES, DIABLO CANYON, PG&E, 1962-1983

#### First Threat to the Dunes##

Van Tyne: We mentioned something about the Dunes. Let's really talk about it now, the whole campaign, what it started with, when it started, all the things that have been involved. I know there's Diablo Canyon, there's the sand mining, there's ORV use of state parks, and so on and so forth. But you take it from the beginning.

Jones: All right, I will. The Santa Lucia Group of the Los Padres Chapter noticed a little item, a very small item not more than about three inches long in a local San Luis Obispo County newspaper that Pacific Gas and Electric Company had bought land in south San Luis Obispo County where they had hopes of building an atomic power plant. (I believe that's what we called it in those days.) This was in the year 1962. Immediately, we in the club who had been to the dunes for the first walk of the Santa Lucia group down at Oso Flaco Lake in January of 1962 were alerted and alarmed. Those beautiful sand dunes, would that become an industrial complex?

There were those who said, "Well, Union Oil Company has the Santa Maria Refinery in the dunes." "Well," others answered, "that's back on the edge of Highway 1." "Well, it's still dunes. How is the land down there zoned?" And we went to the planning department; it was zoned M2. M2 is the heaviest, stinkiest, noisiest, dustiest type of industry, the most polluting, the most undesirable imaginable, and that was the category of zoning which was on the entire dune area. By the entire dune area, let's talk about from Pismo Beach in general down to Mussel Point in Santa Barbara County, because that is one continuous stretch of dunes, even though it is pierced by the Santa Maria River which divides Santa Barbara County and San Luis County, and it is pierced by Oso Flaco Creek and by Arroyo Grande Creek. And its northern boundary is Pismo Creek at the city of Pismo.

Jones: This newspaper item stimulated our talk to the extent that on any hike which I went on, and I went on practically every one that the Santa Lucia group had, I brought up this matter of a PG&E proposal to build an atomic power plant in the dunes as a discussion during lunch period. And then I would go to a newspaper, either the Paso Robles newspaper or the San Luis Obispo Telegram Tribune, and I developed a correspondence relationship with the south county paper, the Five-Cities' Times-Press-Recorder that covered Pismo Beach, Shell Beach, Grover City, Oceano, and Arroyo Grande, as well as Nipomo. That was 1962.

And the point of going to the newspapers with my comments during a lunch period on a hike was to constantly get nagging little items into public attention that a group of Sierra Club people was concerned about this purchase of land, of PG&E buying 1100 acres from the Union Oil Company, dune land that ran all the way from Highway 1 to the beach.

And we discussed the land. We said, "How clever. The point of the land touches Highway 1, a highway that they can make use of in their industrial plans. It crosses the railroad, the Southern Pacific mainline; how clever, they have the use of the railroad. And it touches the ocean, and they are saying that they need water for cooling, and that's where they're going to get it, out of the ocean."

We went down and had a look at the land at one point. And '62 became '63, and in January of '63 there was a group of realtors who had a shoreline development organization. They didn't exactly say they were realtors; they gave the impression that they were interested in the beauty of the coast. The luncheon had as one speaker a man from Sacramento, the state Department of Parks and Recreation who was head of public information; he was called the educational director of state Parks and Beaches, which at that time was called California State Parks and Beaches.

#### PG&E Attempts to Get Support

Jones: I was invited to this luncheon and asked to sit at the speaker's table beside this man from the state parks, who was the speaker of the luncheon in Morro Bay. He talked about the values of shoreline and beauty of shoreline and that it should all be state parks. He and I had good conversation during lunch. Also in his talk he spoke well.



Jones: Then, as I left the speaker's table and was going down through the room, a man came up to me, and then there were four men with him surrounding me; and the man who approached me said, "Are you Mrs. Jackson of Paso Robles?" And I said, "Yes." And he said, "You're the one who has been putting some items in newspapers about the plans of PG&E for an atomic power plant down in the sand dunes, in that wasteland down at the south end of the county, the sand dunes?" And I said, "Yes, who are you?" And he looked around at the other men and he said, "We are PG&E." And I said, "Great, let's get acquainted." And he said, "Well, that's what we'd like to do. We would like to come to your home and talk it over with you sometime."

And I said, "Well, I'd like to talk it over with you, but not at my home and not by myself. I would suggest that you come to a Sierra Club meeting of the executive committee of the Santa Lucia group of the Los Padres Chapter." And they looked at each other, and the speaker said, "I don't think that would work out, that might involve too many people." And I said, "Well, then how about coming to a meeting of our conservation committee, because our concern is a conservation one. These are not only scenic dunes, but they're scientifically valuable." And he said, "Well, there again it involves a committee." And I said, "Well, you're a group." And he said, "Well, just two of us could come." And I said, "Well, then the conservation chairman and somebody from the committee and myself." And he said, "I don't know."

I said, "Have you ever been down on your land in the dunes?" He said, "I haven't," and he turned to the other men, and none of them had. And I said, "It seems to me that you really should know what you've got down there; it's just remarkable. I'm going to suggest that the conservation chairman of our chapter and I invite you on a trip down onto your land." And he said, "Well, we'll have to think about that." And I said, "Yes, let's do it." So he said, "We'll go back to San Francisco, and we'll be in touch with you within ten days."

This came about. And on the day of the trip, the conservation chairman and I met this man, whose name was Kenneth Diercks, and PG&E's lands acquisition manager or land manager from their San Francisco office.

We went to their office in San Luis Obispo and met them there. We left our car there, and we went in their car down to Oso Flaco Lake. I had told them the night before when they came to town, I had called them and said, "Be sure to wear some comfortable outdoor clothes and comfortable shoes. I suggest tennis shoes. And we'll see you."

Jones: We met them there. They had new cotton slacks and new tennis shoes, but no hats. We started walking. We walked from Oso Flaco Lake northward for three miles until we got to their land. Meanwhile, it was a beautiful day; God was pouring everything into our lap to make a display of their land to them. From their land, which we walked about on a little bit, and it was a beautiful piece and part of it still is except for off-road vehicles, then we went out to the beach and circled back to Oso Flaco, altogether a walk of about seven miles--and they were pretty bushed; they were so red with sunburn that it wasn't funny!

And we got into their car; we were all hungry, and we went to the Far Western Restaurant in nearby Guadalupe, which was only three miles down Highway 1. We all ordered, and I said to them, "Now, we are picking up our own check of course." And they said, "Oh, no, you're our guests." And I said, "No, let it never be said that you took us on a trip down to your land and then you bought us lunch, because anything that we would say could be confusing." This was the beginning of the battle.

The next thing that happened that's material is that I definitely kept on talking at all public meetings about the beauty of this land and the determination to build a great industrial complex where it didn't belong.

But the next thing that very soon happened was an offer in 1964 I think it was. No, it was 1963, by PG&E. They said, "We would like to take you to see our Humboldt plant, which is going to be atomically powered" (or going to be powered with nuclear fuel) "to allay your fears." I should mention meanwhile Fred Eissler in Santa Barbara had taken it upon himself to help me with a great deal of educative printed material about the horrors of atomic power plant failures and atomic power plant accidents in various places in the world. One in Idaho, one in England, I can remember, because they were very graphically described.

And I was extremely disquieted about the type of industry that this was, and I could understand why they were choosing such a remote part of our county for their industrial project.

Van Tyne: Did the club have any position on nuclear power at that time?

Jones: Oh, no, not any. In fact, among the public I would say that there was quite a division of attitude. Many people looked upon nuclear power as a godsend, that this was some clean, new thing that was coming out of a mineral in the earth and that it was going to replace struggles for gas and struggles for electricity and it was going to save building dams in our precious high country, the Sierra Nevada. We would no longer have dams for electric power, we could just have these industrial plants at different places.

Jones: Then there were a few people who had the message, which apparently Fred Eissler was in touch with, because he constantly sent me information, and it seemed to be documentary in type. It was serious enough that it was most disquieting. And I naturally passed this on to PG&E. We established a relationship, particularly with Kenneth Diercks and myself.

Meanwhile, there came into my hands in early 1963, it could have been late 1962, a booklet called A Visit to the Atomic Park, written by David E. Pesonen, who I understood was a graduate student at UC Berkeley in forestry, and he had taken it upon himself to oppose PG&E at Bodega Bay. And this booklet was an account of that struggle. And Kenneth Diercks was one of the chief characters who took part in those negotiations. Apparently, he was therefore assigned by the company to me.

Now, I don't want to give the implication that I am the only one who worked on the idea of preservation of the dunes, because there was help from many quarters. But first I'll go on with this trip briefly.

Kenneth Diercks, representing PG&E, said, "We will take you to Eureka to see our Humboldt power plant, and you may invite any five people you wish. We will fly you up there, and we'll show you the plant, and your fears will be allayed. [brief tape interruption when telephone rings]

So I invited first of all Fred Eissler, and he said, "Definitely no, I will not go on such a trip, and if you go you will be snowed completely, and you will be in their nuclear bag." Secondly, I invited our conservation chairman of the Santa Lucia group, who accepted. I invited my husband, Duncan Jackson, who has an astute mind and was interested in the project. And I invited our state senator, Vernon Sturgeon, who happened to have been a friend of ours in Paso Robles. And I invited various other people in our Santa Lucia group of the Los Padres Chapter of the Sierra Club.

Without going into a great deal of detail, we went to San Francisco and were put on an airplane with Kenneth Diercks, and we went to Humboldt and were given a very nice time and lovely hospitality. We went to the atomic power plant, put on white suits, and were treated with great care, which couldn't help but make an impression. The whole experience filled one with awe at what was going on here chemically. And the grave expressions on the faces of the many young men who were operating the plant gave one pause.

I'd like to jump to another part of this. When we came back in the private airplane with various people related to PG&E, I noticed sitting across the aisle from me a man to whom I'd been

Jones: introduced, who was the safety engineer of the Humboldt plant. And I said to Kenneth Diercks, "May I go over and sit beside Mr. Safety Engineer? I'd enjoy talking to him about a thing or two." And with some hesitation Kenneth Diercks said, "Why, yes." So I said, "Thank you," and went promptly across the aisle in the airplane and sat with the safety engineer, of whom the first question I asked was this: "What is your background for handling such a responsible job as safety engineer of an atomic power plant?" And he said, "I had six months of air conditioning at Cal Poly." That's California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo, California.

I rather caught my breath at this. We continued to talk, but my impression was that the man did not have the education for such a job as the responsibility of a nuclear power plant.

This trip concluded, and as soon as I got home and walked in the door of my house, before I even took off my coat, I telephoned Fred Eissler in Santa Barbara because he was the conservation chairman of the entire Los Padres chapter, to which our Santa Lucia group belonged, and I felt my first obligation was to report to him. I was always reaching for help and for those above me in responsibility within the Sierra Club, because this seemed to me a large and important project.

Fred Eissler's response, when I told him about the trip, was, "Well, you have been snowed; I can see that, and I knew that that would happen, and I'm not going to have anything to do with your carryings-on with Pacific Gas and Electric Company."

And I said, "Well, Fred, I have come to a very difficult decision on this trip coming home from Humboldt County, and that is that I do not have physics in my college training, I do not have the scientific background for understanding the hazards of nuclear waste, the threats of nuclear power, but I believe that this campaign can be won on the things that are there and that I do know and that I can recognize. I am going to work on the scientific values and the scenic beauty of the Nipomo Dunes. I am going to do my best to get to know the people in PG&E, and I want them to know Sierra Club people, and I am going to suggest that all of us try to educate PG&E to change their plans and leave the land of San Luis Obispo County alone; eventually, hopefully, dispose of their dune land, and leave it for state park acquisition to be added to what shall be one of the greatest coastal state parks in California, the Pismo-to-Point Sal complex. This has been in the minds of several directors of Parks and Recreation whom I have known, and this is what I plan to do."

He said, "You will fail. Education won't work with PG&E, and therefore I will continue to alert people to the hazards of having nuclear power anywhere around." [brief tape interruption]

Jones: I felt very alone in this campaign, and was very pleased when I was introduced to George Collins and Doris Leonard by Dorothy Varian, I believe she's the one who introduced us. Those three persons, Dorothy, Doris, and George, were the total membership of a private organization called Conservation Associates, which, as I understand it, had from Russell Varian's funds a large basic fund of something like seventy-five million, from the investments of which they had the use for conservation purposes. And they were interested in various conservation projects in many areas. But Conservation Associates became interested in the preservation and protection of the Nipomo Dunes.

#### Education of PG&E'S Representative

Jones: Well, the first piece of education in which I engaged was to invite Kenneth Diercks to accompany me to a meeting of the national Board of Directors of the Sierra Club, and this could have been in '63 or '64, more probably May of '64. At any rate, Kenneth Diercks accepted my invitation with alacrity. We met at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco, and we met early, about forty-five minutes before the meeting was scheduled to start. And I raced around on his elbow, introducing him to everyone whom I knew, particularly the board members.

I introduced him first to the president of the Sierra Club and to other officers, to Dave Brower, the executive director of the club, and so on. I introduced him to other people who were active in the club, and I cannot remember whether Doris Leonard or George Collins or Dorothy Varian were present at that particular meeting, but they very soon came into the picture and gave me a feeling of security and courage, and I felt that we were going to win in our efforts.

Kenneth Diercks was so impressed by the Sierra Club Board of Directors--he said so to me during the coffee break--that when noon-time came he said, "I would like to telephone our tax man, the tax man of PG&E, who at present is located in Sacramento, and invite him to come down for the afternoon session." And I said, "By all means do so. Plan to invite him to stay for the banquet tonight. I wish I could make you my guests, but I'm going to suggest that we keep this on a no-host basis. If you'd like to attend the Sierra Club Annual Banquet, there is still time for me to arrange for places for you two."

Then, during the luncheon period on that day I arranged for Kenneth Diercks to sit at a table where there were some officers of the club. At any rate, I was trying to give him total exposure

Jones: to Sierra Club thinking and ideas. This worked. His tax man came down in the early afternoon and sat through the entire meeting, and they both went to the banquet that night.

This was the beginning of good communications on the top level with PG&E, and they seemed receptive to listening to our urging that they consider looking for another site. Let's stop there. [brief tape interruption]

Conservation Associates then came in prominently. They talked to Union Oil Company officials in Los Angeles because PG&E had bought their dune land from Union Oil Company. Some people in Sierra Club leadership bought PG&E stock, so that they would be kept informed from the inside of any developments within the company. I believe that Doris Leonard acquired PG&E stock, but however that may be, eventually she did sit on the Pacific Gas and Electric Board of Directors, but that was years later.

George Collins, because of his background with the National Parks Service in years past, and Doris Leonard both had extremely sophisticated approaches to negotiating with the officers of PG&E.

And to bring this phase of the matter quickly to conclusion, we were able, with the help of many people, to persuade the utility company to look elsewhere.

Meanwhile, a storm was brewing, because there were people in the south part of San Luis Obispo County who were looking toward the tremendous tax income to the county which would accrue if PG&E built their atomic power plant there. And those who had hopes for increased business from such a large industrial installation were fearful of losing the fat profits they could envision.

Some of the strongest arguments in all of this were arguments on the county schools board of San Luis Obispo County. The schools hoped to get a large slice of this income. They were planning to rearrange school districts so that the money would be apportioned correctly, and they did not like it at all when it was finally announced that PG&E was beginning to look elsewhere.

Then, one of the important meetings that I arranged was for representatives from PG&E in San Francisco to meet with the president of the Sierra Club, who at that time was Dr. William Siri, and we planned a day in the dunes, PG&E and the Sierra Club meeting and talking together.

##

Jones: I, of course, called all the newspapers. I called two radio stations. I lived in Paso Robles at that time; I had a long-distance call from a radio and television station in Santa Maria who said, "Why didn't you include us?" And I said, "Well, you are included. I just didn't realize from your location that you would be that concerned." And they said, "Very definitely, the Santa Maria Times does include concerns for south San Luis Obispo County." And I said, "I didn't realize that television coverage could negotiate the Dunes." And they said, "Oh, yes. We can outfit a van with sand tires, and we can bring our equipment. We'll be there." And the day came, and they were there.

The day came, and Dr. Siri was a guest in my home in Paso Robles. We were up very early and went down to Oso Flaco Lake, and as we climbed the first high ridge of dunes--which since has been worn down by offroad-vehicle recreation--he stopped and was suddenly very quiet as he stared at the vast panorama of the dunes. Then he exclaimed as he threw out his arms wide, "I didn't know it looked like this. It is magnificent!" And we had in the dunes again a beautiful day. We proceeded to hike onward, he and I and others who had joined us: Lela and Bernard Burdett and Lee Wilson and a few others. We hiked northward until we joined PG&E, who had arrived there in sandbuggies provided by the company and offroad-vehicle people.

This was a very exciting and a very fulfilling meeting. We had invited all the county supervisors, and we had suggested that at the conclusion of the meeting in the dunes that all of them and anyone from county offices interested should meet us for lunch at the Spanish Seas restaurant in little Oceano Beach.

This all took place. The trip was a success, the luncheon was a success, and out of it came the final decision on the part of PG&E to look elsewhere for a site for their atomic power plant. This was one of the high points. [brief tape interruption]

That night, following the great meeting in the dunes, the Santa Lucia Group/Chapter held its annual banquet at the Golden Tee Restaurant in Morro Bay. The capacity of the restaurant was said to be under 200, but we seated 204 at dinner. Kenneth Diercks and representatives of PG&E made reservations and attended. Sierra Club president Will Siri spoke well and was enthusiastically applauded. The whole day had been a success.

For three days in a row there were pictures on the front page of the leading county newspaper, the San Luis Obispo Telegram Tribune: pictures of the dunes, of the meetings, and of many of the participants in these doings.

PG&E Seeks a New Site at Diablo Canyon

Jones: Following the meeting in the sand dunes, almost a convocation with all the interested parties, came PG&E's first choice when they began to look. Representatives of the company came to the south county area by prearrangement on a special trip with the Conservation Associates, and we drove down to the Santa Maria River area where the Guadalupe oil field covers over 3,000 acres, leased by Union Oil for a good many years in that area from the Leroy estate.

And PG&E said, "How about our selecting a piece of land here and sharing it with Union Oil?" And my first inclination was to say, "Well, this is so covered with oil wells and derricks right now, why wouldn't that be a good idea?" But George Collins quickly pointed out that the oil would be gone before the year 3000.

Van Tyne: 3000 or 2000?

Jones: 3000, because we're approaching the year 2000 now. He said in another fifty to seventy-five years the oil would be gone, or at least in a hundred years, and therefore we should hope that the machinery would be withdrawn and that the wind would restore the dunes as they naturally should be.

PG&E gave up the idea of considering the area beside the Santa Maria River, and the next place that they came up with a suggestion about was Wild Cherry Creek Canyon on Marre property; that creek empties into Avila Bay. And the first reaction of some people in the county was, "Oh great, then we'll have warm water emptying into Avila Bay; it will become a much more attractive swimming and resort area." But the owner of the property, Mr. Marre, decided that he did not want to look down from the windows of his home onto an atomic power plant complex, as he would do in Wild Cherry Creek Canyon.

PG&E moved up the coast, and they found Diablo Canyon, also owned by a combination of Mr. Marre and Mr. O.C. Fields, and there there seemed to be less opposition from almost every quarter locally. The county was very glad to have the tax base which would come.

I had led a shoreline trip to the mouth of the Diablo Canyon. We had looked briefly over our shoulders and had seen nothing but closely cropped, closely grazed hillside. We had not seen oak trees nor woodland, so we had taken it for granted that the canyon winding back, inland from where we were, was probably as barren as the coastal marine terrace where we stood. We proceeded to conduct our shoreline walk out at the cliff edge of the barren overgrazed marine terrace. And that was the first knowledge we had of the



Jones: area of Diablo Canyon. It is true there was a tremendous scenic rock, Lion Rock, off the coast, where this tiny, little creek, Diablo Canyon Creek, made its sluggish, muddy way down between the barren hillsides with cattle grazing on both sides. In fact I referred to the deep gully of that sluggish creek, moving slowly to the ocean, as a "slot" in California coastal marine terrace land, a description for which I was pilloried by Dave Brower and Martin Litton. [brief tape interruption]

A storm broke over the national Sierra Club with regard to Diablo Canyon, and Martin Litton took photographs which exaggerated the size of the great oak trees in this canyon. They were very large; they were fine oak trees; and I myself, on the conducted trips which followed, taking anyone who cared to come along on an outing to see Diablo Canyon, became aware that here was a beautiful canyon which I had not realized the existence of in my hiking on the barren marine terrace.

Van Tyne: But isn't it true--and this I felt got overlooked at that time-- that there was no public access to this part of the coast--

Jones: Correct.

Van Tyne: --there was no road, the highway department had no intention of building a road around that part of the county, and there might be this beautiful area, but nobody would ever see it. Because the impression that was given, it seemed to me, by people like Martin and Fred and Dave was that there was this marvelous area, and we were losing so much. People generally were not losing anything that they ever would have had a chance to see. Isn't that true?

Jones: That is true. However, the state Department of Parks and Recreation had talked for some years past about a scenic road which would continue along the edge of the coast of California, and we had heard rumors, very light rumors, that maybe someday land would be acquired to have Highway 1 follow through the O.C. Fields property and the Marre property. Now, in the 1960s, both those landowners were very much opposed to this idea.

However, I would like to say that even though I recognized that here was a fine California coastal canyon, as a Californian I had been in, and I have been in, many, many fine oak canyons up and down the coast of California. And I realized that this was one of them, but that this was not the only one, and it was not the last of its kind. But I will say when I went to a meeting down in Oxnard and saw the beautiful photographs done by Martin Litton I really had misgivings that maybe I had been the cause of PG&E looking into an area that maybe should be left alone. These were my honest feelings. I felt very disturbed.

Jones: I wrestled with my conscience all the way that night driving back 165 miles from Oxnard to Paso Robles; and although it was long past midnight, I sat down and wrote a letter that night. I believe I addressed it to Martin Litton, or did I address it to Fred Eissler? No, it was to Martin. At any rate, I was extremely disturbed last year to have sentences and paragraphs lifted out of the context of that letter by an article that was published in Friends of the Earth magazine. And prior to that, a man associated with an organization in San Francisco, which was researching the history of the selection of Diablo Canyon for an atomic power plant telephoned me; he called me repeatedly on a number of occasions; we had long telephone calls on his nickel, and he tried to pry out of me the fact that I promoted or suggested that PG&E look at Diablo Canyon.

This I never did. I didn't have really that much knowledge about it, and I always had the feeling when PG&E representatives might have said to me in conversation, "Well, where can we go?" that I took Dr. Will Siri's words when he said, "We environmentalists are in the business of protecting land. We are not in the business of selecting sites for energy plants." I think that's an accurate and a fine statement. And I used it for my replies.

At any rate, writing under stress and emotion that night, having seen these fabulous photographs of Martin Litton's, I am not sure of everything that I did put into that letter, but it was used supposedly against me, shall we say, in months and years that followed. It was quite surprising to have it come out in the year 1982. And I said in my response to the young man from San Francisco, "Why exhume these dreadful memories? It was a time of great divisiveness in the Sierra Club, an organization that does a monumental job of protecting the earth, and I feel that it is untimely and unnecessary to exhume such details."

Hearings were held by PG&E. I took part in those hearings. Dr. Hoover of the Sierra Club and the California Native Plant Society took part in those hearings. An outstanding and gifted botanist, Mrs. Clare Hardham of Paso Robles, who did know the vegetation of Diablo Canyon well, took part in those hearings. And my opinion was that there were many oak tree canyons on the coast of California, and that I personally would not oppose PG&E's use of Diablo Canyon. I felt that the saving of the dunes, which was a far more unique, which is a unique and certainly a more unique piece of the earth than Diablo Canyon, was the place of primary concern, and that I was going to focus my attention on the continuing protection and preservation of the Nipomo Dunes.

Other Threats to the Dunes

Jones: There were other threats to the Nipomo Dunes. These other threats to the dunes were the proposal to establish a sand mine in the Mussel Rock dune complex, which at that period was called the Guadalupe Dunes area--it is close to the Santa Maria River on the south bank of the river--by the Gordon Sand Mining Company of El Segundo in southern California.

We heard that this sand mine was proposed. Some of us went down there and hiked over the land, recognized that this indeed was a beautiful area of the dunes which should not have industry located in its midst. Walking around in the dunes one day I met Mr. Gordon himself, in a jeep, and he said, "What are you doing here?" And I said, "I'm just looking around because there's a proposal to put a sand mine here." And he said, "Well, I'm Mr. Gordon. It's my idea to put a sand mine here. Jump in my jeep, and I'll show you around."

So he drove me all over the dunes and showed me where his boundaries would be if he was able to buy the land which he had in mind. And he was very smart. He decided that he would buy a piece of land which was diagonal in the direction of the north-west winds, so that even though he should dig sand out at the inland end of this long, narrow plot, that the wind would continually supply him with more sand.

He said, "Why don't you come to our house to patio supper tonight, and I'll show you maps of the area." And I said, "Well, that's nice of you but I don't really feel that I need to come." And he said, "Oh, but I think you should be well informed about this if you're going to oppose it." And I said, "Well, I have a friend with me waiting in the car." He said, "Bring the friend too."

So my friend and I went to the patio party, and he showed me the maps, showed me all his plans, and he proudly showed me rows of houses which took the place of the El Segundo Dunes which he and his father had taken down with sand mining. And he said, "That's what we should have in these Guadalupe Dunes. We should take out the sand and have rows of houses so that people can live there and look at the fine ocean."

We opposed this vigorously at each hearing. It meant that people from San Luis Obispo County had to drive south one hundred miles to Santa Barbara County courthouse for the hearings. Mr. Gordon maintained, by quoting the lines etched on the county courthouse, "God hath provided the land, man hath builded the town." And he stated that was what he was setting out to do.

Jones: The total result of the hearings, which many people attended, and we were well supported by the Sierra Club in both Santa Barbara County and San Luis Obispo County, was, nevertheless, business as usual that won out. And the decision, on the part of Santa Barbara County, was to give a permit for the sand mine, but to require mitigation measures such as aerial photographing periodically and that no native vegetation should be disturbed. Some testimony was given by a geologist from the University of California at Santa Barbara and both by a botanist and a geologist. At any rate, that sand mining by Gordon Sand Mining Company was one of the threats. That was in 1966.

Now, an earlier threat which I should touch on, happened back in probably--Well, maybe in that same year, 1966. The successful state park bond issue of 1964, and there have been several state park bond issues through these last twenty years, had set aside a large amount of money to purchase the dunes southward from Pismo Beach as far as the money could reach.

Business people of south San Luis Obispo County, led by an ambitious developer-supervisor named Lyle Carpenter, went in a busload to Sacramento and pled with the Department of Parks and Recreation to delete the Nipomo Dunes entirely from the state list of proposed acquisitions.

This became a somewhat major campaign during the time that we worked on it. Our great effort was to restore the words "the Nipomo Dunes" to the state's list of planned future acquisitions of land to enlarge and enhance Pismo State Beach Park...and to continue working toward the big dream, the great concept of a major coastal state park, eighteen miles of nearly pristine dunes, beaches, tide pools in a sweep of coastline, from Pismo State Beach on the north, to Little Point Sal State Beach on the south (in northern Santa Barbara County).

In 1966 a significant meeting of the State Park Commission was held in Santa Barbara, and we environmentalists in the Sierra Club made a great effort to surround the state park commissioners with information about the dunes: about their beauty, about their scientific value, and about a variety of values, about even their economic value as a tourist attraction. And Martin Litton was very helpful. He brought a Sunset magazine airplane and took some of the commissioners from Santa Barbara flying over the Nipomo Dunes; and there couldn't have been a more exquisite, more perfect and heavenly day for anyone to look down upon this white and wind-sculptured wilderness, laced with green glades, graced with blue lakes, which should be California's greatest coastal state park.

The result in the State Park Commission meeting the next day was that Commissioner Margaret Wentworth Owings made a fine presentation to the effect that these dunes, all of them, should

Jones: be a state park, that the state park should extend clear to Point Sal State Beach. Other members of the commission who had had the good fortune to be flown over the dunes by Martin Litton concurred. And all we were asking was not anything as deep as, "Please put money back into the budget for purchasing this," but our plea was, "Leave the Nipomo Dunes as a live issue. Restore the words 'the Nipomo Dunes' to the state parks acquisition list," which was done. I believe that there was one dissenting vote of a businessman, who felt that probably the land should be left for industry to develop. At any rate, the matter we'd come for was consummated.

Then the third struggle I remember was about 1967 or even '68, and that was the announcement of the plans of Collier Carbon and Chemical Corporation, a subsidiary of Union Oil Company, to build a coking conveyor from their plant beside the Santa Maria refinery of Union Oil (located on Highway 1 at the eastern edge of the Nipomo Dunes) out to the ocean, and to build a commercial wharf in that turbulent surf where ocean-going freighters could pick up the petroleum coke, which was manufactured by Collier Carbon and Chemical Corporation out of the waste from the refining process of the heavy crude which was handled by Santa Maria refinery. The crude was sent by pipeline from the Guadalupe oil field of the Leroy lease on the San Luis Obispo County side of the Santa Maria River, a distance of six or seven or eight miles, ten miles, from the Guadalupe oil field to the Santa Maria refinery.

This heavy crude was made into petroleum coke, I mean the residue from the refinery process was made into petroleum coke, which was being shipped at that time by Collier Carbon and Chemical Corporation on gondola cars on the Southern Pacific railroad to Stockton, where the product was put on commercial freighters to many ports in the world. It went to many ports in this country, and was used in the manufacture of nylon stockings; it went to Japan for use in fertilizers; it went to India; it went to Egypt even. And the hope of Collier Carbon was to evade this trouble of loading gondola cars with petroleum coke, which posed a dust problem. Collier Carbon was required to spray their coke, and finally to control coke dust they were required to cover all their gondola cars.

They wanted to make a coking conveyor across our white dunes, and we knew exactly what that would mean. That would mean coking dust, black dust, scattered on white dunes a distance of three or four miles across to the ocean. We had reason to believe that the wharf would be a failure and would litter our coast and maybe prove a hazard because the Army Corps of Engineers stated, "No wharf has ever lasted an adequate lifetime on that turbulent coast."

Jones: But that year that this proposal was in the talking stage and in the newspapers Collier Carbon erected a mockup out in the sand dunes of just exactly what their conveyor would be like; they wanted to test it for weather resistance. And we found it, and we led trips so that people could come and have a look at it. I led a trip every Sunday afternoon for about a year. This weekly outing was called "Sunday in the Dunes," and our newspaper and radio publicity invited people to come down to Oso Flaco Lake and walk up in the dunes and see the mockup. It was a short walk, and hundreds and hundreds of people thought this was a pleasant way to spend Sunday afternoon.

The manager of the Santa Maria refinery and the manager of Collier Carbon and Chemical Corporation came to many of those sessions and stood on either side of the mockup and listened to everything I said, and then I invited them to make their input. One of the results of that acquaintance was that both men became members of the California Native Plant Society! One was an excellent botanist. That was George Snyder and he put together the first substantial list of the flora of the sand dunes. A fine job. The other one was married. They were the Fords. Mary Ford, also was a fine botanist, and they became quite valuable members of the California Native Plant Society.

Van Tyne: Well, what happened with the--

Jones: Finally, a public announcement came: there was not to be any coke transportation there across the dunes after all. But it was not the environmentalists actually who caused this; it was Southern Pacific Railroad, who saw themselves losing a lot of business if the coking conveyor was built, and they said, "You shall not build a coking conveyor up and over the Southern Pacific mainline and out to the dunes." End of story. You might as well stop it there, unless you have a question.

Van Tyne: Is that all the threats there have been? Well, ORV use, that's a little more detailed with--

Jones: Before we get into discussing the very real threat of ORV destructive recreation in the dunes, I think we ought to touch on the unhappy dissension that arose within the Sierra Club at the national level in 1969. Others who are giving oral history tapes must have gone into this sad, internal Sierra Club turmoil. So many truly fine and noble letters were written by our club leaders, commenting on the apparently devious happenings of that time. We were all distressed. I wrote a letter which was my statement of conviction about the controversy over the value of saving Diablo Canyon or of saving the Nipomo Dunes. I believe it may be appropriate to include that statement here. I titled it CORRECTION: JOHN MUIR WOULD VOTE NO. [see page ]

Van Tyne: Yes, that was a distressing time, those elections of 1969. And now can we discuss the threat of ORV recreation to the dunes?

ORVs and the Dunes##

Jones: There have been times when the environmental interests and organizations and the off-road vehicle organizations have had marvelous communication and have actually had a line of approach to problems in the dunes which completely agreed. The trouble has been that since the Santa Lucia Sierra Club chapter was organized in this county and since we began to go out in the dunes with more frequent walks, likewise off-highway vehicle recreation has proliferated.

And only within the last few years the introduction of the ATC, the all-terrain cycle made in Japan, has simply exploded the problems of the off-highway vehicle. So often the ATCs are operated by children and by irresponsible persons who may not really be capable or responsible enough to have and operate a motorcycle, beach buggy, a four-wheel-drive jeep, or a four-wheel-drive pickup. The proliferation has not been by the hundreds, it has been by the thousands.

Too many of the off-road vehicle people encountered in the dunes, when you say, "Hi, did you know this is a restricted area?" and they say, "Oh, is it?" And I say, "There are signs out there," from the direction from which they'd come. Or I say, "What organization do you belong to or what motorcycle club?" "We don't belong to anything." And I say, "Well, you should, because they have good information about the places that you're permitted to drive and the places you aren't." I am not tied in with enforcement activities of the state Department of Parks and Recreation, but I have let trespassers know that there is a heavy fine for being caught in the restricted areas.

Back in the reign of William Penn Mott, Jr., as director of the state Department of Parks and Recreation, it became evident that some kind of management plan, directed specifically at off-highway vehicles, should be brought into the management plan for Pismo State Beach. Therefore, when the time came that PG&E wanted their sand dunes land either bought back by Union Oil or bought by the state Department of Parks and Recreation, Mr. Mott said, "We would like to buy a sizable parcel and turn it over primarily to off-road vehicle use.

So the hearing about this matter was held before the State Park Commission in Los Angeles in late 1974. The agreements made there were ratified by the Coastal Commission in February of 1975

Jones: in Pismo Beach. What happened at the hearing was that--1100 acres was what PG&E wished to sell; now that is all the land they had bought for the atomic power plant--when Mr. Mott got up and said, "We would like to buy the whole acreage, and we would like to have an off-road vehicle section," the State Park Commission said, "Fine."

At that moment, the supervisor from southern San Luis Obispo County appeared together in company with the planning director of San Luis Obispo County, and the supervisor in particular pled, pled with the State Parks Commission, "Please do not buy all of that 1100 acres. Some of it is along Highway 1, some of it is along the railroad. We are a county that is greatly in need of income. We implore you to leave at least a sizable acreage."

And Mr. Mott said, "Absolutely not. PG&E is willing to sell, the state has for years wanted this for a state park, and now is the opportunity." Again, the pleading. This sort of wrangling went on until finally Mr. Mott gave in and said, "All right, we'll buy 810 acres, and you can keep the 270 balance for your own county needs." This was done.

At that meeting there were representatives of a number of off-highway vehicle organizations throughout California. There was the lobbyist of the off-highway vehicle interests from Sacramento, an excellent man who spoke so sensibly. There were representatives from the Sierra Club. I know they were from the Santa Lucia Chapter in San Luis County; whether there was anyone from Los Padres Chapter in Santa Barbara County I do not know. But there had already been input from the executive department of the Sierra Club in San Francisco to the Department of Parks and Recreation about this. There were equestrian interests, people who like to ride horseback in the dunes. There was Audubon Society. And all of these entities that I just mentioned--the off-roaders, the environmentalists--were of one mind: we want the dunes well managed, and we all agree that we would like the major access, the great opening for this state park, to be in the Callender area, not far from the Union Oil Company's Santa Maria refinery.

And about this matter, the state also joined and said, "Yes, that is an excellent major park entrance for all users." At this point the supervisor in southern San Luis Obispo County raised the question again: "That is an area where we want to make another major industrial installation." Well, the matter was left without any decision, a decision wasn't required. But subsequent to that meeting in late 1974 there was developed the general development plan, called The Pismo State Beach and Pismo Dunes SVRA (State Vehicle Recreation Area) General Management Plan and Natural Resources Development Plan for these two sections of state park ownership.



Jones: And in that document, which is an excellent document, the management plan was made clear, including the major entrance at the Callender area, which has now become a point of argument again among some groups.

Now, the state was not well funded enough to have the enforcement patrols that were necessary to control the increased use of off-road vehicles. There were times when we had--in the town of Oceano, population 2000, where the major ramp goes down to the beach for off-road vehicles who visit this area--on a Fourth of July weekend, 278,000 visitors. So you can see that a small state park enforcement team had their hands full.

A great deal has been done to try to get the off-road vehicle people to develop ways to handle their own people. Some of the older leaders, who took part in the early seventies in what was going on, now in the early 1980s are almost ready to check out because they say that the problem has become overwhelming. There are too many off-roaders who do not belong to any organization and whose idea of fun is to come to the dunes and leave their mark, to make a new trail through vegetation, to leave a ring of beer cans, and then go back to that area with their friends and say, "I did this. So-and-so and I did this."

The whole thing is a mess, except that the Coastal Commission has been very helpful, and the county supervisors have astonishingly been very helpful. They have now unanimously decided, in their LCP [local coastal plan], to prohibit off-road vehicle recreation south of Oso Flaco Creek. The Coastal Commission has laid down some firm requirements of the state. One is that they shall control vehicles by erecting "non-climb" fencing. Much of the fencing has been done.

My husband and I are in close touch with the man from Sacramento who is responsible for actually being on the ground and seeing where the fencing is located. He has also had the help of good ORV leaders. And the fencing has worked a miracle in the dunes. A place like Oso Flaco Lake, where our former county supervisor wanted to have a major ORV entrance, has now, since Labor Day of 1982, been completely prohibited to off-road vehicle use, and the place is silent and has solitude and beauty and the birds have come back. Even the native vegetation is reappearing, reaching out and spreading--like the lavender carpets of sand verbena.

Now, the off-road vehicle people who rebel against control have been seeking some other place to play where they aren't turned back by a fence or have to get out their clippers and clip a fence. The state has had to do a great deal of fence mending. So where have the rebels, the mavericks gone? They have gone down Highway 1 to the little town of Guadalupe and taken Highway 166 West and gone

Jones: out to the Mussel Rock Dune area, where they have been causing a great deal of damage. Santa Barbara County, like San Luis Obispo County, has put it in their LCP that there shall be no off-road vehicle recreation on the beaches and dunes of Santa Barbara County. San Luis Obispo County has taken that action only on certain sections of the Nipomo Dunes, and I won't go into detail about that because it's technical, and in time it will be smoothed out.

But right now the great problem is the mavericks who are destroying north Santa Barbara County dunes and southern southern San Luis Obispo County dunes, where the dunes that are being destroyed there are the last of their kind on the entire coast of California. They are the Guadalupe Dunes, and although 3000 acres is for the time being, for another fifty, seventy-five years, under oil extraction, the dunes are not being damaged there, but north of there is a parcel of 2500 acres, plus a little, owned by Mobil Oil Corporation, not fenced, not posted, about which we environmentalists are very worried.

Now, the state is supposed to put in a heavy barrier, as heavy as a wharf, just north of Oso Flaco Creek to prevent mavericks from going south. But the money has not yet been forthcoming from the state. It's a devious process of getting that money out of the off-highway vehicles green-sticker money. The money is there in the pot, in Sacramento, but it takes time to get it out and build this particular barrier.

Van Tyne: I take it then that you feel that the Coastal Act has helped a lot.

Jones: It has helped a great deal. It has helped in the staff and commission comments and in their attitudes and in their dialogue and in quoting from the act itself, which is a thing that all of us have been able to do, and it holds water. It stands up in court.

But besides the requirements of the California Coastal Act of 1976 describing and prescribing coastal protection, an important new document came into being in 1980. It should be referred to here because it is singularly significant with regard to the Nipomo Dunes.

Van Tyne: And that document was?

Jones: It is the federal survey and inventory of 1980 by the U.S. Department of the Interior: Fish and Wildlife Service. It is titled California's Important Fish and Wildlife Habitats. It is a study of the entire state of California and was assisted by numerous contributing agencies, conservation groups, universities and individuals. It was a search for the few remaining natural

Jones: ecosystem representatives of California, "in order to protect the many life forms which we presently enjoy and in the future may need." This distinguished effort, in summation, identified forty-nine areas and the survey recommends them for preservation and protection. But of special importance to our discussion here is that when the forty-nine representative areas were next listed in priority order, the area at the top of the list is the Nipomo Dunes! From 3,000 to 10,000 acres is recommended for preservation.

The survey speaks of the Nipomo Dunes and wetlands as possessing "among the highest aesthetic and ecological values remaining in California, with a variety of habitats and a high diversity and concentration of both common and rare species of animals and plants." Some of them are federally endangered species. At hearings concerning the dunes we are able to state, as a result of this federal survey and inventory, that the Nipomo Dunes are the most unique and fragile ecosystem in the entire state of California.

#### Oil--A New Threat

Van Tyne: Now, I take it that the most serious threat at this point is outer continental shelf oil.

Jones: That is true. Lease Sale 53 last year was very difficult. Much argument ensued. Part of the land along the coast is under litigation at present. That part that is in litigation is the coastal part of Lease Sale 53, which extends from approximately Morro Bay to the Nipomo Dunes area.

Van Tyne: That's the suit the Sierra Club is a party to?

Jones: Yes, the Sierra Club indeed is a party to it. There is a brand new effort being made by a group in Pismo Beach related to CCCC, Central California Coastal--[looking through papers] I can't find it. No matter. This group is in touch with money, it hopes that it is in touch with help. They are, this grey day, getting out telephone calls, telegrams to a man in Washington, D.C., who is helping Senator Pete Wilson of Washington, D.C., get out a Senate bill which will be comparable for the Senate as Panetta's House of Representatives bill, which is number 2059. The effort is to protect the coastal tracts in particular and to eliminate Lease 73 altogether from Port San Luis to Point Sal. But, at the very least, it's to protect the state's coastal area control and to tie in the Pismo Beach area, the Pismo-Point San Luis area, with Panetta's bill related to Lease Sale 53.

Van Tyne: So of course there's no way of telling how this is all going to go.

Jones: No. But those accidents and pollution and unforeseeable detriment to the land is what would result on this coastal land which is spoken of by the Federal Fish and Wildlife people as "the most unique and fragile ecosystem in the state of California."

### III WORKING WITH OTHER GROUPS AND CLUB LEADERS

#### Nature Conservancy, Audubon, and the Native Plant Society

- Van Tyne: Well, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is part of the Department of the Interior and so is Mineral Management, but they don't speak to each other. In the course of all this long, twenty-odd years that you've been working to protect the dunes, what other organizations beside the Sierra Club have been involved? Who have you worked with?
- Jones: Helpfully, one of the strongest is the Nature Conservancy, and I'm happy to tell you that the Nature Conservancy has put it in writing to me early this year that they definitely are interested in acquiring some of the Guadalupe Dunes, which is exactly the area I have just reported to be the most unique and fragile ecosystem in the entire state of California.
- Van Tyne: That's the Santa Barbara County end?
- Jones: No, this is the Guadalupe Dunes in southern San Luis Obispo County, which is technically, scientifically, between Oso Flaco Lake and the Santa Maria River. These are the Guadalupe Dunes. The area south of the Santa Maria River is the Mussel Rock Dune complex. And north of Oso Flaco Lake is the Callender Dune complex. And the overall umbrella title is the Nipomo Dunes, and these designations come from that distinguished geomorphologist Dr. William S. Cooper in his study of the coastal dunes of both California and Baja California. His definitive work is titled Coastal Dunes of California and was published in 1967 as Memoir 104 by the Geological Society of America, Inc., in Boulder, Colorado. I have a copy which Dr. Cooper inscribed to me and gave to me. It is right here; let me show you what he wrote: "For Mrs. Kathleen Jackson with deep appreciation of her vigilant guardianship of the Santa Maria dunes. William S. Cooper. May 24, 1968."
- Van Tyne: Any other organizations beside the Nature Conservancy? How about Audubon, for instance?

Jones: Yes, I will mention Audubon, but I will say the Nature Conservancy has been exceptionally helpful. They are easy to reach, they are quick to respond, and they helped us particularly in our efforts to see that big Coreopsis Hill is protected. It is the most significant vegetated dune in the Guadalupe Dunes complex. It is a unique high hill--about 150-foot elevation and about one long mile back, east of the beach--where there are more different kinds of flowers and plants than occur in any other area that I know of in the dunes. My husband and I named it Coreopsis Hill because it is just spectacular with the feathery shrubs of great golden daisies in March, and the state Department of Parks and Recreation has adopted the name. Yes, the Nature Conservancy has been extremely valuable.

Now, other organizations. Audubon took part in the 1974 efforts toward good management of the dunes by discussing a favored location as a great state park entrance, and that was the Callender area entrance. Audubon could help us more were their members closer to our area. They would help us right now if we would go to them on something big. Like the outer continental shelf, they have taken a part in the one major hearing which has been held so far on Lease Sale 73. They did help on Lease Sale 53.

They have their own problems around Morro Bay. And I am now speaking of the Morro Coast Audubon Society. Morro Coast Audubon is entrusted to keep outer continental shelf oil far off of Morro Bay because the major center of Audubon in San Luis Obispo County is the Morro Coast Audubon Society. There is also an Audubon Society in the northern part of San Luis Obispo County, which is not so concerned with coastal problems; it has enough to do inland.

There is a new Audubon Society in Santa Maria, Los Padres Audubon, and their first president worked for Husky Oil Company, and so there is a certain conflict of interest there. They are well-meaning, but do not seem to be taking a major part in the oil controversy at this time. However, they often conduct bird study walks all throughout the Nipomo Dunes.

Van Tyne: You mentioned the California Native Plant Society, too.

Jones: The California Native Plant Society has become extremely active in conservation and in the total environmental picture in San Luis Obispo County. They express themselves on all issues that would affect plants in any way. There are the plants of the dunes, the plants of our northern coast, plants inland; if north coast Audubon has problems there they help. They have an excellent conservation chairman, and my husband and I are very active with them. They're quick to respond.

Van Tyne: In the course of your long career you have certainly had a lot of experience in working with or against various agencies, federal, state, county, and would you like to talk about some of those experiences?

Jones: I cannot remember any contact with Federal Fish and Wildlife or any federal bureau except the Bureau of Land Management briefly, inquiring, "What is going to happen at Point Sal?"

Van Tyne: Well, I wasn't referring specifically to the dunes, just in your general experience.

#### BLM and the Forest Service

Jones: Well, in the early 1960s the new Sierra Club group, the Santa Lucia group of the Sierra Club worked with the Bureau of Land Management to try to get the county to purchase Bureau of Land Management parcels all over the county, which were available for recreation uses at twenty-five dollars an acre, and we did have good contacts with BLM at that time. We will be seeking BLM point of view and comments when we come, before long, to discuss the Point Sal acquisition or the disposal of public lands at Point Sal. We heard a dreadful rumor that the land at Point Sal itself and some of that area were owned by military entities in the federal government and that they were going to be transferred to the Bureau of Land Management, another federal entity, and that the Bureau of Land Management might plan to sell them to private developers, and this worried us greatly because we could see a resort hotel develop on those magnificent headlands and overlooking those exquisite and rich tidepool shoals along the Point Sal coast. This is something that is in the works ahead, work to be done.

Van Tyne: You've had some dealings with the Forest Service; that's another federal agency.

Jones: I'm trying to think where in our chapter or I have had a great deal of exchange with the Forest Service in San Luis County. Only in our early efforts to have Lopez Canyon protected and eventually set aside as the Santa Lucia Wilderness; that was a struggle. The leadership for that wilderness was vested in Lee Wilson of Arroyo Grande, and he has faithfully continued to follow through on that and on major efforts to get large acreages of the remote and interesting La Panza Range: Machesna Mountain and Garcia Mountain, also Caliente Mountain in the very isolated Caliente Range. It is our highest mountain peak, 5,106 feet elevation. Lee Wilson is now presently a member of the--What is the name of the committee, Wilderness and--

Van Tyne: Southern California Forest and Wilderness Committee.

Jones: Yes, I believe he's a member of that committee.

Van Tyne: Yes.

Jones: The Forest Service in our general area has been extremely helpful on local matters, matters of where trails need to be repaired and marked or where they need to be clarified, and they have put in a few new trails actually in our area. I would say that our experience in working with the local people in the Santa Maria office of Los Padres National Forest has been a harmonious, good relationship.

Bob Stone of that office is the most knowledgeable person on all USFS trails in San Luis Obispo County and adjoining northern Santa Barbara County. He was invaluable in helping me plan an unusual backpack outing, the purpose of which was to scout a route the length of the La Panza Range through wonderful back country where there were no, or few, trails. Sixteen people made the six-and-a-half-day trip--very rugged, very rewarding--and someday maybe this will become an established USFS trail.

I cannot think of any mineral involvement that involved the Forest Service. Early in the formation of this chapter here--or was it in the late fifties when I was still in Santa Barbara?--there was an exchange proposed between the Forest Service, which owned land near Hunter Liggett Military Reservation in our neighboring Monterey County and coastal lands there, too. They were held in military jurisdiction; there were many military takeovers in coastal land. But there came about a marvelous land exchange which netted the Forest Service ownership of land in Monterey County, which concerned us because, although we don't live there, we use Monterey County as a place to go and enjoy.

The late Gus Rickel was supervisor of Los Padres National Forest at that time. And I was very pleased when he joined the Sierra Club. He and I had some long arguments about how to preserve the California condor. He kept me informed about the progress of the substantial exchange of the military land for USFS land in Monterey County, and as soon as it was finalized, he telephoned me in great elation to give me the news.

Excellent USFS campgrounds have been, and continue to be, developed in this acquired spectacular coast land along California State Highway 1. They are popular and are increasingly used all year round. As a result of this, coastal trails of the Santa Lucia Mountains have been improved and even new ones developed.



Local Officials

Van Tyne: What's your standing with the officials in the county? From a personal standpoint, and what have the club's relationships been with the board of supervisors, for instance. Of course, that could be up and down depending on who was in office.

Jones: In the first place, many of us have felt that our county supervisors in San Luis Obispo County were always available and reachable. The vote (so much of the time) of our county's supervisors on environmental matters has been, unhappily, a vote of three to two. But I will say this, that we have supervisors from time to time who have-- We have always had someone in the supervisorial part of the county's government that was reachable and would work with us and for us, for things that the Sierra Club stands for. I'm trying to remember whether we've ever had a supervisor who was a member of the Sierra Club.

Yes, we have one right now: Jeff Jorgensen; he is an attorney and also teaches city and regional planning at Cal Poly at San Luis Obispo. He is strong for good land use. We have had some very brave supervisors.

Van Tyne: Well, we've talked before about state agencies, so I'm not going to ask you about that.

Jones: Oh, federal fish and wildlife have sifted down to us comments and help through state Fish and Game people in this county; and on the state level, when we have needed help on rare and endangered plant matters, which were of concern both to Sierra Club people and CNPS people, state Fish and Game has actually had people who've come along and gone out into the dunes with me and made comments and taken pictures. We have felt it was a good and helpful relationship.

Most important of such contacts was with Kent A. Smith who prepared one of the most outstanding reports on the dunes. It is entitled The Natural Resources of The Nipomo Dunes and Wetlands. We had a good close working relationship during 1975 and 1976 while he came and went a great deal in the dunes and phoned me often. The report was published by California Fish and Game under contract to the Department of the Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service in June 1976.

I was astonished and very pleased--when Kent sent me a copy of his report--that he had dedicated it to me along with Dr. Robert Rodin of Cal Poly. Dr. Rodin was at that time still working on his report for the Department of the Interior for the establishment of the Nipomo Dunes as a Registered National Natural Landmark. The

Jones: dedication is very nice; it is right here. I took it out to show it to you:

"Finally, this report is dedicated to two people: Mrs. Kathy Jones, local conservationist, and Dr. Robert Rodin, professor emeritus at California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo, each of whom has supplied information for this report. They both have spent many hours among the Nipomo Dunes and wetlands, have realized the beauty and ecological significance of these natural resources, and have worked untiringly toward their preservation."

Comments on Sierra Club Leaders

Van Tyne: Would you care to comment briefly on any of the club leaders you've known, worked with? Ed Wayburn, for instance, we'll start with him. Have you known him well?

Jones: Well, may I mention someone who was not exactly a leader, and yet he was a leader in his own field, and that is the photographer Cedric Wright who wrote the exhibit format book, Words of the Earth. He is the one who got me into the Sierra Club and first interested me in the club way back in 1928 and '29. There was a wonderful person, who had the spirit of the club in himself and in his choice of living with the outdoors, the fact that his garden and the lights under his eaves brought the whole outdoors into his home.

His death seemed to me so unfortunate at an earlier age than was necessary, from an illness that could not be cured. Well... and Cedric Wright's discussion of club traditions, club policy, and club work far afield--in 1949, when I went on that first high trip--gave me a very serious understanding of what was going on in this club, which I had joined for pure pleasure in order to walk the High Sierra trails. Then, the time came when I found myself in club activities.

##

Jones: And I don't know how to describe these people, these club leaders, differently except that they were sources of encouragement and information and wisdom. Dr. Edgar Wayburn and Peggy, with her quick mind, possibly filling in with something that maybe Dr. Wayburn had passed by too quickly. He had such a good diagnostic thrust to the heart of a matter.

Jones: Cicely Christy, with her warm, quiet wisdom, her long experience with the club.

Charlotte Mauk, with her spiritual understanding of club goals and her awareness of club politics, if you will, which never seemed to have interrupted anything that I wanted to do, anything I believed in. I feel that I have traveled through some difficult passageways--between, was it Scylla and Charybdis?--at any rate, difficult passageways in club politics and passed through unscathed. I feel that they haven't ensnared me in any way.

Van Tyne: Other board members perhaps?

Jones: Oh, Bestor Robinson--his shrewd thinking was a great education to me. Although I felt I disagreed with positions he took, I recognized that he was opening up for me patterns of thinking that were new. And Lewis Clark influenced me with the totality of his dedication to Sierra Club standards in land ethics, as I had become familiar with the approach of Aldo Leopold ever since Charlotte Mauk lent me his Sand County Almanac.

Francis Farquhar was Sierra Club president in 1949 when I joined the club and was along with his wife Marge on my first high trip in 1949. His intense enthusiasm for rock climbing and ascents of difficult peaks introduced me to scientific values in these skills which I had only looked askance at previously.

I mustn't take too much time reminiscing, but let me quickly touch on a few club leaders who especially stand out for their influence on my thinking. Warren Lemmon for his marvelous business acumen in helping me with the organizing of the Sierra Club Council. Bill Losh, so practical, so generous with his specialized knowledge of public relations, still one of my favorite subjects--and still so important for Sierra Club. Dr. Crowe and his wife; Eliot Porter, Ansel Adams. Dick Leonard for the depth and breadth of his land wisdom. Harold Bradley, able to be so lovingly critical, so tolerant. Nate Clark for invaluable help with the Sierra Club Council. Philip Hyde, Fred Grunsky, Randy Dickey and so many more. Outstanding was the beneficent leadership of Will Colby, who, I felt, piloted me with a timeless graciousness into a feeling of security about the new Sierra Club Council.

Van Tyne: Will Siri was the liaison between the board and yourself during the Diablo Canyon business?

Jones: Well, I'm told that he was. I hadn't thought of him as being a liaison person, I just found him a person who recognized in the dunes a great piece of land to be protected for its beauty as well as its scientific value.

Van Tyne: Was he helpful?

Jones: Oh, yes. Yes, indeed. He was, again, a person with good judgment and an understanding of club goals, and it seemed to me that he tailored actions to what was best for the Sierra Club, as well as, of course, what was best for the land. I mean that is never changed.

Van Tyne: Shouldn't they be the same thing?

Jones: Yes, they should be the same thing.

Van Tyne: What about Dave Brower?

Jones: Dave Brower was a person whom I found very interesting and I always enjoyed any speaking engagement of his. I think of him as being so gifted with words that anything written by him is excellent reading. He had a beautiful use of the language. My observations of him in board meetings through the years that I attended regularly, four meetings a year, are that he seemed to be someone who had an idea fixe from which he could not be swayed if something came up that he very much wanted to do. He was impassioned to produce beautiful books regardless of whether there was any money in the club till or not.

But I was not embroiled in this, I was not one of the decision makers, not one of the board; but had it been my responsibility, I would have handled him in money matters with caution and would have tried to keep him strictly in the creative end of things, because I felt that he was more of an artist, both with words and with plans and ideas, than he was a practical man. And the fact that later it was found that he had acted irresponsibly by committing the club to expenditures which they were not in a position to meet seemed to me a very serious mistake on his part. I liked his wife Anne. We were on a high trip together.

Other people who have been very helpful were Dr. Starker Leopold, a wise person who had this innate depth of understanding of land. He understood the relationships between plants and animals and land itself, land forms. He opened my eyes to an understanding of wildlife ethics and management. And getting to know him very well was an important part of my pleasure and my education in the Sierra Club.

Jones: George Marshall is another man whose quiet, firm approval and encouragement meant a great deal to me. He was an excellent listener. I owe him much.

I have in my files a folder that I call "Bouquets and Brick Bats" and there are filed letters from people in the Sierra Club who had something critical to say to me that needed correction or who had compliments to pay me, and I value that folder very much.

Van Tyne: Then, finally, to wind this up, would you want to make any comments on the Sierra Club now, both in general and in particular, on a national basis, on a local basis, whatever? One thing that you haven't mentioned that belongs in here somewhere and that is I think somebody needs to say something about your concern for bringing along new people. Particularly, I've been indebted to you.

Jones: The seeking out of new members and urging them to come on outings--

Van Tyne: And helping them, you know, get started in more of a leadership position and so on and so forth.

Jones: Yes, I think that is one of the things that I have constantly--

Van Tyne: You feel that that is an important function for any older member?

Jones: Yes. I feel that to discover where talent lies in the fields that are so needed by the Sierra Club, people who understand and care about the environment and have some talent or some great ability or even a little ability which can be useful, the little people and the important people should be made use of. As soon as you find them, find something that they can do and invite them to do it. But there was something else we were going to say there too.

Van Tyne: Well, general comments, whatever.

Jones: Oh, I was going to say I am so pleased as I read the Sierra Club magazine now, which we always used to refer to as the Bulletin and is now called Sierra, I am so pleased to see the security with which they step out to deal with the gravest national problems-- pollution, air quality, water quality, this matter of toxic wastes --things that are major national concerns.

This reminds me, someone else who has influenced me in the Sierra Club was Dick Sill. I can remember when Dick Sill talked to me about the control of weather. He felt it was one of the most serious problems facing city governments, county governments, state governments, the national government. He said, "Why, wars can be won and lost on this." And I found Dick Sill, as I knew him through the Sierra Club Council, to be quick and very intelligent. I was

Jones: shocked that he had to die so young. But there were others, Anne. I'm thinking how helpful Preston Webster was, the attorney who is gone now, in his early advice to me as I cautiously but firmly took the reins of one little chapter down in Santa Barbara County.

Van Tyne: How do you feel about our entrance into the political arena?

Jones: Oh! I am so pleased at this. Since the Internal Revenue Service decided that we were not an altruistic educational organization and took away that phase as our special category, I am just thrilled that we have stepped into an arena that is difficult but so important.

Van Tyne: I mean, it's fine with you if we endorse candidates for president?

Jones: It is fine with me if we endorse candidates for any public office.

Van Tyne: From president on down?

Jones: Yes.

Van Tyne: Were you at all active in last year's election campaign?

Jones: No, I was not. I had my hands full here with my knitting on the dunes. I have a feeling, Anne, that there are so many other people, leaders who have come and gone in the Sierra Club, who were helpful, whose names I would like to remember. I can remember Nate Clark. I remember Lewis Clark. I think of these people as ones who were helpful and kind and did not hold back with their suggestions, even though they could be interpreted as critical. Most of the time I did not feel criticism. Most of the time I felt approval and approbation and encouragement; it was primarily encouragement.

There were other presidents of the Sierra Club. [thinking] My, it's hard to go back sometimes and pick them out. I can think of leaders of outings. I can think of young Ned Robinson, what a good leader he was of a most difficult adult burro trip; a burro that absolutely disappeared and we never did find again; other burros who ran away, people who lost their tempers; people who were impatient and critical of the leader. He always kept his cool.

Oh, Genny Schumacher, I haven't said a word about her. Now, I haven't had any contact with her for years, but she was a person of whom I was fond and a person whom I admired, and any job she did seemed so well done. And I chide myself that I have not followed this friendship because she was reaching out her hand to continue it and I let my own concerns take precedence, and I lost that contact.

Jones: Another person, Michael McCloskey. Now, Michael McCloskey was quick to say yes when I said, "I have been invited to a state convention of the off-road vehicle people. I want them to hear from a Sierra Club leader from the top office, will you come? He came with his bride at that time, and he spoke to them and clarified some of the points on which we agree and some of the points with which we don't agree, particularly with regard to land use.

And there must be others. I wish I could remember the name of an eighteen-year-old from Harvard who was the leader of the clean-up trip going up Mount Whitney. Young as he was, he managed our crew of trail cleaner-uppers with a light hand that got a lot of work done.

Van Tyne: At eighteen that's pretty good. Well, does this about wrap it up?

Jones: I think so. Perhaps. But no--one thing more. I want to say that someday I would like to lay in the stewardship hands of the Sierra Club an ultimate gift: those dunes that you and I see out there through my windows: a white and wind-sculptured wilderness, laced with green glades, graced with blue lakes, beside a magnificent and turbulent surf on the long white beaches, in the curving sweep of a shining and very blue sea--California's greatest coastal state park, the Nipomo Dunes.

Van Tyne: Thank you very much.

Jones: You're welcome, and I thank you.

Transcriber: Joyce Minick  
Final Typist: Marie Herold

## TAPE GUIDE - Kathleen Goddard Jones

Date of Interview: April 19, 1983

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| tape 1, side A | 1  |
| tape 1, side B | 9  |
| tape 2, side A | 19 |
| tape 2, side B | 27 |
| tape 3, side A | 35 |
| tape 3, side B | 46 |



APPENDIX--Kathy Jackson's Letter to the Editor on  
Diablo Canyon Controversy, March 1969

# PEAK and PRAIRIE

newsletter · rocky mountain chapter



Volume 4, No. 3

March 1969

\* \* \*  
Editor, Peak & Prairie:

Enclosed is a piece I've written which I feel will help to correct some bad errors published in the recent February Sierra Club Bulletin.

I absolutely believe in conservationists having differing opinions. But I do not believe in their making use of untruth to try to convince their audience. And Martin Litton and Fred Eissler published flagrant untruths in the Bulletin. When I read them it just burned me up, so I am trying desperately at this late date to correct the things they said.

I know Diablo Canyon better than they do, probably better than anyone in the Sierra Club. And I certainly know the Nipomo Dunes (can see them right this minute spread in magnificent array from my view windows) - I know the Dunes better than they do. They are just trying to pull the wool over the eyes of our members. And it is not right.

I beg you to publicize the attached open letter in every way you can, at once before the Club elections. Perhaps you can publish it in Peak & Prairie, etc.

Yours for the truth,  
"Kathy" Jackson  
Sierra Club Coordinator for  
the Preservation of the  
Nipomo Dunes

CORRECTION: JOHN MUIR WOULD VOTE NO

I have hiked and slept out in the Nipomo Dunes for years, in storm and sun, at all seasons.

It is absolutely untrue, as stated by Litton and Eissler in their February Sierra Club Bulletin article, that all the unspoiled areas of the dunes are already saved in Pismo State Beach and in privately owned bird refuge lands and that we merely need to "restore the remainder." The fact is that thousands of

unspoiled, natural, beautiful, open dunes and rugged cliffs await our "saving" effort. They lie between Oso Flaco Lake and Pt. Sal, 10 shoreline miles: inviolate, windblown, wild, available.

Moreover, the State of California has shown acquisition interest. Campground state park development drawings of all this area are in print. Purchase awaits negotiation with owners and four to seven million dollars from a new State Park bond issue. Two present threats in this seacoast wilderness are sand mining and an extensive subdivision proposal. Here is a focus for our energies toward preservation of true wilderness.

By contrast, Diablo Canyon has not been wilderness since 1832. It is an overgrazed oak woodland and chaparral canyon, not different from many in the west. The much touted photographs of the "largest" oak tree, carefully omit a tumble-down shed near the tree; little mention is made of the good dirt road which runs the 3-mile length of this obviously overgrazed "wilderness" canyon; and no listing of the buildings existing at the end of this road: a substantial padlocked tool shed and a privy.

Diablo Canyon would indeed have been a pretty place for a county picnic park. But the statement that this is "the last unspoiled etc." is simply not true. I have walked the coastline of California's central coast with other Sierra Club members on scheduled outings. I have walked with others in Diablo Canyon and in the Nipomo Dunes. Many know the truth. They should speak out.

John Muir would have said, "We should uphold the repeated decisions of our Board of Directors and the democratic vote of our national membership. How wasteful and devious to harass our members once more on this sore issue. Let us stand firm and support our belief in a great sea dunes state park; let us uphold Sierra Club integrity. Vote NO on the Diablo Canyon question. And do not vote for any candidate who favors reopening this issue."

John Muir would have said VOTE NO.

....Kathy Jackson  
February 1969

## INDEX -- Kathleen Goddard Jones

- Adams, Ansel, 3, 4, 47  
 atomic power. See nuclear power  
 Audubon Society, 42
- Bacon, Ernst, 3, 4  
 Bradley, Harold, 47  
 Brower, Anne, 6  
 Brower, David, 6, 25, 29, 48
- California Native Plant Society,  
 14, 30, 34, 42  
 California Polytechnic State  
 University, 24  
California's Important Fish and  
 Wildlife Habitats, 38-39  
 California State:  
 Coastal Zone Conservation  
 Commission, 37  
 Department of Fish and Game, 45  
 Department of Parks and  
 Recreation, 20, 29, 32-33,  
 35-36  
 Park Commission, 32, 35-36  
 Carpenter, Lyle, 32  
 Chase, Pearl, 5  
 Christy, Cicely, 9, 10, 47  
 Clark, Lewis, 47, 50  
 Clark, Nathan, 8, 47, 50  
Coastal Dunes of California, 41  
 Colby, William E., 47  
 Collier Carbon and Chemical  
 Corporation, 33-34  
 Collins, George, 25, 26, 28  
Condor Call, 7  
 Conservation Associates, 25, 26,  
 28  
 Cooper, William S., 41  
 Cross, John, 5
- Diablo Canyon, proposed power  
 plant, 28-30, 34
- Dickey, Randal F., Jr., 9  
 Diercks, Kenneth, 21, 23, 25, 27  
 Dinosaur National Monument, 14-15
- Eissler, Fred, 22-24, 29-30  
 energy. See nuclear power  
 environmental protection:  
 campaign tactics and strategies,  
 15-16, 24. See also Nipomo Dunes  
 personal motivations for, 1-2
- Farquhar, Francis, 6, 47  
Five-Cities' Times-Press-Recorder, 20
- Gill, Kent, 13  
 Gordon Sand Mining Company, 31-32  
 Guadalupe Dunes, 38, 41-42
- Hanson, Bill, 15  
 Hardham, Clare, 30  
 Holliday, Jay, 11, 12
- Jackson, Duncan, 23  
 Jorgensen, Jeff, 45  
 Jukes, Tom, 6
- Lemmon, Warren, 47  
 Leonard, Doris, 25, 26  
 Leonard, Richard, 47  
 Leopold, A. Starker, 48  
 Litton, Martin, 14, 29, 30, 32, 33  
 Losh, William, 47  
 Los Padres National Forest, 15-18, 43-44
- McCloskey, J. Michael, 51  
 Marshall, George, 49  
 Mauk, Charlotte, 47

media, 15-16, 20, 27  
 Morro Coast Audubon Society, 42  
 Mott, William Penn, Jr., 35, 36

Natural Resources of the Nipomo

Dunes and Wetlands, The, 45-46  
 Nature Conservancy, 41-42  
 Nipomo Dunes, 17, 30, 38-39, 41, 45-46, 51  
   off-road vehicles in, 35-39  
   and off-shore oil drilling, 39-40  
   outings in, 11, 34  
   proposed coking conveyer in, 33-34  
   proposed power plant, 19-27, 34  
     See also Diablo Canyon  
   sand mine in, 31-32  
   state park in, 13, 32-33, 35-36  
 nuclear power, 22-23. See also  
   Nipomo Dunes, proposed power plant;  
     Diablo Canyon, proposed power plant

off-road vehicles, 35-38  
 Owings, Margaret Wentworth, 32-33

Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E), 19-30, 35, 36  
 Page, Sally, 11  
 Pesonen, David, 23  
 Pismo State Beach, 35-36  
 Pugh, Lemoille, 5, 6

Rickel, Gus, 15, 44  
 Robinson, Bestor, 47  
 Robinson, Ned, 50

San Luis Obispo County, 10-14, 16-18, 26, 36, 38, 45. See also  
 Nipomo Dunes

San Luis Obispo Telegram Tribune, 20, 27

Santa Barbara, California, 1-2

Santa Maria Times, 27  
 Schumacher, Genny, 50  
 Serr, Nancy, 7  
 Sespe Hiking Club, 11  
 Sierra Club

chapters and groups:

  Los Padres, 5-16, 19, 23  
   Santa Lucia, 11-14, 16-17, 19, 23, 27, 35, 36, 49  
 conservation campaigns and issues.  
   See under name of campaign or issue  
 internal affairs, 1960s, 12-13, 25, 29-30, 34-35, 48  
 membership, reasons for, 4-6  
 outings, 3, 5-6. See also Nipomo Dunes, outings in  
 Sierra Club Council, 8-11, 13, 47  
 Sill, Richard, 49-50  
 Siri, William E., 26-27, 30, 47-48  
 Smith, Kent A., 45-46  
 Snyder, George, 34  
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 34  
 Stone, Robert, 44  
 Sturgeon, Vernon, 23

Union Oil Company, 19, 28, 33, 36  
 United States:  
   Bureau of Land Management, 15, 43  
   Forest Service, 15, 43-44

Varian, Dorothy, 25  
Visit to the Atomic Park, A, 23

Wayburn, Edgar, 9, 46  
 Wayburn, Peggy, 46  
 Webster, Preston, 7-8, 50  
 wilderness. See Los Padres National Forest  
 Wilson, Lee, 17, 18, 27, 43  
 Wright, Cedric, 3-6



Sierra Club Oral History Project

A. Starker Leopold

WILDLIFE BIOLOGIST

With an Introduction by  
Dale McCullough

An Interview Conducted by  
Carol Holleuffer  
1983

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984

Sierra Club Oral History Project

Copyright © 1984 by Sierra Club, San Francisco, California  
All rights reserved

On behalf of future scholars  
we would like to thank the

College of Natural Resources  
University of California, Berkeley

and the

National Endowment for the Humanities

for funds to assist the  
Sierra Club History Committee  
to complete this interview





TABLE OF CONTENTS -- A. Starker Leopold

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| INTRODUCTION by Professor Dale McCullough            | i   |
| INTERVIEW HISTORY                                    | iii |
| <br>   |     |
| I EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION                          | 1   |
| Growing Up in New Mexico                             | 1   |
| Moving to Wisconsin, 1925                            | 2   |
| Father's Work in Wildlife Management                 | 3   |
| From Yale to Berkeley                                | 4   |
| <br>   |     |
| II WORKING AS A WILDLIFE BIOLOGIST                   | 5   |
| Deer and Turkey Study in the Ozarks                  | 5   |
| Wildlife Studies in Mexico                           | 6   |
| Jawbone Deer Herd in California                      | 7   |
| Confrontation with the Sierra Club                   | 9   |
| Service to the Club                                  | 9   |
| <br>   |     |
| III EVOLUTION OF THEORY ON FIRE                      | 11  |
| Trip to Mexico with Father in 1938                   | 11  |
| Controversy at the 1957 Wilderness Conference        | 13  |
| 1963 Report to Secretary of the Interior Udall       | 13  |
| The Issue of Controlled Burns                        | 15  |
| <br>   |     |
| IV THE QUESTION OF MANAGEMENT                        | 17  |
| Making Decisions in Management                       | 17  |
| Natural vs. Exotic Species                           | 18  |
| Yellowstone--a Hypothetical Plan                     | 19  |
| Mountain Lions and Wolves                            | 20  |
| <br>   |     |
| V WORKING AS A CONSULTANT TO INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT | 22  |
| The Tongass National Forest and Champion Paper       | 22  |
| Defeat of the Rampart Dam in Alaska                  | 24  |
| <br>   |     |
| VI GENERAL COMMENTS                                  | 27  |
| The Importance of the University                     | 27  |
| Plans for a Suisun Marsh Interpretive Center         | 28  |
| Family Influences                                    | 29  |
| Threats to African and Mexican Wildlife              | 30  |
| Wildlife and Population Growth                       | 31  |
| <br>   |     |
| TAPE GUIDE   | 33  |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| APPENDIX A - "Wilderness and Culture," <u>Wildlands in Our Civilization</u><br>(Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference),<br><u>Sierra Club Bulletin</u> , June 1957 | 34 |
| APPENDIX B - The Leopold Report on Wildlife Management in the National<br>Parks, <u>Sierra Club Bulletin</u> , March 1963  | 37 |
| APPENDIX C - Responses to the Leopold Report, <u>Sierra Club Bulletin</u> ,<br>March 1963  | 45 |
| INDEX  | 47 |

## INTRODUCTION

A. Starker Leopold, Emeritus Professor of Zoology and Wildlife Biology and Management in the Department of Forestry and Resource Management, died suddenly of a heart attack in his Berkeley home on August 23. He was 69. Leopold was an influential figure in wildlife management and policy, and he had a major impact on changing attitudes and policies during the environmental awareness era in the 1960s and '70s. As chairman of a policy committee appointed by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall during the Kennedy administration, he was instrumental in formulating major new policies on management of national parks and wildlife refuges during a critical point in American attitudes towards the environment.

National parks were under increasing pressure to satisfy recreational demands of a burgeoning number of visitors, and the Leopold committee reaffirmed the natural values as predominant, urging that intensive recreational development occur outside of the parks under private initiative. The committee recognized that parks were dynamic ecological entities, and that protection alone would result in loss of some of the very natural values they were established to protect. Wildlife refuges were redefined as natural ecosystems, with emphasis on all recreational uses, including hunting.

In addition to Leopold's service on numerous commissions (the more notable ones being the Marine Mammal Commission and the San Francisco Bay Commission), he was widely consulted both nationally and internationally on wildlife issues. Hardly an issue arose without his being consulted, as I discovered quickly as one of his graduate students in the 1960s. I wrote my dissertation on the rare tule elk, for which I sought to take six elk for scientific purposes under a collecting permit from the California Fish and Game Commission. Aware of the volatile nature of the request, I made a well-prepared presentation to the commission based on irrefutable logic--to which the only question from the commission was: "Does Starker Leopold approve of this request?"

Leopold was an outstanding naturalist with a profound appreciation and respect for the intricate beauty of nature. He had no difficulty resolving this view with his own love of hunting and fishing, which he pursued with relish. One of Starker's proudest possessions was a rifle from his father, Aldo Leopold, with teeth marks on the butt stock made by a wolf in its death throes. This event had a profound effect on Aldo and was a turning point in his transformation from an unthinking hunter to the eventual spokesman for the immeasurable value of wild and natural things. Starker took great pleasure that his father's book, Sand County Almanac, became a credo for environmentalists everywhere.

Starker was a member of the widely known Leopold family, from which three siblings, including Starker, were elected to the National Academy of Sciences. His father arranged individual hunting and fishing trips with his boys, and as a lad Starker negotiated with his brothers to get their trips. His exuberant hijinks landed him in hot water as an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin and caused Aldo, a professor there, no little grief.

Starker had a positive outlook and an inexhaustible zest for life, which he lived completely. He never talked about his problems and disappointments, and he had his share. He suffered greatly from a bad back about which he never complained. When he returned to his office after his first heart attack he brushed off well-meaning questions as though he were bothered by little more than a troublesome hangnail.

He was vice chancellor of the Berkeley campus during the ill-fated administration that floundered on the free speech movement and Vietnam war protests. His alienation from some colleagues in zoology--and particularly his move from the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, where he had been graduate student, associate director, and acting director (and to which he had a deep loyalty)--were keen disappointments. Although I had almost daily contact with him through much of this period, I never once heard him speak an ill word about, or even identify, any individual.

Starker loved companionship. He loved to hunt or fish with others, and, perhaps most of all, share before-dinner drinks after a good day. He was a great raconteur, which accounted for his great popularity with students. His lectures were not exercises in blinding oratory or slashing wit. They were small gems of common sense, spoken with quiet good humor and gentle optimism. His object was not to bring students to their feet, but to their senses.

After retiring in 1978, he dropped out of administrative affairs and pursued things closer to his heart. He prepared study skins of birds and mammals for the wildlife study collection that were things of beauty. He carved miniatures of waterfowl from wood. He consulted on wildlife problems and carried on an extensive correspondence with friends and colleagues in the natural resources field. He wrote some and reviewed some. He hunted and fished a lot. He lived life to the end, never trading the present for the prospect of more future. As he had with his life, Starker accomplished his death with simple dignity and without fanfare.

Professor Dale McCullough  
Department of Forestry and Resource  
Management

Quoted from California Monthly, October, 1983, Berkeley, California.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

The Leopold family has been called "America's first family of science." The eldest son, Aldo Starker, had an outstanding career as a professional zoologist, biologist, and teacher. In addition to his work through the University of California, he was on numerous commissions, councils, and advisory groups. He had an international as well as national reputation.

As part of the Sierra Club Oral History Project I planned to interview Dr. Aldo Starker Leopold on his association with the club. I talked to him on the phone to explain the process and settle on a date. He was very cordial and cooperative. His only condition was that the interview not conflict with his trout-fishing trips. He had several scheduled for the summer.

We met for two hours on June 14, 1983, for our first talk. Dr. Leopold had reserved the Leopold Library on the University of California, Berkeley, campus so that we would not be disturbed. At first he couldn't imagine what we could talk about that would be of interest to others, but as soon as he got started he talked almost non-stop. The session went so well that we decided to meet again. He was busy with consulting work and his fishing trips during the summer, so we agreed to meet in the fall. Two days before his fatal heart attack he wrote to say that he was looking forward to the next interview.

Dr. Leopold never had a chance to review the transcript or make corrections. Any errors or misrepresentations are entirely the fault of the interviewer. I hope that this interview conveys the enthusiasm, knowledge, and warm personality of the man.

Carol Holleuffer  
Interviewer/Editor  
Sierra Club History  
Committee

March, 1984  
Lafayette, California



## I EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION

[Interview 1: June 14, 1983]##

Growing Up in New Mexico

Holleuffer: This is an interview with Dr. Aldo Starker Leopold, Professor Emeritus at UC Berkeley, about his career as a wildlife biologist and conservationist, his family reminiscences, and his involvement with the Sierra Club. The interviewer is Carol Holleuffer. It's June 14, 1983, a foggy, overcast day on the Berkeley campus, and we are in the Leopold Library of Mulford Hall, which consists of Dr. Leopold's books, a very nice room full of books for a private study for people.

Leopold: Yes, I had a very good wildlife library that I inherited from my father upon his death. He specified that one thing, that I got the library. Part of it I left at the University of Wisconsin because it was very local in its application--the Midwest--but most of the standard journals I brought here, and I've maintained them ever since. Finally, when I retired, I gave the whole library to the Department of Forestry here, with the understanding that they would house it, and this room that we are in is the housing. This is my old office, and they simply added some shelving here.

Well, now where do you want to start?

Holleuffer: How about at the beginning? It said in your biographical sketch that you grew up in Albuquerque and Madison. Was much of that time spent on the Sand County farm?

---

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 33.

Leopold: That was the Wisconsin part, yes. And back in New Mexico, Dad was with the Forest Service and started on the Carson Forest in northern New Mexico. Well, he was on the Apache before that, I guess. But when I remember, he was stationed in Albuquerque, which is the regional office. And from Albuquerque he used to do quite a bit of hunting and fishing, and I sort of became his companion and tagged along from about the age of five. He had a bicycle with a seat on it, on the front handlebars; that's where I sat. And we went up and down the Rio Grande bottoms on that thing, hunting doves and ducks, and each year we'd take one trip to the Pecos River for trout--the whole family would go for a week or so.

So I became interested in the out-of-doors really as a hunter and as a fisherman with my father, and this continued all through the rest of our life together. He hunted right up till the time of his death in 1948.

In Albuquerque we had access, as I say, to the Rio Grande. About thirty or forty miles of it was all we could cover. After the bicycle we got a Model T Ford, and in that thing we could get down as far as Socorro, which was a whole day's trip--that's forty miles.

#### Moving to Wisconsin, 1925

Leopold: It was later when we moved to Wisconsin. Dad was offered a position with the Forest Service as head of the Forest Products Laboratory in Wisconsin, and I gather that he thought at the time that his was going to put him in a position to sort of head up the research program for the Forest Service. It didn't prove to be that at all: it was research, merely, in forest products, mainly timber--how to use wood and what for, propellers and one thing and another for airplanes, in those days. So we moved to Wisconsin then. I was twelve.

Holleuffer: What year was that?

Leopold: Twenty-five. I was twelve years old. About that time, right the year we moved and then the year after, we took trips into the canoe country of southern Canada, northern Minnesota, and on into the canoe area, which at that time wasn't even mapped. You'd strike off and then try and figure out where you were when you were trying to find your way home, on the old voyageur tracks that were still-- You could find them if you looked hard enough.

Holleuffer: Could find the portage trails?



Leopold: Portage trails, yes. So we had some wonderful trips into the wilderness, the northern Canadian wilderness then.

Father's Work in Wildlife Management

Leopold: My father was dissatisfied with the situation that he had at the Forests Products Laboratory. The details of that I really never clearly understood, except that I know he didn't like it. And so he resigned from the Forest Service to take an assignment with the Arms and Ammunition Institute--these are the people that made sporting arms and ammunition--Remington, Winchester, so on--to conduct a wildlife survey of the north-central states. They had come to the realization that if people are going to shoot shotguns there has to be something to shoot at, and so they better find out something about wildlife conservation and management.

My father made this survey. At about the time he completed it came the crash of '29. His report was published, but the work terminated. The ammunition people didn't feel that they could afford to continue these studies. So he had five kids, and he was out of work.

But in the course of his work in the Southwest with the Forest Service, and then during this wildlife survey of the mid-western states, he'd come up with some pretty firm ideas of what involved wildlife, ecology, and management. And so, although he had no income at all--we were living, I gather, on savings, and I don't know where he'd saved this money, but he had a little bit--he wrote Game Management, which is the book published by Scribner's and which was the classic and still is the classic work on wildlife management. From that period of time it was a very remarkable piece of writing.

Holleuffer: This was the one in which he talked about preservation of predators and habitat maintenance?

Leopold: Yes.

Holleuffer: Which was really ahead of its time.

Leopold: That's right, it certainly was and was soon recognized as being a classic. Upon the publication of that book, then the University of Wisconsin became interested, and Dean Russell, dean of agriculture, made a position for my father in the university as a professor of wildlife ecology, wildlife management. And that started what is now a very strong wildlife department at the University of Wisconsin.

Leopold: In the meantime I had gone off to work for the Soil Conservation Service in La Crosse, Wisconsin, for a couple of years. This was in the early thirties. But Dad got an appointment, then he had an income again, and very shortly after he had any money he went out and bought this farm on the Wisconsin River, which was the basis for writing the Sand County Almanac. So we spent a lot of time up there, planting pine trees and doing all kinds of fun things.

Holleuffer: And about what age were you at that time?

Leopold: Twenty. I was born in 1913, and this would have been in the early thirties.

Holleuffer: And were you the oldest of the five?

Leopold: Yes. The rest of the kids were still in high school and college. Well, after a year and a half of working for the Soil Conservation Service I found out how much I didn't know, and I came back to the University of Wisconsin, graduated in agriculture in 1936, and then went to Yale Forestry School, largely, I guess, because that's where my dad went to school, so I had to go to Yale Forestry School too.

#### From Yale to Berkeley

Leopold: And I was there one year working on the master's program, which is a two-year program, but at the end of the year I was awarded a fellowship for graduate study that permitted me to take it at any university. It was actually a Charles Lathrop Pack Forestry Fellowship. I didn't have to stay at Yale. By this time I knew very well I wanted to get into the wildlife field, not just straight forestry, and so I didn't complete the master's program at Yale but came instead to the University of California, Berkeley, to work with Joseph Grinnell, who at that time was one of the outstanding naturalists and conservationists in this country. Many of his writings intrigued me, so I wanted to come out and take my Ph.D. with JG, which I did, except that before I completed my work, Dr. Grinnell died. And so I finished with Alden Miller.

Now, after I came to California I didn't see very much of home or my dad, family. I'd get back there occasionally. I think it was 1944 that I went back there in the fall--took leave to write my Ph.D. thesis. So that was the last year that I really did any hunting with my father or had much activity with him.

## II WORKING AS A WILDLIFE BIOLOGIST

### Deer and Turkey Study in the Ozarks

Leopold: In '39, after I'd finished my basic course work here, there was quite an increase in biological activity among the states. Most of the states had fish and game departments, but up to that time they'd all been pretty much straight game wardens, passing laws and enforcing hunting. But with the passage of the Pittman-Robertson Act in 1937 or '38 I guess it was, the federal tax on sporting arms and ammunition was reallocated from the federal government back to the forty-eight states, on some kind of a formula, so that the states could develop their own biological programs--that is to say for research. The money would not be used for game wardens or game farms and the traditional things: it had to be for biological purposes.

Missouri was one of the first of the states to take advantage of this and put together a really very remarkable program of wildlife biology, and I was lucky enough to be in on that first wave in Missouri. I showed up for work the first of July, 1939, in Jefferson City, and was assigned to the Ozark area of Missouri. They divided the state into five blocks and I got the best one, which was the Ozark. And my assignment at that time was to restore deer and wild turkeys to the Ozarks.

Well, the Ozark people--the people that had colonized and lived there--were mostly English descent, really all related to Daniel Boone in one way or another, great hunters. And they'd killed all the deer out of the Ozarks. There wasn't a deer left except in one area down in Taney County, where there was a fenced, private enclosure. And they'd killed most all the turkeys. So the problem was one of public relations more than biology, really, to get the Ozark people interested in conservation and to work with us. They took delight in circumventing the game wardens. They just loved that. Nothing would be more fun than to kill a gobbler and then go in and brag about it, and nobody could arrest you.

Leopold: So I spent five years in the Ozarks, and this was my assignment. During that time I initiated a study of wild turkeys, which was not part of my assignment, but I needed a thesis. I was trying to figure out what makes a wild turkey wild. I mean there are a lot of turkeys. Some of them we raise for human food, and others are flying around wild as can be out in the woods. Obviously, there were some genetic differences there, and I finally pinned down pretty well why many of the turkey management efforts up to that time had been a failure. They were working with turkeys that were really not wild, but hybrids between wild and domestic birds. And this had to do with size of the brain, the size and development, the adrenal glands and the pituitary; these are all parts of the body control mechanism that controls behavior. Many of the leads that I got were from doctors, actually, who told me what to look for. Anyhow, that was my thesis.

The state of Missouri then got rid of their game-farm turkeys, started working entirely with wild birds, and working largely with the Ozark people--trying to get them to help take care of the turkeys--and the result has been astonishing. Missouri now has a tremendous turkey population and deer population, so that that work was worthwhile. I had a good time and learned a lot. I got a Ph.D. thesis out of it, and Missouri got some birds back.

#### Wildlife Studies in Mexico

Leopold: Then--that was during the war--I tried to join the navy, and they wouldn't take me for health reasons because I had violent allergies to ragweed, of all things, and of course Missouri is a great place for ragweed.

So instead I went to work for the Pan American Union. William Vogt was head of the conservation section of the Pan American Union in Washington. And at that time, during the war, they had a lot of scientists out in Latin America looking for all kinds of products that might be necessary or might be useful in the war. For example, substitutes for rubber and guayule and all kinds of other [things], and many of the palms that might yield important oils. In other words, they were looking over the whole American continents with an idea that if this war dragged on and on, we may need some of these things.

Well, I got in on that, looking at the wildlife of Mexico, which was not really part of a war effort, but it was part of this total package. So for two years my wife and I lived in Mexico City, and I worked radially out of there, down as far as Yucatán and Campeche and Oaxaca and so on.

Holleuffer: How did you travel in those areas at that time, during the war?

Leopold: Any way you could!

Holleuffer: They didn't even have a railroad that went through to Yucatán until the fifties or sixties.

Leopold: No, that's right. To get to Yucatán we had to take a boat from Veracruz, land outside of Mérida, then they had a little narrow-gauge railroad that ran around the peninsula, woodburning--Baldwin locomotives burning wood--and we rode that for a while, and then got a native Mayan with a cart and a couple of horses to haul us to one of the cenotes, where we could have a camp and get some water (cenote being the caved-in roof of a limestone cavern).\*

Anyway, we did a lot of travel by oxcarts and mule trains and so on. I had a car. Where we could get around with an automobile we used that. But in two years I saw a good part of Mexico, and carefully avoided the northern part because I figured I could get at that easier later on.

At the end of the second year, which was 1946, Dr. Alden Miller, who had been my major professor here, came through Mexico, and he spent a day with me and saw what I was doing. When he came back, the university offered me a staff position here, which I accepted.

Then in subsequent years after '46 I made repeated trips back into Mexico--almost every summer--usually with four or five graduate students as part of their training program, filling in all the holes that I hadn't covered before. And finally in 1959, which was quite a while later, I wrote a book, The Wildlife of Mexico, which is....

Holleuffer: An award winner.

Leopold: Yes. Nobody is likely to do all that again! It's an awful lot of work.

#### Jawbone Deer Herd in California

Leopold: During that period that I was going back and forth into Mexico I was still starting some research projects here, which was an essential part of my operation of training students--and one thing

---

\*Cenote is a sinkhole or well in the limestone.

Leopold: and another. One of them, the first one, a big project, was on deer--the status of deer in California.

About this time it was beginning to emerge that there could be too many deer. Previously no one ever thought of that. But in Pennsylvania and in one or two other places they suddenly came to the realization they had so many deer the deer were eating the country up, and pretty soon there weren't any deer because there was nothing left to eat. All the states, including California, then began to reexamine their problems of deer management. But this always led eventually to some proposal to shoot does--female deer. And that invariably raised an enormous ruckus, because the hunters were used to bucks only, and a gentleman wouldn't shoot a lady deer and all that stuff.

This was such a hot item that the Department of Fish and Game pawned it off on us on a contract. They didn't want to do the research: they gave it to us to do. So we had a contract here, and we conducted two concurrent studies. One was an intensive study of one herd of deer--the so-called Jawbone deer herd--which is just north of Yosemite. It summers up there in the Clavey River, up as far as Sonora Pass, and then comes down in the winter to Jawbone Ridge. And we studied that herd very intensively. We had a lot of marked animals running around with bells on their necks and tags in their ears so we could know what they were doing.

The other was a general survey of the deer situation throughout the state of California. Both of these were published then--in 1952, I guess. The people that helped me on the statewide survey, that really carried the ball, were Bill Longhurst and Ray Dasmann, Dasmann being one of the authors of [The Destruction of] California [1965] that you may well know. And on my team on the Jawbone herd I had Thane Riney and several other very competent biologists.

Well, we were convinced at the end of this period of study that we had too many deer, and the deer were really harming their own range. There was no alternative but to try and reduce that herd and hold it in some kind of balance to the forage supply. And we proposed that, as such. And of course you got the instant reaction from the legislature, from all the organized sportsmen, just raising hell.

Holleuffer: How did you propose to hold the herd?

Leopold: We proposed an experimental hunt on the Jawbone herd, where we knew all the information, we knew what the problem was, and there would be permits allotted to kill so many thousand does of the herd, under permit, then see what happened. And our thinking was it couldn't ruin the whole situation in the state of California by

Leopold: just one little experimental hunt, and we thought we could show that this would really work. But the opposition was so enormous that it actually never happened.

#### Confrontation with the Sierra Club

Leopold: Among the other groups that began to consider this and began to come out strongly against it was the Sierra Club. Up to that point I was a member only; I was not on any committees and took no part in the club activities. But I was led to understand that the conservation committee (I think at that time Milton Hildebrand was the chairman of that--Milt is at the University of California at Davis now in the zoology department) this conservation committee was passing resolutions and so on against shooting does and sending them on to the board.

Well, this annoyed me considerably. So I went uninvited to one of these meetings of the Sierra Club Conservation Committee: I found out when the meeting was, and I gave them a big song and dance based on all the information that we had, and they considered all this and reversed their stand. They didn't actively get out and do any fighting for doe shooting, but at least they didn't involve us in further opposition.

#### Service to the Club

Leopold: That was my first contact with the Sierra Club. After that, when it came to wildlife questions, pretty soon they started coming to us and asking our advice, which was very nice. I liked that; that was good. And it led eventually to my being proposed --I can't remember just how this came about--but anyway eventually I was elected as one of the board. I served on the board there for quite a while: first under Alex Hildebrand, who was president, and then Harold Bradley was president after Alex, I guess. At the time when Harold was president I think I was up to the point of being vice-president.

Holleuffer: Yes, it says on here you were a vice-president in--

Leopold: Yes, well, what was the time period? What would the date have been? Do you have that?

Holleuffer: About 1958, it says. [member of Sierra Club Board of Directors, 1954-1960; vice-president, 1956-1957]

Leopold: I know something happened that I figured I just couldn't spend the time at being on the board. That was when I withdrew from everything to write that book on Wildlife of Mexico, published in '59, and so I withdrew from the board and that was the end of my service to the club other than in an informal advisory capacity.

Holleuffer: Was your work with the club, then, mainly giving advice on conservation issues, on management?

Leopold: That was what got me into it originally, but by the time I was on the board obviously I was participating in everything else!  
[laughing]

Holleuffer: All the politics with it?

Leopold: Oh, yes. It was a pretty small group then and very friendly and an informal sort of an operation. It was nice; I liked it. It's frightening now. I don't know that I'd want to even be near that board; they scare me half to death! But at that time it was a very nice outfit. Ansel Adams and all the gang, Dick Leonard, of course. We'd all gather around. Heck, you'd sit around with a cup of coffee and decide all kinds of important things in just no time at all. It was fun. I enjoyed that a lot. But once I terminated my activity in '59, I've never been back.



## II EVOLUTION OF THEORY ON FIRE

Trip to Mexico with Father in 1938##

Holleuffer: Before we go on with your career, I'd like to go back to an earlier time when you were going through the Rio Gavilán in the Sierra Madre of Mexico with your father, in 1938 I believe?

Leopold: Yes.

Holleuffer: You were bow-and-arrow hunting with him?

Leopold: Yes, that was the first year I came to Berkeley as a graduate student. Dad had been down the year before, into this area of Chihuahua, and wanted to go back. By then we were doing our deer hunting with bows and arrows. He wanted to go back and have another try at it. So I met my father and my uncle Carl in El Paso, and we went down into the Gavilán for about a month, as I remember-- Christmas of '38. A local Mormon guide took us in, packed us in; it was about twenty-five miles on horseback. And then he'd come in every once in a while and supply us with a little bit of fresh produce and stuff.

That was a very interesting and delightful trip, and it gave me my first real look at an honest-to-god wilderness, an ecosystem completely unaltered by any livestock or people. The thing that astonished me about that Gavilán country was that it burned every year--fires just kept running through there. The Mormon guides that took us in, periodically they'd lean out from their saddle and throw down a match and start the country on fire. Yet I never saw a healthier piece of real estate than that Gavilán country was. The gramma grass was knee-high as far as you could see, and there was a little prickly species of ceanothus which turned out to be the primary food for deer. It would burn down to the ground, and it would spring right back up with fresh sprouts.

Leopold: It began to dawn on me that fire was a perfectly normal part of that sort of semi-arid country, and might even be an essential part of it. And Dad, who had been brought up in the Forest Service with the tradition always against fire, he began to wonder too. We discussed this at some length around the campfire. The effects of fire on this countryside seemed, in any way that I could see, to be completely beneficial. There was a tremendous crop of deer, but not too many because there was also a big crop of mountain lions and wolves, both of which were killing deer. You'd find the carcasses all over the country as you were hunting. You could quickly tell which one had made the kill--whether it was a lion or wolf--by the way in which the thing was bitten. Lions always drive those canine teeth in at the base of the skull. They bite a deer on the neck.

Holleuffer: And how does a wolf bite?

Leopold: A wolf, he doesn't work on the head at all. He grabs them from the side and starts tearing them apart coming from below.

Anyway, I determined at that time I was going to go back and study this whole relationship: deer, lions, wolves, gramma grass, the whole thing. It seemed like a fantastic place to go and see a real, honest-to-goodness virgin country and how everything worked together, including the business about fire.

So, it was some years later when I had a chance to go back, and that was 1948 I guess. My father died that spring, and this was the summer of '48, after Dad's death. And I went back with two people from our museum here--Alden Miller and Ward Russell--and Bob McCabe, a student of my father's, from the University of Wisconsin Wildlife Department. And to our distress we found that even at that time the loggers were moving in, the logging trucks were on their way into this beautiful pine country. And you could hear the sawmills working. As soon as you have people come in, then with them come the livestock, and it was obvious that we were looking at the end of an era of virgin country. So the opportunity to make that kind of a study never really materialized. I was too late. I should have gotten started ten years earlier.

But I came home with some ideas about fire that I'd never had before. And when I started looking around California at some of the situations that you could see right from the highway--including our own national parks, Yosemite--I was struck with how prevention of fire was creating tremendous fire hazards in the thick growth of white fir and incense cedar and other stuff. I began to wonder if this is really the way to manage this kind of country, completely excluding fire, which had been a natural part of the countryside.

Controversy at the 1957 Wilderness Conference

Leopold: The first time I raised this question in public, it was rather amusing. It was one of the first wilderness conferences.

Holleuffer: Was it 1956?

Leopold: I don't know; I can't remember. It was about then. This was held in the Claremont Hotel over here [in Berkeley], and I was on the program. I've forgotten what I was supposed to be talking about, but anyway I raised the question about whether in our national parks--and I was talking particularly about Sequoia and Yosemite right here--that the prevention of fire had created problems that didn't exist before and might lead to actual loss of the Big Trees: for example, if you had enough fuel underneath those things. Maybe we should be burning.\*

And out of the corner came the old-time Park Service boys, Harold Bryant, who was one of the old-timers, stood up, and he was shaking he was so mad. And he made me mad when he started out and said, "I am amazed that the son of Aldo Leopold...." And boy, that really set me off. So we had a hell of a good little debate there. My wife claims that two of my students were holding me back! [laughing]

Anyway, that's the first time I can remember this issue being raised in public, and it certainly got some nice sparks. Another man who was present and who lit into me--his name was Corcoran--was the head forester for the National Park Service from Washington. The two of them just chewed me out quite a bit. I didn't say much more publicly about this issue at the moment.

1963 Report to Secretary of the Interior Udall

Leopold: It wasn't very long until I had a chance to get in a couple of licks on this, and that was when Udall appointed this advisory board--or whatever we were--on wildlife management.

---

\*See Appendix A for text of remarks.

Holleuffer: This was your report which is called the Leopold Report to Secretary Udall?\*

Leopold: Yes. And I figured, "Okay, I'm in my career here; I can say any damn thing I want." So I wrote that report. Somewhere around here I'm sure we have a pencil draft of that thing. I really worked long and hard on that. I got in a lot of the ideas that had been brewing in my mind for a long time and sent this around to members of the committee, and the most enthusiastic response I got by far was Stanley Cain's. Stan thought this was really the berries. He just loved it. There was some question on the part of [Clarence] Cottam and [Ira] Gabrielson. They had little things that they wanted to change. Tom Kimball was the other member. He didn't like it very much because it didn't have public hunting in the national parks, which was what the states' fish and game departments all wanted. "If you have too many elk, let us shoot 'em." But anyway, we finally got that report written and signed. Now that wasn't all that easy.

Holleuffer: What does it mean to have it signed?

Leopold: By the five members of the board, and there was some disagreement here! I took all their comments, and I redrafted it. The bug was really Kimball. Tom, as you may or may not know, had been the head of the Colorado Game Department. At one time he was head of the Arizona Game Department. Then he moved to Colorado. Then he became head of the National Wildlife Federation. He was on the board. Well, as an old state fish and game man, he obviously had close working relationships with all the state people, and all of them were very much concerned about this report.

The Park Service had moved into Yellowstone and shot 4500 elk themselves, when the states of Montana and Wyoming kept saying, "We'll bring hunters in and we'll shoot 4500 elk for you!" And this was really a pretty hot issue, this public hunting in the parks. Was this to go or not?

So when it came right down to the final draft of the report, I had the stencils cut here. Nobody had seen the report yet except the members, and there was a lot of speculation about what we were doing to have to say on public hunting. I went to the hotel in Detroit and got somebody there that could run mimeograph copies off. I had a stack about that [gesturing] high on my bed in my room.

---

\*Report by Secretary Udall's Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, 1963. See Appendix B.

Holleuffer: About three feet high.

Leopold: I knew there was going to be quite a demand for these things. I took one copy around and had everybody sign it, all members of the committee, till I got to Kimball, and Kimball wouldn't sign it. He kept hemming and hawing about public hunting. It was obvious that some of his state friends had really put the bite on poor old Tom. There was some phrase in there about under such and such circumstances the Park Service "might" employ the assistance of public hunting to reduce as necessary. He insisted that word "might" should be "must." And if I changed that word in every one of these copies he'd sign it. I said, "Okay. Sign it." He signed, and I never changed it! It went out just this way. Well, it would have looked like an awful mess if somebody was reading this through and came to this crucial thing and here that word is in ink! Oh, brother! Tom knew I wasn't going to do it anyway, and we've laughed about it since.

#### The Issue of Controlled Burns

Leopold: But anyway, that was the point where we got our say about a possible need for burning in the national parks: letting natural fires run, or set them if you have to in order to reduce fuel and start to recreate the kinds of ecosystems that existed originally. And at the end of the talk, the conservationists' groups generally--including Dave Brower, Tony Smith from the National Parks Association, I can't remember who the rest of them were--were all simply delighted that at least we had disposed of the public hunting issue. But they were all pretty puzzled about this business of fire suddenly popping out of this report, which wasn't what Udall had asked us about at all. It had nothing to do with his question.

At the North American Wildlife Conference it was customary, and still is I guess, for the president--in those days it was [Ira] Gabrielson--to have an open-house cocktail party after the banquet, and I was invited this year and I went up there. And all these guys, including Brower and Smith, one by one nailed me to the wall, and did I really honest-to-god believe this?

Holleuffer: On what issue? On the burning?

Leopold: Fire, fire, yes. I said, "You're darn right I do. Come on out" --Tony Smith especially--"I'll show you a couple of places that will scare you half to death, and right in Yosemite Park." And they mulled it over and all of a sudden they decided, "By gosh, maybe you're right."

Leopold: Well, Udall, in the meantime--he had the report of course about ten days before the meeting, he was scheduled to be there, to receive the report and make some response to it--he read it, and all this stuff about burning scared him half to death. And the last thing I got was a telephone call from Stewart Udall in the hotel that evening--Sunday night, the night before the big session the next morning--saying President Kennedy had given him some assignment to do something or other.

Hell, no way. It had nothing to do with President Kennedy! He just didn't know what to make of this, whether we were going to get shot down in flames or what. So he chose not to go. Instead he sent one of his henchmen who read a nice little letter that said nothing in particular.\*

But it was the next night at the cocktail party that all the people that might have gotten pretty excited about it just all of a sudden, as we began to talk it over, decided by gosh, maybe we're right. And it wasn't but a few weeks later when Udall regretted very much that he hadn't been there, and he told me so. He said, "Starker, God damn you, you hit a home run, and I didn't know it!" [laughing] So anyway, that was what started all that.

Holleuffer: There's another phrase in that report that I wonder if you'd comment on because it seems to me that it might have caused some ruckus at that time; it wasn't the kind of popular idea. You said, "If too many tourists crowd the roadways, then we should ration the tourists rather than expand the roadways."

Leopold: Dave Brower, of course, went for that. So did Ansel [Adams]. Ansel thought that was just right because Ansel had been fighting one of the big roads they were putting over the hill there.

Holleuffer: But it wasn't a popular idea at that time in the early sixties to talk about restricting tourism or restricting the visitors.

Leopold: No. Actually, though, we didn't get much flak out of that. I mean that was our opinion, and people just kind of let it go at that. Brower was very favorable towards that. Dave, of course, is always strictly a wilderness type of guy, and [was] fighting with Connie Wirth even in those days over too much development and too many roads.

---

\*See Appendix C for Sierra Club's and Udall's responses.

## IV THE QUESTION OF MANAGEMENT

Making Decisions in Management

Holleuffer: That report, it seemed to me, was very much ahead of its time in calling for habitat maintenance as one way of conserving wildlife and managing wildlife, and it talked about management being limited to native plants and animals, the need for controlled burns or wild burns, stopping tourism from crowding in the parks. This was in 1963. Do you think that we've achieved many of those goals, or do we still have areas of trouble?

Leopold: No, we have some. For example, I had a meeting ten days ago with the superintendent of Sequoia-Kings Canyon. He brought three of his staff men down just to talk about this. But how far do you go in management? The boys--some of the biologists, including Dave Graber, who was one of my products, one of my own kids, and a damn good boy--they're uneasy about arbitrary decisions. You decide to cut down a tree, who's to decide which tree to cut? Should you cut any tree at all? And they'll all go for the idea of letting natural fires run. If lightning starts a fire, then, this is something that has to do with God, and you didn't have to make a decision. But they really were concerned in a genuine way with arbitrary decisions that have to be made as soon as you move into management, you're going to manage for something, you're going to try to recreate it, try and maintain a given type of an ecosystem. And I still defend it. Okay, so you make some arbitrary decisions. So what? They may be arbitrary, but that doesn't necessarily mean that they're capricious, as long as your objective is a goal of what you construe to be a natural ecosystem.

Bruce Kilgore--who was in the Park Service here and now is with the Experimental Fire Lab, whatever they call it, in Missoula, Montana--is calling a big program later this summer, a conference on this whole thing of fire, and who decides when and where and how much to burn. He asked me to appear at that thing. It turned out I had a date to go trout fishing, and it's more important to me than going to somebody's meeting! I've said my part anyway!

Leopold: But it is not resolved; that's what I'm trying to tell you. This is twenty years later, and they're still arguing about the details of it. Nobody will argue with the theory that we should be trying to do something about maintaining natural combinations of plants and animals.

Natural vs. Exotic Species

Holleuffer: What about the issue of natural species? I seem to remember that even as late as the 1970s the New Mexico Game Department was transplanting ibex for hunting, which is a species from Asia.

Leopold: Yes. But not into a park?

Holleuffer: Not into a park, no, but into the forests.

Leopold: Oh, yes. New Mexico and Texas have been doing a lot of this.

Holleuffer: And this is strictly for the purpose of hunting. There's no other reason for it.

Leopold: That's right, yes.

Holleuffer: How do you feel about that?

Leopold: I take a very dim view of this, and I have all along. I think we have plenty of good game animals in this country. We don't need to start dragging in all these black bucks and ibex and that kind of thing. No, I don't approve of it, and I've made this clear on a number of occasions. No one would ever raise the question in a national park about bringing exotics in. Even those that have spread in naturally, like burros, we're trying our best to get rid of them. Or goats.

Holleuffer: Goats on San Clemente Island.

Leopold: San Clemente. And sheep on Haleakala, on the Hawaiian Islands. And pigs create havoc over there. Those are exotics that, if you can do it, should be eliminated.

Some of the botanists at Yellowstone took this expression very, very literally, concerned about road shoulders. In the Yellowstone as soon as you get in there with a blade and blade up an area and go down to mineral soil, the first thing that comes in is ten million little-bitty pine seedlings! You leave them alone and it becomes a solid wall, where you're just looking down a tunnel.



Leopold: Well, this obviously is false and artificial and has to be gotten rid of. But then what they were saying is, "Now what do we put in instead?" It had to be native grasses, not just a good, tough grass that would hold that ground. And one of these lads--I can't remember his name now--he was going to all kinds of pains gathering seeds of native grasses in order to sprinkle them along those roadsides! [laughing] Which I thought was very nice, but I'm not sure it's really going to work!

Holleuffer: Yes, it's a problem once you disturb something.

Leopold: Yes, and the very fact of a road and a road shoulder, and blades are going to go over that thing. You're going to be fighting that vegetation all the time.

Well, I wrote a letter this last week to Boyd Evanson, superintendent down at Sequoia, and sent a copy to Bob Barbee, who's the superintendent of Yellowstone now, and reiterated my thinking about management. Management doesn't scare me. As long as you know what you're doing--as long as you know why you're doing it, I should say--I can't feel uneasy about management. Well, I think Barbee at least--Since I wrote that letter, I've seen a different letter that he wrote to Nathaniel Reed, and he's talking about some aspects of management at Yellowstone that he thinks they're going to get right into. He doesn't seem to be bothered or worried by having to make arbitrary decisions.

#### Yellowstone--a Hypothetical Plan

Leopold: Let me give you an example of the things that worry me. I go to Yellowstone every year for trout fishing in September, and I dearly love the place, but if you look around for aspen patches they shrink every single year. There are places I knew where there used to be some aspen; now they're gone. The aspen are simply just vanishing. Partly it's lack of fire: a lot of that country they haven't let burn for forty or fifty years. The other part is elk chewing the remaining aspens. They simply girdle them, eat the bark right off, and the aspens die and fall down and disappear.

Holleuffer: So which do you save though, the tree or the elk?

Leopold: Well, the tree is more important than the elk. I mean you're going to have some elk, you don't have to have elk every place and in unlimited numbers.

My suggestion is first of all--Now, what I said in this letter to Evanson--but a copy went to Barbee--that to face this situation I'd get in there and start experimentally burning, small burns

Leopold: within sight of the road so that you're trying to put something out there for people to see, not the back country ten miles over the ridge. If fire alone won't do it, then use a fence. You may even have to fence the elk out for a while till the aspen get going. This wouldn't worry me. They have exclosures in the national parks and a lot of places, and they're far enough off the road you don't see the fence; they're not really visible. But that's the kind of management I think we have to do if we're going to produce anything that looks like the original type of park we're trying to preserve.

#### Mountain Lions and Wolves

Holleuffer: What about the reintroduction of predators? This is still a hot issue as well.

Leopold: Yes. It's not all that easy either. For one reason, nobody knows how to reintroduce wolves. Every time they've ever tried it it's been a failure. Take wolves from a zoo or from somebody's pen, turn them out, immediately they go right to the campgrounds and start begging. So here you've got a wolf begging, and that's not really very good.

The mountain lion in Yellowstone, for reasons that nobody knows, is very slow to come back. They overshot it badly back in the late 1800s, killed far too many, and why they don't recover I don't know. Nobody else does either. There are a few lions there. I found tracks down along the mouth of the Lamar River last year of a nice, beautiful, great big lion, about three and a quarter inches. Yet they just sort of barely hold their own. We don't know why.

So it's actually been proposed by somebody that knows mountain lions better than anyone else--namely Hornocker at Idaho--that some of the surplus young lions that are produced in the Bob Marshall Wilderness Area are not going to find a home there because it's occupied, everybody's there, that these ought to be trapped and moved into the park. And that would be--I don't know, I can't make up my mind whether I go for that or not! I don't know, this sort of artificially moving predators around somehow doesn't ever seem to work very well. But perhaps the lion will come back.

Now the wolf is a different deal. It's exceedingly difficult to establish a pack of wolves. They're social animals. It isn't as though you just put one wolf out, and he goes out and kills an elk, and everybody's happy. They have to work as teams. Well, if you captured a whole pack it would mean a bunch of adults,

Leopold: wouldn't it? And a few young ones. Put them in Yellowstone and chances are they'd be half way across Idaho by tomorrow afternoon! It wouldn't be home to them.

The alternative is to take a bunch of young wolves--puppies. There's been some talk about building a pen back out of sight over the hill somewhere and letting elk meat down on a pulley so they never see you, but you feed them on elk, and finally after they get to a certain size you open the gates and hope to God they learn how to kill an elk! In the meantime of course you could put a young elk in there, a little calf, and let them maul the poor little thing to death--try and teach them. I don't think this would work either. Nobody's ever done it. So predators--by all means, if you've got them hang onto them--but reintroducing them is not very easy.

Holleuffer: Then, re-establishing what we would want to consider as a natural habitat is something we'll never be able to do. It will always be artificial in some way. We'll never be able to recreate the balance between predators and prey.

Leopold: To a certain extent, yes, that's certainly true in an awful lot of the small parks; you never can get a population of big predators back into little parks. Then there are only a few of them that are big enough where it might work at all.

## V WORKING AS A CONSULTANT TO INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT

The Tongass National Forest and Champion Paper##

Holleuffer: Let's see, how about going on to talk about your work for private companies as a consultant in wildlife management. I'd be interested particularly in what sort of restrictions, if any, you feel when you're working for a private company. I'd like to have you speak about the Tongass National Forest in particular, because your report was very unfavorable to the company that hired you.

Leopold: Yes. This was a case where I was approached [1969] by a Mr. Bendetson, president at that time of Champion Paper, to see if I would participate along with a couple of other people in advising the company on how to conduct a logging operation on the Tongass National Forest. A fifty-year lease had already been signed with the Forest Service, in which the company had been guaranteed 8.6 billion board feet of lumber to be taken over that fifty-year period.

What Mr. Bendetson asked us is, "How can we do this with a minimum adverse effect on the environmental situation here?" He was conscious of the fact that not only did he care about the environment but that companies like his were being sued right and left where their operations seemed to infringe on public interests or on other people's interests, and he wanted to do everything he could to conduct this operation in a way that would be least harmful to southeastern Alaska. Fine.

So I think there were five of us on this advisory committee. Stanley Cain, again, was one of them. We had several meetings up there with Bendetson and with a lot of his officers, looking over the whole arrangement of the logging including the selection of a site where the lumber mill would be. All of that was done.

Then came the question of what would be the effect on wildlife of the removal of this eight billion feet of timber. You couldn't just give an offhand opinion. This had to be examined pretty

Leopold: carefully, and so a contract was arranged between the University of California and Champion for a one-year investigation of the wildlife situation in the area of the timber sale, and what would be the effect of the sale of the logging.

I put Reginald Barrett in the field. He had just completed a Ph.D. with me--a good field man. So Reg Barrett went up and spent a year in southern Alaska, went carefully over all the ground that was to be logged, with Forest Service personnel, where they actually were taking some measures of timber volumes--how much timber would have to be cut to meet these guaranteed requirements.

By the time that Reg had been in the field for a year, it was perfectly clear to him, and he made it clear to me, that the removal of that much timber would leave absolutely no wildlife to speak of. I mean the bears, the deer, and even the waterfowl of bays, the estuaries, would be badly messed up by the logging operations. And as such this would be a catastrophe from the standpoint of the wildlife. This was the report that we then had to give in to Mr. Bendetson. In short, we said, "It can't be done: you can't get eight billion feet out of here without making a complete, utter mess of it from the standpoint of wildlife."

Now, we submitted the report to the company; they had paid for it. We gave no copies of it to the Forest Service or anyone else until the period of a month or some weeks. I had specified this on the original contract, that we would be free to release our report after such and such a period. So when the period passed, we sent copies of the report to the Forest Service and the Sierra Club, which had been in litigation already over this particular sale. They got a hold of a copy, and then immediately, of course, they reopened the litigation. Judge Merrill, here in the circuit court of appeals, came to the conclusion that our report was new evidence, and therefore the whole litigation should go back to the original court in Alaska, and that ended finally in their just canceling the whole sale.

Now, the question you asked is what would be my relations with Mr. Bendetson. I see him regularly, he's still a good friend of mine, and he understands thoroughly that we were asked a professional question, and we gave him a professional answer, which turned out to cost him millions of dollars. But it's really a good thing we did, because otherwise Champion would be doing just what Louisiana Pacific is doing on the same kind of a deal, just a little farther south in Alaska.

Holleuffer: You said, though, that Mr. Bendetson was in earnest about wanting to preserve the wildlife?

Leopold: He was, yes. He really was.

Holleuffer: Do you think there are companies which aren't, such as Louisiana Pacific?

Leopold: I can't say that there are any others; I just happen to know about that one. But he really meant it, otherwise he certainly wouldn't have been fooling around with asking us all these questions. And all of that didn't have to do with wildlife either. I mean a lot of it had to do with water pollution--the question of where you locate a mill. This was to be a combination lumber and paper mill. They were going to use logs for lumber if they were good enough, and if they weren't they could shunt them the other way and make paper out of them.

Well, as soon as you put up a paper mill, then automatically you start worrying about pollution problems. So the selection of a site had to be done very carefully so that pollution from the mill wouldn't interfere with the salmon runs and so on, and all of this was done in all good faith. Where we finally ran into the bug it had to do with wildlife and not the mill site itself at all.

Holleuffer: That's a wonderful example where a report actually had some effect. Have most of your reports been received and been acted upon favorably? Or have there been ones that you made and then nothing ever came of them?

Leopold: The reports about the deer situation that I spoke of earlier were never really acted on. It took a long, long time.

Holleuffer: The California deer?

Leopold: Yes. The problem was pretty well solved by the time they got around to looking carefully at it--the deer had mostly died.

#### Defeat of the Rampart Dam in Alaska

Leopold: I've been in a couple of other situations where the recommendations were followed. One of them was, you remember, the proposed Rampart Dam in Alaska. [mid-1960s]

Holleuffer: Yes, I was going to ask you about that.

Leopold: It was supported very strongly by Governor [Ernest] Gruening, who became Senator Gruening [of Alaska], and he was going to ram this thing through. There was kind of a sentiment in the Congress, I think, that this brand new state--broke at the time, they didn't

Leopold: have any oil, they didn't have any money--it kind of would be nice to spend some money up there, and this seemed to be what the local senator wanted--namely, to build a great big dam.

Well, the impact of this dam clearly was going to have an enormous adverse effect on salmon and on wildlife in general. So again a committee was assembled by the Natural Resources Council of America. It's an organization of Sierra Club, Wilderness Society --all of them collectively meet at each North American Wildlife Conference and decide what the big problems are. They got together and pooled some money to send a crew of about seven or eight of us up there and see what we could do to stop that dam.

The head of the crew was Steve Spurr, who prior to that time had been head of the Forestry School at the University of Michigan. Well, Steve--he's now president of some university down South I think, Rice or Auburn or something--covered the dealings with Senator Gruening. The rest of us went out in the field and looked at what the problems would be. I was involved particularly with the impact on waterfowl, which would have been a catastrophe.

The Yukon flats are really a very important production area for waterfowl. The salmon run would have been cut off, obviously, by the dam at Rampart. And the Canadians were going to take a very dim view of this because the salmon run right up through there and into Canada, and a lot of the native people up above Whitehorse depend on the salmon run. There were a lot of reasons involving fish and wildlife that this was not a good idea.

But the way the thing was finally defeated was by Steve Spurr himself, who--as our information accrued and we began to get more and more ammunition to try and shoot this thing down--would go right over and give it all to Senator Gruening, tell him exactly what we were finding out, exactly what we were going to say, and as Gruening watched this accumulate he began to get uneasy, because if there's anything a senator or congressman doesn't like it is to introduce a project, and fight for it, and have it beaten. A lot better not to have anything to do with it!

And Gruening gradually began to see that this was going to go over like a lead balloon, and he backed out of it. All of a sudden he started talking about birth control, and he got off into another series of kicks! And the thing just quietly died, and that was the end of the Rampart. I thought that was really a very effective operation of a committee, in which I played a very small part. Spurr is the one that really had the advantages there.

Well, now, one of the arguments that Steve used was, "There are other sites in Alaska, if you need hydro-power, far better situated, and one of them is the Susitna River." Well, ten years

Leopold: later suddenly comes this proposal by the Alaska Power Authority for two dams on the Susitna, and I work for the power company in this case, advising them on what the impact of this will be on fish and wildlife--salmon especially. This is still ongoing. Whether they'll ever build it or not I'm beginning to wonder, because it hinges so heavily on the price of oil. When the price of oil went down, when OPEC folded, all of a sudden Alaska, which had been just bubbling over with money, is about half broke. That oil price just took a tremendous dive. And they were depending on that to build the Susitna Dam.

In any event, we're being asked some very legitimate, professional questions about what's the impact going to be on all these different species. And several millions of dollars are going into the research program on these wildlife species, and my job is merely to make sure they're asking the right questions.

Holleuffer: There's never any obligation by these companies to adhere to your reports, is there?

Leopold: No, none at all. They do anything they want.

Holleuffer: But then you always take the position that you want to make the information public, so that if it's unfavorable it will at least be out.

Leopold: Well, I wouldn't even start on one if I didn't have that right. No, no, no, you don't want to get caught in that situation.



## VI GENERAL COMMENTS

The Importance of the University

Holleuffer: You've worked for so many different organizations: the government, state fish and and game departments, you've been head of the Sagehen Creek facility here at UC Berkeley, and head of California Academy of Sciences, been on the Wilderness Society, various other things...Sierra Club. Of all those organizations you've worked with, which do you feel were the most effective in what they were doing?

Leopold: Hmmm. Well, I'd never stopped to think of it that way. Most effective in what they were accomplishing, the organization? Gee, I don't know. I don't know that I can really give you a thoughtful answer. They're all so different. I think the university, of course, which is where I've spent most of my time, is in the long run one of the most effective organizations because of the research we do and the training of students and feed them into government places and so on. Decision making then grows out of the work that we do around the university in perhaps the most effective [way] of all. I don't know. That may not be a very complete answer, but I don't want to just pick out any one.

I think in terms of organizations that have prospered and really done exceedingly well, the California Academy of Sciences is one of the classic examples; it's done beautifully. But I've only been part of it. I was president for twelve--fifteen years, but there's a board of trustees that does most of the fundraising and that kind of thing.

I would say that the government agencies, generally speaking, I'd put toward the bottom of the list, in terms of real performing and producing over a continuing period of time. You can't really depend on either the state or the federal government. Just take a look at what's happening right now! Both the state and the federal government! You think you're making headway in conservation,

Leopold: then all of a sudden the whole thing gets tipped right over on you, upside down. Still, they're the people that do an awful lot, and so we work with them anyway.

Holleuffer: And it will change--go back the other way.

Plans for a Suisun Marsh Interpretive Center

Leopold: Right now I'm spending a great deal of my time trying to establish a museum and an interpretive center in the Suisun marsh.

Holleuffer: Oh, yes.

Leopold: I'm convinced that the wetlands of California are probably our most precious and most rapidly diminishing resource, and we have hardly any marshland left, four percent roughly of what we had originally. And one way that you can reverse a trend of this sort is to put through public education. A museum that attracts a lot of people can be a very effective educational tool.

Now, the museum I have in mind would be established up here near Fairfield but out on the edge of the Suisun, in a situation where you can bring kids in by busload lots and teach them that a marsh is really a beautiful and interesting place, and there are lots of good products that grow out of it, including little fishes that become big fishes in the bay, and the ducks, and so on. But I'm not making much headway right at the moment.

Holleuffer: Whose land? Is it state land or federal land?

Leopold: Well, the state owns four or five thousand acres in Hill Slough, and they're establishing a refuge there, the purpose of which is going to be for public viewing of wildlife, not public hunting at all. We're trying to establish a site on the edge of this for our museum. I'll be damned if I'm going to put it on government land, state or federal. You can't trust them. Twenty years from now, all of a sudden you get somebody in there as head of fish and game or head of some government agency and he's not the least bit interested in this; he wants to do something else. So I'm insisting that before we proceed with this we get a site that we own.

First, somebody offered me twenty acres. Then he withdrew the offer because it turned out to be extremely valuable real estate land. Now, just last night, I telephoned to a rancher I've been trying to deal with to see if I could buy twenty--thirty acres from him, and he said no. So I just handed my girl a memorandum that I drafted this morning to the effect that we're

Leopold: still starting from scratch, from step one. But once we get this thing installed--and we will, we'll get it sooner or later, I'm talking about a two-or three-million dollar installation, I mean this is going to be something really attractive--with a research grant, not just for public education, probably have a separate building, but there's an awful lot of research that needs to be done on waterfowl on these wintering grounds and marsh management. How do you handle a piece of marshland to get the maximum carrying capacity for waterfowl as well as for baby striped bass and everything else.

Fish and Game isn't going to find this out; they just flounder around. Hell, they don't know what they're doing half the time. So that the research to establish these management procedures are things that we want to do. They'll be delighted to have us do them, too. So this can be important, I think.

And I'm heading it up. I'm president of the foundation, California Wetlands Foundation--I have a board of directors. Everybody is waiting for me to find the land that we can get going on.

Do you ever get down to Arizona? Have you ever seen that Arizona Sonora Desert Museum?

Holleuffer: Yes.

Leopold: Well, the fellow I have working on the plan for this museum is Bob Dahl, who did that one, and Bob lives at Tucson, lives not far from that museum, and he's really very clever. He likes live things, not just stuffed ducks. People are much more interested in something that wiggles! And his ideas about how this museum might be put together are really fascinating. All I need is to get going! [laughing]

Holleuffer: You need the place and the money.

Leopold: So I'm not quite through yet. I'll try and get this one done, then I'll just go fishing--and to heck with it!

#### Family Influences

Holleuffer: I was wondering if you had said everything that you wanted to about your early influences, about your family? I thought it was remarkable that your parents had five children, and all of them turned out to be professional scientists--botanists, geologists, zoologists.

Leopold: Yes. We all ask this question, of course: What in the world was the influence of our father? None of us know! I mean nobody can give you a logical answer.

Holleuffer: You said that even as early as five your father was taking you around on the handlebars of a bike.

Leopold: Oh yes, you bet. I had a good start all right, because I hunted and fished with him. I was always closer to my father I think than any of the other kids. Yet it is surprising that all the rest of them seemed to follow into lines more or less allied to natural history fields, and there isn't one of us in the family that can tell you how this was done. We certainly didn't succeed with our own kids. All of our kids work from every possible direction except this.

Holleuffer: Well, it is unusual to have a whole family that united in its goals.

Leopold: Yes, it really is.

#### Threats to African and Mexican Wildlife

Leopold: One thing we haven't talked about at all is Africa. I've spent quite a bit of time over there, and I've had a lot of students working on African wildlife problems. My last one, Lawrence Frank, is just now writing his thesis on hyenas in the Mara country [in Africa]. I'm terribly discouraged with the wildlife future in East Africa; I don't think there's any hope at all. As soon as the English got booted out, everything became Africanized, the governments. Then they Africanized the parks and the administration and all of a sudden you're beginning to get a pretty loose organization in management of those national parks, despite the fact that in Kenya at least the national parks and the wildlife are the number-one source of income.

But the pressure that builds in an area like East Africa comes from the growth of the native population of people. As there get to be more and more hungry people, they just keep crowding out into the wilderness; exactly the same thing in Mexico. precisely. In East Africa, each family has to have its little shamba, its field where it grows its corn and beans, and lives off that little plot. Down here [in Mexico] it's a milpa. And that's the same thing exactly. And wildlife simply retreats, and pressures around the edges of the national parks, for example, are beginning to push in. And I don't think there's any real, long-range future

Leopold: for wildlife there in East Africa. I put my money on South Africa a lot quicker. Of course, you never know what's going to happen, but so far they're doing really a very professional job of handling their national parks.

Holleuffer: Do you think that it's true in Mexico too, that there isn't much hope for wildlife?

Leopold: That's right. I would go beyond that and say there isn't any hope for wildlife. That Gavilán area where Dad and I went in in '38....A friend of mine, Bob Smith, who was the flyway biologist in this country up to a few years ago, went into there in April of this year. He went back into that Gavilán area collecting trout. There are endemic species of trout in all those little streams that flow down into the Rio Yaqui. And Bob had invited me to go, and I thought about it a long while; I thought I'd love to get back in that country.

Well, he phoned me up after he got back last month and said, "I'm awful glad you didn't go. It would have just made you cry to see this country." Now [this was] the same place that I remember so vividly as a real wilderness. I had taken Bob in there back about fifteen years ago. We went in on a turkey hunt. Now, he said, there's a cow under every bush--every place where there's a little flat piece of land--and somebody is out there hoeing the corn in, and it's simply completely gone as far as the wilderness goes. And that's the way East Africa is getting; they just keep crowding it. Hungry people--you can't blame them. When you've got people that are hungry, by gosh, they're going to try and feed themselves and their families, but this is the ultimate result: loss of the natural values.

#### Wildlife and Population Growth

Holleuffer: Do you think wildlife management and wilderness are elitist ideas, and they're only for countries which can afford them?

Leopold: No: I think before you even start to answer that question you have to ask another one, and that has to do with human populations. In any society in which populations keep growing indefinitely there is no hope for wilderness, wildlife, or anything else. It's only when populations stabilize that things then become possible, as for example in Sweden or in Switzerland; and of course here in this country our population growth rate is slowing down. It's going to stabilize soon, I hope, in which case I think that the wilderness areas and the wild areas and the wildlife that goes with them are going to be appreciated more than they are now.

Leopold: On the other hand, where there is no control of population growth there simply isn't any hope at all for these kinds of values. Mexico is a classic case--and throughout Latin America. When I worked down there twenty-five, thirty years ago, whenever it was, Bill Vogt was working at the same time looking at the resource situation throughout Latin America, and he wrote the book--maybe you remember it--Road to Survival. That was the first one that came out and said there really is a problem here of human populations. Fairfield Osborne was next with his book, and then Paul Sears and a few others.

But Bill Vogt said that the first real problem in Latin America was going to be El Salvador. Everything that Bill said in that book is coming true right now. And Mexico is just a little bit behind. We're talking to the president of Mexico about how we're going to balance their inflation rate and so on. Baloney. These are all just stop-gap things. Sometime within the next fifty years Mexico is going to blow up just like El Salvador has. You can't have hungry people indefinitely, and stability in the country. As soon as that happens, of course, then the things that I'm most interested in are just out the window--for the Sierra Club, too.

Holleuffer: Was there anything else you wanted to add about your work with the Sierra Club, other than that you had very pleasant memories of serving on the board?

Leopold: Oh, I had a lovely time when I was on the board.

Holleuffer: You say now you aren't really participating with them?

Leopold: I'm not active. I follow what they're doing though, obviously; and occasionally I'm asked for an opinion, particularly if it involves a wildlife problem. No, I think I've said more than I had any business saying! [laughing]

Holleuffer: Just before we end here, of all the activities and all the commissions and positions you've held, which has been the most satisfactory?

Leopold: I think a professorship in the University of California. That's the basis for all the rest of these things. You always have a home base. All the rest of these are relevant--I mean these activities with various other organizations and so on. But it wouldn't work very well if you didn't have a dependable home base, such as I have here. I think I can answer that one fairly straightforward.

Holleuffer: Well, thank you very much. It's been a very interesting talk.

Transcriber: Joyce Minick

Final Typist: Marie Herold

## TAPE GUIDE -- A. Starker Leopold

Date of Interview: June 14, 1983

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| tape 1, side A | 1  |
| tape 1, side B | 11 |
| tape 2, side A | 22 |

the last few years, lumbering and cultivation have begun to move into these last forests. When the land's fertility has been cropped out and the trees have been cut off, the crops will give way to grazing. Once overgrazing has gone far enough, the starving animals preventing grass, brush, and tree reproduction, the area will assume the desert aspect of most of the Middle East.

This remnant biblical wilderness illustrates one of the very real economic values of wilderness that, perhaps, is not often thought of in our country. It would be easy to say, looking at most of the desert Middle Eastern lands, that this area never did support much life, or that the old records of forests and crops are wrong, or that if there were trees here once there has since been a climatic change. But in these remaining wild forest areas we have the living proof that this was not the case. North Lebanon and western Syria provide a point of reference by which one may judge the condition of the land as it was, see what man has done to the rest of the land, and therefore see what can be done with what land is left.

For the United States, wilderness is a powerful diplomatic weapon. Most of us are aware of the often less-than-friendly attitude toward the United States in many countries, and we are aware of the fact that all too often we are considered an industrial nation with a dollar sign for a heart.

I have found in a number of countries, especially those of Asia and Africa, that one of the most effective answers to this belief is our system of wilderness areas and national parks and what they stand for to us.

About three hundred years before Christ, India had what corresponds to a system of wilderness areas and national parks. This was established by India's beloved Emperor Ashoka. The fact that our allegedly materialist country has led the rest of the world in the re-establishment of this idea is a deeper bond with Indians than millions of dollars in aid.

The United States has been a modern day pioneer and leader in wilderness areas. But with this leadership comes responsibility. What we do with our wilderness areas may determine what others can do with similar areas in their countries. We have pioneered also the international approach to parks and wilderness areas, and this seems the only effective way to assure wilderness in many parts of the world.

In the international view, our wilderness is a great responsibility; but it is also a great opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> The expedition was sponsored by the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection, backed by Mr. R. Arundel and organized and led by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lee Merriam Talbot, "Stalking the Great Indian Rhinoceros," *National Geographic Magazine*, March, 1957.

## Wilderness and Culture

By A. STARKER LEOPOLD

Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy, University of California, Berkeley

IN SEARCH of security, comfort, and ease, man has labored in the past few thousand years to conquer and civilize the wilderness. Having done so, and while enjoying the fruits of physical well-being, he developed a taste for activities that satisfy his soul as well as his body. To these activities we apply the collective term "culture." The relationship between culture and the original wilderness is perhaps worth exploring.

Historically speaking, the relationship has been an inverse one—culture and the humanities have flourished as the wilderness was conquered. This is easily understandable in the early stages of social advance. The cave dweller, faced with the daily task of gathering fresh food, had scant time for letters and arts, although all primitive people have left expressions of these. But as man institutionalized the exploitation of the earth around him, his daily bread became assured, and leisure time, at least among the upper social classes, permitted more indulgence in the pleasures of cultivating the mind.

Periodically through the pages of history we meet indications of surges of liberal thinking about man's activities and social relationships. The term "humanities" means the study of human values throughout history. Beginning with the Renaissance and the revolt against religious pedagogy, men of learning looked back to the philosophers of earlier eras for leads to what is important and what is worth knowing. But not often were man's relationships to nature seriously explored. When at last the study of natural phenomena was accepted as worthy of the dignity of the sages, the objectives were principally practical, not philosophical. Modern medicine, engineering, and agriculture are a few of the applied fields of natural science that have flourished and have accounted for much of the recent advance of civilization, without, however, any commensurate advance in the philosophy of man's relationship to the world around him.

It is only in very recent years—less than a century in fact—that an attentive attitude toward undisturbed and unutilized nature has begun to emerge. It is surprising that in the long history of man's conquest of the earth there is no evidence of sustained effort on the part of any people to preserve native landscape for its own sake, until our own national park system began to take form late in the nineteenth century.

There were of course elaborate programs of preserving and culturing



certain elements of flora and fauna for purposes of man's use. For example, one of the most complete plans of wildlife management ever devised was observed by Marco Polo in the realm of Kublai Khan. The Great Khan maintained fields of grain and adjoining shelters for the use of partridges and other wild animals, so that he might find good sport when he went afield to fly his falcons. Most of the so-called parks and forests of mediaeval Europe were similarly managed for specific purposes—usually game and forest products combined.

Throughout history there are records of zoos and botanical gardens maintained by rulers and men of means, proving that people had an avocational interest in natural history even if they lacked appreciation of the undisturbed wilderness *per se*. Curiously, two of the most elaborate zoölogical parks were on this continent in the capitals of the Aztec and Tarascan empires in Mexico, although these peoples were not far advanced by European or Asiatic cultural standards.

But there is a world of difference between the creation of a zoo or a botanical garden and the maintenance of an undisturbed natural area. In a zoo man is rearranging and managing nature for his own interest and amusement. In the wilderness he is showing respect for nature as it existed in the first place. It is the emergence of this element of *respect* that deserves special attention, for it marks a turning point in man's view of the earth.

That the peoples of the world were receptive to a philosophy of nature preservation was manifested by the way the national park idea swept from continent to continent once it was announced in the United States. In a few decades natural preserves of one sort or another were created in many parts of the earth. European countries that had no wilderness left at home applied the idea to their colonies and dependencies. The British Empire was outstanding in this regard, but Germany, Belgium, Holland, and some others followed suit. Many Latin American countries and even some independent nations of Asia and Africa joined in the new movement. The dedicated areas went by many names—parks, game refuges, crown forests, or simply nature preserves. But the basic idea was the same—the preservation of unexploited and more or less unmanaged natural areas.

The implications of this new look toward the outdoors can scarcely be overemphasized. From a tradition of conquest and subjugation of nature and the wilderness, extending back to the earliest pages of history, man suddenly finds within himself a desire and an obligation to preserve untrammelled some remnants of the natural scene he has labored so long to bend to his material needs. That all nations have not succeeded equally

well in bringing about this reform is beside the point. The issue is one of intent and acknowledgment of something that is right, even if it is not completely attainable.

Coming back to the origin of this idea in the United States, I have difficulty in seeing any logical reason for the sudden and inexplicable emergence of so sweeping a reversal in traditional philosophy at the time and place where it occurred. One would have supposed that appreciation of wild country would have emerged first in some overpopulated region where wildness was at a premium. Instead, Yellowstone National Park was created in 1872 when the United States was still considerably underpopulated and major effort was being directed to the conquest and settlement of the West. Yet the Congress and the people readily accepted the idea of setting aside this large block of country for recreational needs which at that time scarcely existed. Thinking as a biologist I see this emergence of a new idea as comparable to a macromutation in organic evolution—one of those sweeping shifts of evolutionary direction that come suddenly, and without forewarning, like the emergency of the flatfishes from the normal teleost line. There is no gradual approach.

Once born, the concept of nature preserves spread rapidly, and at the same time evolved. Let us consider the evolution of thought regarding the national parks of this country—prototypes of all to follow. The initial idea in the first half dozen parks was to preserve for public access such natural geologic features as geysers, hot springs, spectacular mountains, and canyons. Fauna and flora were less seriously considered. The first botanical features to be emphasized were the big trees on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada. Consideration of native animal life came later, and then on a classified basis. The "good" species like deer were protected, but the "bad" actors, including wolves, coyotes, and mountain lions, were controlled in accordance with the common-sense policy of the day. Bears were fed garbage and elk were fed hay. There was a carry-over of the outdoor-zoo idea which took some years to die out, during which period wolves and lions unfortunately were exterminated in many Rocky Mountain parks. This event has led directly to the difficult problems of overpopulation by deer and elk that plague the National Park Service today.

Likewise, the idea of leaving substantial blocks of park land undeveloped and in true wilderness status came long after the parks were created. The initial hope was to build roads, railroads, and hotels anywhere within the parks that people wanted to go. But this utilitarian concept of park development and management gave way gradually to the informal zoning idea that guides park programs today.

In short, the national parks as preserves of unmanaged nature did not spring forth in full bloom. They tended always toward naturalness, except in the heavily developed centers of activity where, unfortunately, the trend up to now has been strongly in the other direction.

There is still one striking exception in the trend toward naturalness in park preservation—the complete exclusion of fire from all areas, even those that burned naturally every year or two before becoming parks. Fire is declared evil and destructive, just as coyotes and mountain lions were designated as evil and destructive in the parks 25 years ago. Yet many forest types that are to be perpetuated developed with fire as a dominant molding element. I am convinced that ground fires some day will be reinstated in the regimen of natural factors permitted to maintain the parks in something resembling a virgin state. Both esthetic considerations of open airy forest versus dense brush, and assurance of safety from conflagration of accumulated fuel will force this issue sooner or later.

Even as the National Park Service was being created, other types of natural areas were coming into being in this country. Some of the national wildlife refuges were created. The great system of Forest Service wilderness areas came soon after, along with state and municipal parks, and various types of national preserves controlled and operated by a host of agencies, organizations, and even individuals. We take for granted that preserving native associations of fauna and flora is in the public interest and is to be encouraged. The basic concept is scarcely open to challenge any more in this country—we disagree and wrangle only over what areas are to be preserved, by whom, and how it should be done.

And so it is in much of the rest of the world. It is agreed that most renewable natural resources are to be used, wisely and with due provision for sustained yield. But some areas are to be excluded from this plan and kept for the wonder and edification of the citizens. These two concepts are not always realized, but they are recognized, on an international level. The natural scene now commands respect. Its preservation is accepted as moral and proper. From the Serengeti Plain to the Great Smokies, from the Brooks Range to Tierra del Fuego, conscientious people are struggling to preserve samples of native landscape. Often the pressures of economic need and human populations make the cause seem almost hopeless. Yet my over-all impression is that the effort is gaining in strength, not losing.

Wherein lies the appeal of this movement? What forces motivate its spread?

The need is not solely for recreation in the sense of new playgrounds for people to get some fresh air. In many countries the preserved areas are

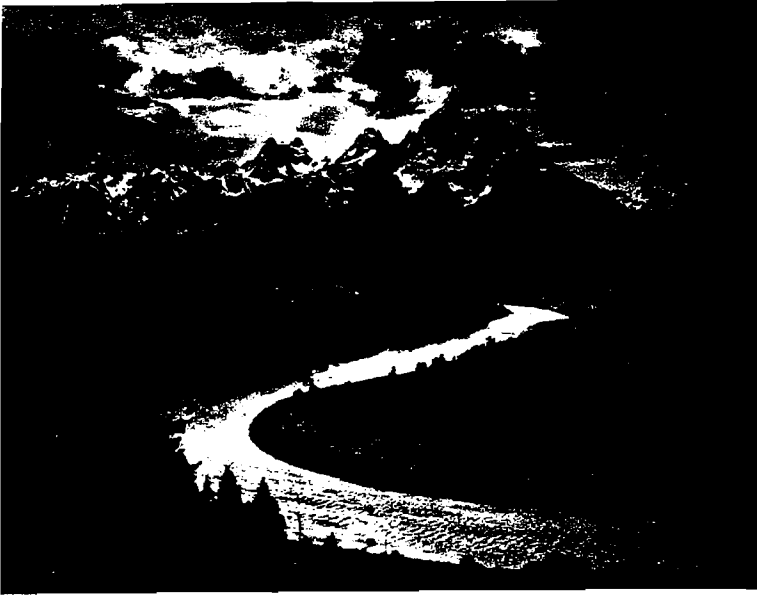
used scarcely at all for recreation by the citizens. Nor are the educational and scientific values of wilderness, of which we often speak, weighed heavily into the equation.

The only possible force that could be motivating the effort to preserve natural areas is the moral conviction that it is right—that we owe it to ourselves and to the good earth that supports us to curb our avarice to the extent of leaving a few spots untouched and unexploited.

When one considers the spread of this idea over the earth in sixty-odd years it is cause indeed for wonder. Here is an addition to the accepted mores of people in all continents, imposed suddenly on codes of ethics that have been evolving for many centuries.

And so when we find cause for alarm and discontent with the progress of the wilderness movement it may help perhaps to take the long view—to see how astonishingly far the idea has progressed in the few decades of its existence.

I think that when future philosophers scan back through the records of human history and human thought they may put their finger on this century as a time of outstanding advance in man's feeling of responsibility to the earth. Whether man can succeed in preserving an attractive and livable world is the problem that lies ahead.



The Tetons and the Snake River,  
Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming.  
By Ansel Adams from *These We Inherit:  
The Parklands of America*

APPENDIX B

## The Leopold Report Says National Parks Should Be . . .

# "A Vignette of Primitive America"

"Above all other policies, the maintenance of naturalness should prevail." This is the theme of the first report by Secretary of the Interior Udall's Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, a report carried here in full. It is one of the most significant statements in the nearly half-century history since the National Park Service was established in 1916. It reiterates policies long accepted by national park conservation organizations as essential, but policies which are too often lost in the confusion surrounding the immediate demands of visitors.

This report was first made public at the opening session of the North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference on March 4, 1963, when Dr. Leopold presented the essence of the report to the nearly one thousand professional conservationists, wildlife managers, sportsmen, and interested laymen in attendance at this most important Annual meeting in the conservation field. Assistant Secretary of the Interior John Carver was on hand to accept the report and to read a letter of response from Secretary Udall (see page 3).

Members of the board making this report include the top men in the field of wildlife conservation and management. The report is sometimes called "The Leopold Report" because its chairman is Dr. A. Starker Leopold, assistant to the Chancellor, and professor of zoology, University of California, Berkeley,

California. Dr. Leopold is a past president of The Wildlife Society, the professional society for wildlife managers and biologists. The other four members of the board are Dr. Stanley A. Cain, professor and chairman of the Department of Conservation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Dr. Clarence Cottam, director of the Welder Wildlife Foundation, Sinton, Texas, and former assistant director of the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service; Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, President of the Wildlife Management Institute, Washington, D.C., and a former director of the Fish and Wildlife Service; and Thomas L. Kimball, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, the nation's largest sportsmen's conservationist organization, and former director of the Colorado Game and Fish Department.

In the letter of transmittal to the Secretary of the Interior dated March 4, 1963, the board members stated, "The report as here presented is conceptual rather than statistical in approach. . . . Emphasis is placed on the philosophy of park management and the ecologic principles involved. Our suggestions are intended to enhance the esthetic, historical, and scientific values of the parks to the American public, vis a vis the mass recreational values. We sincerely hope that you will find it feasible and appropriate to accept this concept of park values." The Sierra Club seconds this hope.—EDITOR.

**I**n the Congressional Act of 1916 which created the National Park Service, preservation of native animal life was clearly specified as one of the purposes of the parks. A frequently quoted passage of the Act states ". . . which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

In implementing this Act, the newly formed Park Service developed a philosophy of wildlife *protection*, which in that era was indeed the most obvious and immediate need in wildlife conservation. Thus the parks were established as refuges, the animal populations were protected from hunting and their habitats were protected from wildfire. For a time predators were controlled to protect the "good" animals from the "bad" ones, but this endeavor mercifully ceased in the 1930's. On the whole, there was little major change in the Park Service practice of wildlife management during the first 40 years of its existence.

During the same era, the concept of wildlife management

evolved rapidly among other agencies and groups concerned with the production of wildlife for recreational hunting. It is now an accepted truism that maintenance of suitable habitat is the key to sustaining animal populations, and that protection, though it is important, is not of itself a substitute for habitat. Moreover, habitat is not a fixed or stable entity that can be set aside and preserved behind a fence, like a cliff dwelling or a petrified tree. Biotic communities change through natural stages of succession. They can be changed deliberately through manipulation of plant and animal populations. In recent years the National Park Service has broadened its concept of wildlife conservation to provide for purposeful management of plant and animal communities as an essential step in preserving wildlife resources ". . . unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." In a few parks active manipulation of habitat is being tested, as for example in the Everglades where controlled burning is now used experimentally to maintain the open glades and piney woods with their interesting animal and plant life. Excess populations of grazing ungulates are being controlled in a number of parks

to preserve the forage plants on which the animals depend. The question already has been posed—how far should the National Park Service go in utilizing the tools of management to maintain wildlife populations?

### The concept of park management

The present report proposes to discuss wildlife management in the national parks in terms of three questions which shift emphasis progressively from the general to the specific:

1) What should be the *goals* of wildlife management in the national parks?

2) What general *policies* of management are best adapted to achieve the pre-determined goals?

3) What are some of the *methods* suitable for on-the-ground implementation of policies?

It is acknowledged that this Advisory Board was requested by the Secretary of the Interior to consider particularly one method of management, namely, the procedure of removing excess ungulates from some of the parks. We feel that this specific question can only be viewed objectively in the light of goals and operational policies, and our report is framed accordingly. In speaking of national parks we refer to the whole system of parks and monuments; national recreation areas are discussed briefly near the end of the report.

As a prelude to presenting our thoughts on the goals, policies, and methods of managing wildlife in the parks of the United States, we wish to quote in full a brief report on "Management of National Parks and Equivalent Areas" which was formulated by a committee of the First World Conference on National Parks that convened in Seattle in July, 1962. The committee consisted of 15 members of the Conference, representing eight nations; the chairman was François Bourliere of France. In our judgment this report suggests a firm basis for park management. The statement of the committee follows:

1. Management is defined as any activity directed toward achieving or maintaining a given condition in plant and/or animal populations and or habitats in accordance with the conservation plan for the area. A prior definition of the purposes and objectives of each park is assumed.

Management may involve active manipulation of the plant and animal communities, or protection from modification or external influences.

### Sometimes protection alone does not keep parks natural

The photograph at left below was taken in 1920, the one at right in 1959, both looking north from the tunnel tree in the Mariposa Grove of sequoias, Yosemite National Park, California. In the 39-year interval, there was a change in ground cover from mountain whitethorn, thimbleberry, and lupine to almost exclusively white fir. The Leopold report maintains that such increase in white fir, incense cedar, and mature brush—particularly in natural parks on the west slope of the Sierra—

2. Few of the world's parks are large enough to be in fact self-regulatory ecological units; rather, most are ecological islands subject to direct or indirect modification by activities and conditions in the surrounding areas. These influences may involve such factors as immigration and/or emigration of animal and plant life, changes in the fire regime, and alterations in the surface or subsurface water.

3. There is no need for active modification to maintain large examples of the relatively stable "climax" communities which under protection perpetuate themselves indefinitely. Examples of such communities include large tracts of undisturbed rain-forest, tropical mountain paramos, and arctic tundra.

4. However, most biotic communities are in a constant state of change due to natural or man-caused processes of ecological succession. In these "successional" communities it is necessary to manage the habitat to achieve or stabilize it at a desired stage. For example, fire is an essential management tool to maintain East African open savanna or American prairie.

5. Where animal populations get out of balance with their habitat and threaten the continued existence of a desired environment, population control becomes essential. This principle applies, for example, in situations where ungulate populations have exceeded the carrying capacity of their habitat through loss of predators, immigration from surrounding areas, or compression of normal migratory patterns. Specific examples include excess populations of elephants in some African parks and of ungulates in some mountain parks.

6. The need for management, the feasibility of management methods, and evaluation of results must be based upon current and continuing scientific research. Both the research and management itself should be undertaken only by qualified personnel. Research, management planning, and execution must take into account, and if necessary regulate, the human uses for which the park is intended.

7. Management based on scientific research is, therefore, not only desirable but often essential to maintain some biotic communities in accordance with the conservation plan of a national park or equivalent area.

### The primary goal of parks

Item 1 in the report just quoted specifies that "a prior definition of the purposes and objectives of each park is assumed." In other words, the goal must first be defined.

As a primary goal, we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man. A

is a direct result of overprotection from natural ground fires. Existing dense stands of white fir (right) present a continuing threat to living sequoias through accumulation of forest fire fuels and by shading out favorable seed beds for young sequoias. Prior to vigorous fire control in national parks, periodic ground fires reduced the volume of undergrowth sufficiently to favor the reproduction of sequoias and also to reduce the probability of catastrophic fire. Photographs by National Park Service (left) and R. J. Hartesveldt (see review on page 17).





*Migrating herds of elk, Hellroaring slopes, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 1961. "... maintenance of suitable habitat is the key to sustaining animal populations, ... protection ... is not of itself a substitute for habitat. ... Excess populations of grazing ungulates are being controlled in a number of parks to preserve the forage plants on which the animals depend. ... Good park management requires that ungulate populations be reduced to the level the range will carry in good health and without impairment to the soil, the vegetation, or to habitats of other animals." National Park Service photographs*

## The park wildlife problem . . .



*Too many elk cause this type of overbrowsing of Douglas fir and other more important food plants on the winter range of elk and other animals in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming. When plant cover is damaged, soil erosion results, the carrying capacity of the range decreases, and . . .*



*... elk and other animals—deer and beaver—die of starvation . . . in many cases with stomachs full of unpalatable brush. Photo by Les Pengelly*

national park should represent a vignette of primitive America.

The implications of this seemingly simple aspiration are stupendous. Many of our national parks—in fact most of them—went through periods of indiscriminate logging, burning, livestock grazing, hunting, and predator control. Then they entered the park system and shifted abruptly to a regime of equally unnatural protection from lightning fires, from insect outbreaks, absence of natural controls of ungulates, and in some areas elimination of normal fluctuations in water levels. Exotic vertebrates, insects, plants, and plant diseases have inadvertently been introduced. And of course lastly there is the factor of human use—of roads and trampling and campgrounds and pack stock. The resultant biotic associations in many of our parks are artifacts, pure and simple. They represent a complex ecologic history, but they do not necessarily represent primitive America.

Restoring the primitive scene is not done easily nor can it be done completely. Some species are extinct. Given time, an eastern hardwood forest can be regrown to maturity but the chestnut will be missing and so will the roar of pigeon wings. The colorful drapanid finches are not to be heard again in the lowland forests of Hawaii, nor will the jack-hammer of the ivory-bill ring in southern swamps. The wolf and grizzly bear cannot readily be reintroduced into ranching communities, and the factor of human use of the parks is subject only to regulation, not elimination. Exotic plants, animals, and diseases are here to stay. All these limitations we fully realize. Yet, if the goal cannot be fully achieved it can be approached. A reasonable illusion of primitive America could be recreated, using the utmost in skill, judgment, and ecologic sensitivity. This in our opinion should be the objective of every national park and monument.

To illustrate the goal more specifically, let us cite some cases. A visitor entering Grand Teton National Park from the south drives across Antelope Flats. But there are no antelope. No one seems to be asking the question—why aren't there? If the mountain men who gathered here in rendezvous fed their squaws on antelope, a 20th century tourist at least should be able to see a band of these animals. Finding out what aspect of the range needs rectifying, and doing so, would appear to be a primary function of park management.

When the forty-niners poured over the Sierra Nevada into California, those that kept diaries spoke almost to a man of the wide-spaced columns of mature trees that grew on the lower western slope in gigantic magnificence. The ground was a grass parkland, in springtime carpeted with wildflowers. Deer and bear were abundant. Today much of the west slope is a dog-hair thicket of young pines, white fir, incense cedar, and mature brush—a direct function of overprotection from natural ground fires. Within the four national parks—Lassen, Yosemite, Sequoia, and Kings Canyon—the thickets are even more impenetrable than elsewhere. Not only is this accumulation of fuel dangerous to the giant sequoias and other mature trees but the animal life is meager, wildflowers are sparse, and to some at least the vegetative tangle is depressing, not uplifting. Is it possible that the primitive open forest could be restored, at least on a local scale? And if so, how? We cannot offer an answer. But we are posing a question to which there should be an answer of immense concern to the National Park Service.

The scarcity of bighorn sheep in the Sierra Nevada rep-

resents another type of management problem. Though they have been effectively protected for nearly half a century, there are fewer than 400 bighorns in the Sierra. Two-thirds of them are found in summer along the crest which lies within the eastern border of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks. Obviously, there is some shortcoming of habitat that precludes further increase in the population. The high country is still recovering slowly from the devastation of early domestic sheep grazing so graphically described by John Muir. But the present limitation may not be in the high summer range at all but rather along the eastern slope of the Sierra where the bighorns winter on lands in the jurisdiction of the Forest Service. These areas are grazed in summer by domestic livestock and large numbers of mule deer, and it is possible that such competitive use is adversely affecting the bighorns. It would seem to us that the National Park Service might well take the lead in studying this problem and in formulating cooperative management plans with other agencies even though the management problem lies outside the park boundary. The goal, after all, is to restore the Sierra bighorn. If restoration is achieved in the Sequoia-Kings Canyon region, there might follow a program of reintroduction and restoration of bighorns in Yosemite and Lassen national parks, and Lava Beds National Monument, within which areas this magnificent native animal is presently extinct.

We hope that these examples clarify what we mean by the goal of park management.

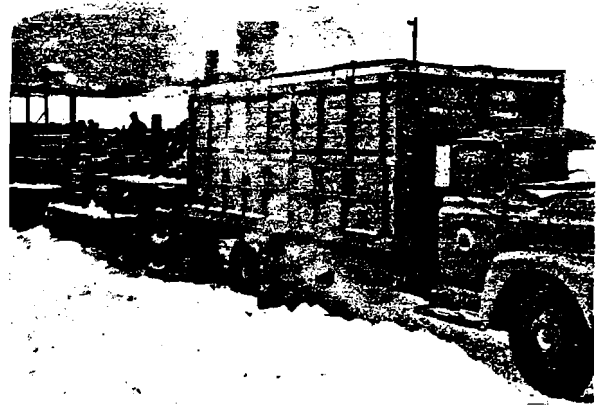
#### Policies of park management

The major policy change which we would recommend to the National Park Service is that it recognize the enormous complexity of ecologic communities and the diversity of management procedures, required to preserve them. The traditional, simple formula of protection may be exactly what is needed to maintain such climax associations as arctic-alpine heath, the rain forests of Olympic peninsula, or the Joshua trees and saguaros of southwestern deserts. On the other hand, grasslands, savannas, aspen, and other successional shrub and tree associations may call for very different treatment. Reluctance to undertake biotic management can never lead to a realistic presentation of primitive America, much of which supported successional communities that were maintained by fires, floods, hurricanes, and other natural forces.

A second statement of policy that we would reiterate—and this one conforms with present Park Service standards—is that management be limited to native plants and animals. Exotics have intruded into nearly all of the parks but they need not be encouraged, even those that have interest or ecologic values of their own. Restoration of antelope in Jackson Hole, for example, should be done by managing native forage plants, not by planting crested wheat grass or plots of irrigated alfalfa. Gambel quail in a desert wash should be observed in the shade of a mesquite, not a tamarisk. A visitor who climbs a volcano in Hawaii ought to see mamane trees and silverwords, not goats.

Carrying this point further, observable artificiality in any form must be minimized and obscured in every possible way. Wildlife should not be displayed in fenced enclosures; this is the function of a zoo, not a national park. In the same category is artificial feeding of wildlife. Fed bears become bums, and dangerous. Fed elk deplete natural ranges. Forage relationships in wild animals should be natural. Management may at times

*Live-trapped elk being loaded for transplanting from Yellowstone elk trap. "Most big game ranges are essentially filled to carrying capacity. . . . it is patently impossible to look upon trapping as a practical plan."*



National Park Service photo

### . . . and various solutions

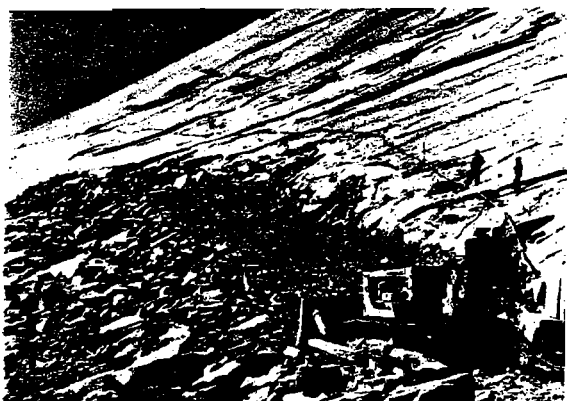
*Mountain lion by Verna R. Johnston. "Insofar as possible, control through natural predation should be encouraged. . . . The effort to protect large predators in and around parks should be greatly intensified."*



National Park Service photo

*"Where other methods of control are inapplicable or impractical, excess park ungulates must be removed by killing. . . ." In the Yellowstone program, shown here, rangers with snow vehicles accomplished the unpleasant job in temperatures as low as minus 40° F.*





Photograph by Ansel Adams

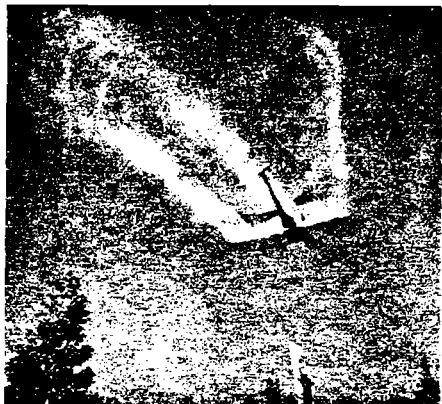
*"... perhaps the most dangerous tool of all is the roadgrader. Although the American public demands automotive access to the parks, road systems must be rigidly prescribed as to extent and design..."*  
*Tioga road cut through glacial-polished granite, Yosemite Park.*

call for the use of the tractor, chain-saw, rifle, or flame thrower, but the signs and sounds of such activity should be hidden from visitors insofar as possible. In this regard, perhaps the most dangerous tool of all is the roadgrader. Although the American public demands automotive access to the parks, road systems must be rigidly prescribed as to extent and design. Roadless wilderness areas should be permanently zoned. The goal, we repeat, is to maintain or create the mood of wild America. We are speaking here of restoring wildlife to enhance this mood, but the whole effect can be lost if the parks are overdeveloped for motorized travel. If too many tourists crowd the roadways, then we should ration the tourists rather than expand the roadways.

Additionally, in this connection, it seems incongruous that there should exist in the national parks mass recreation facilities such as golf courses, ski lifts, motorboat marinas, and other extraneous developments which completely contradict the management goal. We urge the National Park Service to reverse its policy of permitting these nonconforming uses, and to liquidate them as expeditiously as possible (painful as this will be to concessionaires). Above all other policies, the maintenance of naturalness should prevail.

Another major policy matter concerns the research which must form the basis for all management programs. The agency best fitted to study park management problems is the National Park Service itself. Much help and guidance can be obtained from ecologic research conducted by other agencies, but the objectives of park management are so different from those of state fish and game departments, the Forest Service, etc., as to demand highly skilled studies of a very specialized nature. Management without knowledge would be a dangerous policy indeed. Most of the research now conducted by the National Park Service is oriented largely to interpretive functions rather than to management. We urge the expansion of the research

National Park Service photo



*Spraying for lodgepole pine needle miner, Tuolumne Meadows area, Yosemite National Park.*  
*"... we wish to raise a serious question about the mass application of insecticides in the control of forest insects. ... It would seem wise to curtail this activity. ..."*

activity in the Service to prepare for future management and restoration programs. As models of the type of investigation that should be greatly accelerated we cite some of the recent studies of elk in Yellowstone and of bighorn sheep in Death Valley. Additionally, however, there are needed equally critical appraisals of ecologic relationships in various plant associations and of many lesser organisms such as azaleas, lupines, chipmunks, towhees, and other non-economic species.

In consonance with the above policy statements, it follows logically that every phase of management itself be under the full jurisdiction of biologically trained personnel of the Park Service. This applies not only to habitat manipulation but to all facets of regulating animal populations. Reducing the numbers of elk in Yellowstone or of goats on Haleakala Crater is part of an over-all scheme to preserve or restore a natural biotic scene. The purpose is single-minded. We cannot endorse the view that responsibility for removing excess game animals be shared with state fish and game departments whose primary interest would be to capitalize on the recreational value of the public hunting that could thus be supplied. Such a proposal imputes a multiple use concept of park management which was never intended, which is not legally permitted, nor for which can we find any compelling justification today.

Purely from the standpoint of how best to achieve the goal of park management, as here defined, unilateral administration directed to a single objective is obviously superior to divided responsibility in which secondary goals, such as recreational hunting, are introduced. Additionally, uncontrolled public hunting might well operate in opposition to the goal, by removing roadside animals and frightening the survivors, to the end that public viewing of wildlife would be materially impaired. In one national park, namely Grand Teton, public hunting was specified by Congress as the method to be used in controlling elk. Extended trial suggests this to be an awkward administrative tool at best.

Since this whole matter is of particular current interest it will be elaborated in a subsequent section on methods.

#### Methods of habitat management

It is obviously impossible to mention in this brief report all the possible techniques that might be used by the National Park Service in manipulating plant and animal populations. We can, however, single out a few examples. In so doing, it should be kept in mind that the total area of any one park, or of the parks collectively, that may be managed intensively is a very modest part indeed. This is so for two reasons. First, critical areas which may determine animal abundance are often a small fraction of total range. One deer study on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada, for example, showed that important winter range, which could be manipulated to support the deer, constituted less than two per cent of the year-long herd range. Roadside areas that might be managed to display a more varied and natural flora and fauna can be rather narrow strips. Intensive management, in short, need not be extensive to be effective. Secondly, manipulation of vegetation is often exorbitantly expensive. Especially will this be true when the objective is to manage "invisibly"—that is, to conceal the signs of management. Controlled burning is the only method that may have extensive application.

The first step in park management is historical research, to ascertain as accurately as possible what plants and animals

and biotic associations existed originally in each locality. Much of this has been done already.

A second step should be ecologic research on plant-animal relationships leading to formulation of a management hypothesis.

Next should come small scale experimentation to test the hypothesis in practice. Experimental plots can be situated out of sight of roads and visitor centers.

Lastly, application of tested management methods can be undertaken on critical areas.

By this process of study and pre-testing, mistakes can be minimized. Likewise, public groups vitally interested in park management can be shown the results of research and testing before general application, thereby eliminating possible misunderstanding and friction.

Some management methods now in use by the National Park Service seem to us potentially dangerous. For example, we wish to raise a serious question about the mass application of insecticides in the control of forest insects. Such application may (or may not) be justified in commercial timber stands, but in a national park the ecologic impact can have unanticipated effects on the biotic community that might defeat the over-all management objective. It would seem wise to curtail this activity, at least until research and small scale testing have been conducted.

Of the various methods of manipulating vegetation, the controlled use of fire is the most "natural" and much the cheapest and easiest to apply. Unfortunately, however, forest and chaparral areas that have been completely protected from fire for long periods may require careful advance treatment before even the first experimental blaze is set. Trees and mature brush may have to be cut, piled, and burned before a creeping ground fire can be risked. Once fuel is reduced, periodic burning can be conducted safely and at low expense. On the other hand, some situations may call for a hot burn. On Isle Royale, moose range is created by periodic holocausts that open the forest canopy. Maintenance of the moose population is surely one goal of management on Isle Royale.

Other situations may call for the use of the bulldozer, the disc harrow, or the spring-tooth harrow to initiate desirable changes in plant succession. Buffalo wallows on the American prairie were the propagation sites of a host of native flowers and forbs that fed the antelope and the prairie chicken. In the absence of the great herds, wallows can be simulated.

Artificial reintroduction of rare native plants is often feasible. Overgrazing in years past led to local extermination of many delicate perennials such as some of the orchids. Where these are not reappearing naturally they can be transplanted or cultured in a nursery. A native plant, however small and inconspicuous, is as much a part of the biota as a redwood tree or a forage species for elk.

In essence, we are calling for a set of ecologic skills unknown in this country today. Americans have shown a great capacity for degrading and fragmenting native biotas. So far we have not exercised much imagination or ingenuity in rebuilding damaged biotas. It will not be done by passive protection alone.

#### Control of animal population

Good park management requires that ungulate populations be reduced to the level that the range will carry in good health and without impairment to the soil, the vegetation, or to habitats of other animals. This problem is world-wide in scope,

and includes non-park as well as park lands. Balance may be achieved in several ways.

(a) *Natural predation.* Insofar as possible, control through natural predation should be encouraged. Predators are now protected in the parks of the United States, although unfortunately they were not in the early years and the wolf, grizzly bear, and mountain lion became extinct in many of the national parks. Even today populations of large predators, where they still occur in the parks, are kept below optimal level by programs of predator control applied outside the park boundaries. Although the National Park Service has attempted to negotiate with control agencies of federal and local governments for the maintenance of buffer zones around the parks where predators are not subject to systematic control, these negotiations have been only partially successful. The effort to protect large predators in and around the parks should be greatly intensified. At the same time, it must be recognized that predation alone can seldom be relied upon to control ungulate numbers, particularly the larger species such as bison, moose, elk, and deer; additional artificial controls frequently are called for.

(b) *Trapping and transplanting.* Traditionally in the past the National Park Service has attempted to dispose of excess ungulates by trapping and transplanting. Since 1892, for example, Yellowstone National Park alone has supplied 10,478 elk for restocking purposes. Many of the elk ranges in the western United States have been restocked from this source. Thousands of deer and lesser numbers of antelope, bighorns, mountain goats, and bison also have been moved from the parks. This program is fully justified so long as breeding stocks are needed. However, most big game ranges of the United States are essentially filled to carrying capacity, and the cost of a continuing program of trapping and transplanting cannot be sustained solely on the basis of controlling populations within the parks. Trapping and handling of a big game animal, usually costs from \$50 to \$150 and in some situations much more. Since annual surpluses will be produced indefinitely into the future, it is patently impossible to look upon trapping as a practical plan of disposal.

(c) *Shooting excess animals that migrate outside the parks.* Many park herds are migratory and can be controlled by public hunting outside the park boundaries. Especially is this true in mountain parks which usually consist largely of summer game range with relatively little winter range. Effective application of this form of control frequently calls for special regulations, since migration usually occurs after normal hunting dates. Most of the western states have cooperated with the National Park Service in scheduling late hunts for the specific purpose of reducing park game herds, and in fact most excess game produced in the parks is so utilized. This is by far the best and the most widely applied method of controlling park populations of ungulates. The only danger is that migratory habits may be eliminated from a herd by differential

"... the basic objectives and operating procedures of new parks [should] be identical with those of established parks."

Glacier Peak, North Cascades, Washington  
by Philip Hyde







*"A reasonable illusion of primitive America could be recreated, using the utmost in skill, judgment, and ecologic sensitivity. This in our opinion should be the objective of every national park and monument."*  
 Photo by David Brower

removal, which would favor survival of non-migratory individuals. With care to preserve, not eliminate, migratory traditions, this plan of control will continue to be the major form of herd regulation in national parks.

(d) *Control by shooting within the parks.* Where other methods of control are inapplicable or impractical, excess park ungulates must be removed by killing. As stated above in the discussion of park policy, it is the unanimous recommendation of this Board that such shooting be conducted by competent personnel, under the sole jurisdiction of the National Park Service, and for the sole purpose of animal removal, not recreational hunting. If the magnitude of a given removal program requires the services of additional shooters beyond regular Park Service personnel, the selection, employment, training, deputization, and supervision of such additional personnel should be entirely the responsibility of the National Park Service. Only in this manner can the primary goal of wildlife management in the parks be realized. A limited number of expert riflemen, properly equipped and working under centralized direction, can selectively cull a herd with a minimum of disturbance to the surviving animals or to the environment. General public hunting by comparison is often non-selective and grossly disturbing.

Moreover, the numbers of game animals that must be removed annually from the parks by shooting is so small in relation to normally hunted populations outside the parks as to constitute a minor contribution to the public bag, even if it were so utilized. All of these points can be illustrated in the example of the north Yellowstone elk population which has been a focal point of argument about possible public hunting in national parks.

(e) *The case of Yellowstone.* Elk summer in all parts of Yellowstone Park and migrate out in nearly all directions, where they are subject to hunting on adjoining public and private lands. One herd, the so-called Northern Elk Herd, moves only to the vicinity of the park border where it may winter largely inside or outside the park, depending on the severity of the winter. This herd was estimated to number 35,000 animals in 1914 which was far in excess of the carrying capacity of the range. Following a massive die-off in 1919-20 the herd has steadily decreased. Over a period of 27 years, the National Park Service removed 8,825 animals by shooting and 5,765 by live-trapping; concurrently, hunters took 40,745 elk from this herd outside the park. Yet the range continued to deteriorate. In the winter of 1961-62 there were approximately 10,000 elk in the herd and carrying capacity of the winter range was estimated at 5,000. So the National Park Service at last undertook a definitive reduction program, killing 4,283 elk by shooting, which along with 850 animals removed in other ways (hunting outside the park, trapping,

winter kill) brought the herd down to 5,725 as censused from helicopter. The carcasses of the elk were carefully processed and distributed to Indian communities throughout Montana and Wyoming; so they were well used. The point at issue is whether this same reduction could or should have been accomplished by public hunting.

In autumn during normal hunting season the elk are widely scattered through rough inaccessible mountains in the park. Comparable areas, well stocked with elk, are heavily hunted in adjoining national forests. Applying the kill statistics from the forests to the park, a kill of 200-400 elk might be achieved if most of the available pack stock in the area were used to transport hunters within the park. Autumn hunting could not have accomplished the necessary reduction.

In mid-winter when deep snow and bitter cold forced the elk into lower country along the north border of the park, the National Park Service undertook its reduction program. With snow vehicles, trucks, and helicopters they accomplished the unpleasant job in temperatures that went as low as  $-40^{\circ}$  F. Public hunting was out of the question. Thus, in the case most bitterly argued in the press and in legislative halls, reduction of the herd by recreational hunting would have been a practical impossibility, even if it had been in full conformance with park management objectives.

From now on, the annual removal from this herd may be in the neighborhood of 1,000 to 1,800 head. By January 31, 1963, removals had totalled 1,300 (300 shot outside the park by hunters, 600 trapped and shipped, and 406 killed by park rangers). Continued special hunts in Montana and other forms of removal will yield the desired reduction by spring. The required yearly maintenance kill is not a large operation when one considers that approximately 100,000 head of big game are taken annually by hunters in Wyoming and Montana.

(f) *Game control in other parks.* In 1961-62, excluding Yellowstone elk, there were approximately 870 native animals transplanted and 827 killed in 18 national parks and monuments. Additionally, about 2,500 feral goats, pigs, and burros were removed from three areas. Animal control in the park system as a whole is still a small operation. It should be emphasized, however, that removal programs have not in the past been adequate to control ungulates in many of the parks. Future removals will have to be larger and in many cases repeated annually. Better management of wildlife habitat will naturally produce larger annual surpluses. But the scope of this phase of park operation will never be such as to constitute a large facet of management. On the whole, reductions will be small in relation to game harvests outside the parks. For example, from 50 to 200 deer a year are removed from a problem area in Sequoia National Park; the deer kill in California is 75,000 and should be much larger. In Rocky Mountain National Park 59 elk were removed in 1961-62 and the trim should perhaps be 100 per year in the future; Colorado kills over 10,000 elk per year on open hunting ranges. In part, this relates to the small area of the National Park System, which constitutes only 3.9 per cent of the public domain; hunting ranges under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management make up approximately 70 per cent.

In summary, control of animal populations in the national parks would appear to us to be an integral part of park management, best handled by the National Park Service itself. In this manner excess ungulates have been controlled in the

national parks of Canada since 1943, and the same principle is being applied in the parks of many African countries. Selection of personnel to do the shooting likewise is a function of the Park Service. In most small operations this would logically mean skilled rangers. In larger removal programs, there might be included additional personnel, selected from the general public, hired and deputized by the Service or otherwise engaged, but with a view to accomplishing a task, under strict supervision and solely for the protection of park values. Examples of some potentially large removal programs where expanded crews may be needed are mule deer populations on plateaus fringing Dinosaur National Monument and Zion National Park (west side), and white-tailed deer in Acadia National Park.

#### Wildlife Management on National Recreation Areas

By precedent and logic, the management of wildlife resources on the national recreation areas can be viewed in a very different light than in the park system proper. National recreation areas are by definition multiple use in character as regards allowable types of recreation. Wildlife management can be incorporated into the operational plans of these areas with public hunting as one objective. Obviously, hunting must be regulated in time and place to minimize conflict with other uses, but it would be a mistake for the National Park Service to be unduly restrictive of legitimate hunting in these areas. Most of the existing national recreation areas are federal holdings surrounding large water impoundments; there is little potentiality for hunting. Three national seashore recreational areas on the East Coast (Hatteras, Cape Cod, and Padre Island) offer limited waterfowl shooting. But some of the new areas being acquired or proposed for acquisition will offer substantial hunting opportunity for a variety of game species. This opportunity should be developed with skill, imagination, and (we would hopefully suggest) with enthusiasm.

On these areas as elsewhere, the key to wildlife abundance is a favorable habitat. The skills and techniques of habitat manipulation applicable to parks are equally applicable on the recreation areas. The regulation of hunting, on such areas as are deemed appropriate to open for such use, should be in accord with prevailing state regulations.

#### New National Parks

A number of new national parks are under consideration. One of the critical issues in the establishment of new parks will be the manner in which the wildlife resources are to be handled. It is our recommendation that the basic objectives and operating procedures of new parks be identical with those of established parks. It would seem awkward indeed to operate a National Park System under two sets of ground rules. On the other hand, portions of several proposed parks are so firmly established as traditional hunting grounds that impending closure of hunting may preclude public acceptance of park status. In such cases it may be necessary to designate core areas as national parks in every sense of the word, establishing protective buffer zones in the form of national recreation areas where hunting is permitted. Perhaps only through compromises of this sort will the park system be rounded out.

#### Summary

The goal of managing the national parks and monuments should be to preserve, or where necessary to recreate, the

ecologic scene as viewed by the first European visitors. As part of this scene, native species of wild animals should be present in maximum variety and reasonable abundance. Protection alone, which has been the core of Park Service wildlife policy, is not adequate to achieve this goal. Habitat manipulation is helpful and often essential to restore or maintain animal numbers. Likewise, populations of the animals themselves must sometimes be regulated to prevent habitat damage: this is especially true of ungulates.

Active management aimed at restoration of natural communities of plants and animals demands skills and knowledge not now in existence. A greatly expanded research program, oriented to management needs, must be developed within the National Park Service itself. Both research and the application of management methods should be in the hands of skilled park personnel.

Insofar as possible, animal populations should be regulated by predation and other natural means. However, predation cannot be relied upon to control the populations of larger ungulates, which sometimes must be reduced artificially.

Most ungulate populations within the parks migrate seasonally outside the park boundaries where excess numbers can be removed by public hunting. In such circumstances the National Park Service should work closely with state fish and game departments and other interested agencies in conducting the research required for management and in devising cooperative management programs.

Excess game that does not leave a park must be removed. Trapping and transplanting has not proven to be a practical method of control, though it is an appropriate source of breeding stock as needed elsewhere.

Direct removal by killing is the most economical and effective way of regulating ungulates within a park. Game removal by shooting should be conducted under the complete jurisdiction of qualified park personnel and solely for the purpose of reducing animals to preserve park values. Recreational hunting is an inappropriate and non-conforming use of the national parks and monuments.

Most game reduction programs can best be accomplished by regular park employees. But as removal programs increase in size and scope, as well may happen under better wildlife management, the National Park Service may find it advantageous to employ or otherwise engage additional shooters from the general public. No objection to this procedure is foreseen so long as the selection, training, and supervision of shooting crews is under rigid control of the Service and the culling operation is made to conform to primary park goals.

Recreational hunting is a valid and potentially important use of national recreation areas, which are also under jurisdiction of the Park Service. Full development of hunting opportunities on these areas should be provided by the Service.

*"... the biotic associations within each park [should] be maintained . . . as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man."*



## The Uneasy Chair

"Above All . . . Naturalness":  
An Inspired Report on Parks

Secretary Udall's blue-ribbon committee on Wildlife Management in National Parks has made its report. And what a report it is! If its recommendations were to be applied vigorously in each area of the National Park System during 1963, we would see a new era of ecologically-oriented management of national parks. There would be a recharging of national park batteries from the spirits of John Muir and Frederick Law Olmsted. Unfortunately, turning prose into action is not easy; but the report represents a major step forward nonetheless. Secretary Udall is to be commended for his choice of board members and they in turn for coming up with an excellent report.

The Leopold Report is a plea for an increased awareness of natural living things and their habitat in managing our national parks. We strongly second that plea. The report's recommendations are aimed both at the public and the National Park Service. It gives strong support to the concepts of naturalists and biologists and disagrees equally strongly with the artificial development concepts of certain landscape planners and engineers both within and outside the Service. It applies a wilderness philosophy based on land ethics—perhaps best expressed by Aldo Leopold in his *Sand County Almanac*—to current management problems in national parks and points to the folly of tinkering with natural forces without understanding those forces. It urges an expanded program of Park Service research.

\* \* \* \* \*

As you read the report (pages 4 through 11), you may question whether it advocates keeping parks natural or whether this is in fact a report on managing national parks. Probably no organization has been more outspoken than the Sierra Club in opposition to interfering with the natural processes in a park. Yet the *Sierra Club Bulletin* has also for a number of years carried articles pointing up the problems inherent in overprotection—in trying to protect the parks from natural events, of large scale and small. In the 1955 Annual, Professor Herbert L. Mason discussed the threat which fire prevention brings to the continued growth of sugar pine. In 1961 Emil F. Ernst pointed out in text and photographs the very considerable changes from the primitive scene that have come about in Yosemite Valley as a result of total prevention of fire.

In each case, the same thing was apparent: in his efforts to protect, man has overprotected. We thought we were keeping out destructive fires that hurt trees when in fact we were keeping out one of the most fundamental of constructive influences in many natural areas. No one questions that man-caused wild fire can be a most terrifying force. On the other hand, lightning-caused fires—frequent enough that they are never oversupplied with an accumulation of fuel—can often be important factors in regeneration of certain species of plants and animals (see "Wanted—Homes for Fire Species" on page 12).

The efforts to protect Big Trees in the Mariposa Grove of Yosemite and similar groves in both Yosemite and Sequoia National parks have apparently resulted in the growth beneath these ancient giants of ever greater quantities of combustible fuel materials. (See review of the Hartesveldt dissertation on the *Sequoia gigantea* on page 17.) In our seemingly enlightened (or PR-inspired) effort to protect trees from little fires, we have permitted an infinitely more dangerous and artificial threat to grow. Our effort to keep things "natural" by keeping out fire has in fact been tinkering, just as

COVER: One of the 72 beautiful color reproductions from "In Wilderness Is the Preservation of the World," run on the same press and at the same time as the second printing of this *Sierra Club* book. Photograph by Eliot Porter. Text from Thoreau's *Journal* for March 10, 1859.



National Park Service

surely as if we had brought in an exotic animal or planted stabilizing grass on moving dunes. (Rachel Carson in *Silent Spring* points to similar problems with certain insects; through widespread spraying of deadly poisons we have protected ourselves from the ordinary insects of yesterday and in so doing have built a race of genetically stronger insects to plague us today.)

It seems clear that man needs more ecological knowledge (and ecological conscience) before he interferes with natural processes. Because we have prevented such natural factors as fire in the parks for more than 50 years, we may now have to employ, briefly, some of the most unnatural means—even chainsaws, perhaps, certainly use of controlled burning—to restore a semblance of the original nature of plant and animal life found in some parks. Our national parks are some of the finest areas—and in many cases the only areas—in which we can conduct the necessary ecological research to gain understanding needed to avoid such problems in the future.

This issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* is devoted almost wholly to a discussion of wildlife management in national parks and to related ecological questions in and out of national parks. We hope it will be of special value to teachers and students as well as to others who have an interest in *wild* natural areas.—*Editor*.

Sierra Club  
BulletinMARCH, 1963  
VOL. 48 — No. 3... TO EXPLORE, ENJOY, AND PROTECT  
THE NATION'S SCENIC RESOURCES ...

**THE SIERRA CLUB**,\* founded in 1892, has devoted itself to the study and protection of national scenic resources, particularly those of mountain regions. Participation is invited in the program to enjoy and preserve wilderness, wildlife, forests, and streams.

## DIRECTORS

|                                  |                |                       |                        |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Edgar Wayburn . . . . .          | President      | Ansel Adams           | R. Clifford Youngquist |
| Lewis F. Clark . . . . .         | Vice-President | Elmer C. Aldrich      | Jules Eichorn          |
| Charlotte E. Mauk . . . . .      | Secretary      | Nathan C. Clark       | Richard M. Leonard     |
| Clifford V. Heimbucher . . . . . | Treasurer      | Randal F. Dickey, Jr. | Bestor Robinson        |
| George Marshall . . . . .        | Fifth Officer  | Pauline A. Dyer       | William Siri           |

August Frugé, *Chairman, Publications Committee*David Brower, *Executive Director*Bruce M. Kilgore, *Editor*

Published monthly except July and August by Sierra Club, 2061 Center Street, Berkeley 4, California. Annual dues are \$9 (first year \$14), of which \$1 (non-members \$3) is for subscription to the *Bulletin*. Second-class postage paid at Berkeley, California. Copyright 1963 by the Sierra Club. All communications and contributions should be addressed to Sierra Club, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco 4. \*Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

To solve current wildlife management problems and prevent the development of future ones, we support the report's recommendation that the National Park Service lead in developing cooperative arrangements with state and federal government agencies administering lands adjacent to parks. A prime example of such cooperation was the agreement worked out between the U. S. Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Montana Fish and Game Commission for management of the upper Gallatin elk herd on the northwest boundary of Yellowstone National Park. Superintendent Lon Garrison of Yellowstone deserves praise for this effort and the way it helped solve a tough problem. The three agencies agreed to the mutual objectives of improving and maintaining the basic soil and plant resources of the watershed; adjusting the numbers of elk summering in the park to a level that would permit recovery of the plants and soil in critical winter range areas; developing elk herds which spend summers outside the park (for sport hunting); and managing all elk to maintain a balance between population and natural food supply.

In accord with recommendations of the Leopold report, similar cooperative arrangements should be made in the other areas surrounding national parks having similar wildlife problems.

\* \* \* \* \*

At a time when "mass recreation" is the fad word for many outdoor programs, when "multiple use" is ubiquitous, and when pressures are continually being placed on the national parks for contrived amusements, this report to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States recommends that a reasonable reminder of primitive America should be restored to our national parks. It says specifically that the National Park Service should take the lead in studying overgrazing problems outside park boundaries to help restore wildlife relationships within park boundaries; that observable artificiality in any form must be minimized and that wildlife should not be displayed in fenced enclosures; that artificial feeding of wildlife is wrong; that roadless wilderness areas should be permanently zoned and that if too many tourists crowd the roadways, we should ration the tourists rather than expand the roadways; that the National Park Service reverse its policy of permitting such non-conforming uses as golf courses, ski lifts, motorboat marinas, and other extraneous developments; that Park Service research be expanded to prepare for future management and restoration programs; that every phase of management be under the full jurisdiction of biologically trained personnel of the National Park Service; that mass application of insecticides in the control of forest insects should be curtailed; that public hunting be permitted under careful regulation only on national recreational areas, but that no

"Early in the 20th century the need for the protection of our natural resources in this country became so apparent that efforts were made toward the establishment of such conservation agencies as the U.S. Forest Service. However, in this 'fight' to save our forests, grasslands, and wildlife there were strong economic counterforces. The 'timber barons,' as they were called then, and powerful grazing interests all fought the initial establishment of conservation agencies. To me, it is not surprising, that with such strong opposing viewpoints, both very strong politically, that fire should have become the scapegoat and have been singled out as the greatest single destructive force to our forests, our grasslands, our soils, and our wildlife.

"Fire had only a courageous few to represent it and to point out that it was a tool, a most valuable one, but like many of man's tools it could be very destructive if improperly or accidentally used. The consequences were that fire was blamed for all the destruction—not the wasteful and improper lumbering practices that preceded it—not the excessive overgrazing—not wasteful and even dangerous farm practices. Money and manpower were literally poured into the fight, to fight the common enemy demon—fire."—E. V. KOMAREK, *Proceedings First Annual Tall Timbers Fire Ecology Conference, Tallahassee, Fla.*

public hunting should be allowed in either old or new national parks; and that the biotic association within each park should be maintained or where necessary recreated as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by white men. In essence it says, "Above all other policies, the maintenance of naturalness should prevail."

These are not new ideas. The Sierra Club has often advocated them, as have many other wilderness and national park conservation organizations. But the great significance of this report is that it sets forth at an extremely high political level the basic ecological principles which Muir, Olmsted, Leopold, the Sierra Club, and others have been urging down through the years.

The men who prepared this report represent an almost unbeatable cross-section of the wildlife profession: two of the top university men in the biological sciences, the leader of the nation's largest sportsman-conservationist organization and a knowledgeable and respected representative of state fish and game administrators, the representative of an important wildlife foundation and a former active administrator in federal fish and game activities, plus Dr. Ira Gabrielson. Those who may try to debate the recommendations of these five men or to undermine the validity of this report will face a formidable task. The Leopold Report is one of the most significant reaffirmations of national park policy since the establishment of the National Park Service.—*B.M.K.*

### *The Secretary's Reply*

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall sent the following letter to Dr. A. Starker Leopold, Chairman of the Secretary's Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, in response to the Board's letter of transmittal dated March 4, 1963 and its report "Wildlife Management in the National Parks" (see pages 4 through 11):

Dear Dr. Leopold:

Last year I called upon you as a private citizen to help the Department with one of its most difficult problems, the management of wildlife. You and the rest of the special committee completed the first phase of your assignment when you submitted your report on wildlife management in national parks.

I like the quality of the report and the broad base you have used to develop your observations and recommendations. It is a constructive report that will serve as a guide to this Department and to the National Park Service through the years ahead.

You have stated the fact well that protection alone cannot continue to preserve the wildlife and its environment. The effects of man inside the parks and beyond park boundaries cannot be dismissed. You ask us to face up to the realities of the situation. One of your recommendations is that research must be conducted at a much greater rate than in the past to guide management. I am in complete agreement with you on the need for more research. This must be followed by forthright management. I think, too, that we must make a greater effort to coordinate national park wildlife management with that of the surrounding states, but I agree with you that the National Park Service cannot abdicate its responsibilities nor delegate them to others.

As new national recreation areas are created by Congress, opportunities will increase for the development of public hunting throughout our land. I am pleased that you noted this. When the Land and Water Conservation Bill is enacted into law, certain types of lands will be purchased and developed by the Federal, State, and local governments for outdoor recreation, often including hunting. The total effect will be to enhance hunting opportunities.

President Kennedy's message on conservation to Congress gave us a new definition of conservation for the 1960's, that included the whole spectrum of resources with a cautionary note that we should not neglect human resources. Our conservation efforts must include the conservation of our natural, cultural and human resources for the betterment of society as a whole. National parks, with their wildlife resources as intact as we can manage them, are for people to enjoy. Your study will help us to sustain and, if necessary, to re-establish this situation.

On behalf of the Department, I wish to commend you and your committee for this act of public service.

STEWART L. UDALL  
*Secretary of the Interior*

## INDEX -- A. Starker Leopold

- Adams, Ansel, 10, 16  
 Africa. See wildlife ecology and management  
 Alaska  
   Rampart Dam, 24-26  
   Susitna Dam proposal, 26  
   Tongass National Forest, 22-24  
 Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1, 2
- Barbee, Robert, 19  
 Barrett, Reginald, 23  
 Bendetson, Mr., 22, 23  
 Bradley, Harold, 9  
 Brower, David, 15, 16
- Cain, Stanley, 14  
 California Wetlands Foundation, 29  
 Champion Paper, 22, 23  
 Cottan, Clarence, 14
- Dasmann, Ray, 8
- Evanson, Boyd, 19
- fire  
   controversy, 13  
   evolution of theory about, 11, 12  
   in national parks, 13, 15, 17
- Gabrielson, Ira, 14, 15  
Game Management, 3  
 Grinnell, Joseph, 4  
 Gruening, Ernest, 24, 25
- Hildebrand, Alex, 9  
 Hildebrand, Milton, 9  
 hunting, 2, 11, 14, 18
- Kennedy, John F. (President), 16  
 Kilgore, Bruce, 17  
 Kimball, Thomas, 14, 15
- Leonard, Richard, 10  
 Leopold, Aldo, 2-4, 11, 12, 30, 31  
 Longhurst, Bill, 8
- Merrill, Judge, 23  
 Mexico, 6, 7, 11, 12, 30-32. See also  
   wildlife ecology and management  
 Miller, Alden, 7, 12
- Pan American Union, 6  
 Pittman-Robertson Act, 5
- Reed, Nathaniel, 19  
Road to Survival, The, 32  
 Russell, Ward, 12
- Sand County Almanac, 4  
 Sierra Club, 23, 25  
   Board member, 9, 10, 32  
   confrontation with, 9  
   Conservation Committee, 9  
 Smith, Robert, 31  
 Smith, Tony, 15  
 Soil Conservation Service, 4  
 Spurr, Steve, 25
- Udall, Stewart, 14-16  
 United States Forest Service, 1, 2, 3  
   Apache National Forest, 2  
   Carson National Forest, 2  
   Tongass National Forest, 22-24  
 United States National Park Service,  
   14, 17  
 University of California, 1, 4, 27, 32  
 University of Wisconsin, 1, 3, 4

Vogt, William, 6, 32

wildlife ecology and management, 2

Africa, 30, 31

Alaska, 22-26

deer in California, 7, 8, 24

exotic species, 18

Leopold Report, 13-17

management decisions, 19

Mexico, 6, 7, 30

Ozarks, 5, 6

predators, 20

turkeys, 5, 6

Yellowstone National Park,

18-21

Wildlife of Mexico, The, 7, 10

Wirth, Conrad, 16

Sierra Club Oral History Project

Susan Miller

STAFF SUPPORT FOR SIERRA CLUB GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION,  
1964-1977

With an Introduction by  
Marlene Fluharty

An Interview Conducted by  
Becky Evans  
1980-1982

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984

Sierra Club Oral History Project

Copyright © 1984 by Sierra Club, San Francisco, California  
All rights reserved



TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Susan Miller

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| INTRODUCTION  | i   |
| INTERVIEW HISTORY                                       | iii |
| <br>  |     |
| I WORKING ON THE SIERRA CLUB STAFF, 1964-1977           | 1   |
| Early Work on the Sierra Club Staff                     | 1   |
| Assessment of the Brower Controversy                    | 3   |
| Board Politics in the Early Seventies                   | 7   |
| The Proposal for a Paid Presidency                      | 10  |
| The Role of the Sierra Club Council                     | 12  |
| Proposals to Reform the Council                         | 17  |
| Relationship of the Council to the Board                | 19  |
| The Sierra Club as a National Organization              | 21  |
| <br>  |     |
| II PERSPECTIVES ON THE CLUB, THE COUNCIL, AND THE BOARD | 24  |
| Dealing with Club Growth: The Early Seventies           | 24  |
| Working as the Board Staff Secretary                    | 25  |
| Antagonism Between the Council and the Board            | 28  |
| The Educational Function of the Council                 | 32  |
| Assessment of Changes in the Board's Role               | 34  |
| The Chapter Services Office                             | 35  |
| The Board: Patterns of Change                           | 38  |
| Retirement and Recognition by the Club                  | 41  |
| New Perspectives as a Club Volunteer                    | 43  |
| <br>  |     |
| TAPE GUIDE  | 47  |
| <br>  |     |
| INDEX   | 48  |

## INTRODUCTION

In 1969 I wrote a letter to the Sierra Club asking how one might start a regional group. The prompt reply was my first introduction to a person I would soon call "friend." A person whose qualities I'd hope to have someday. Someone who represented the finest the Sierra Club has ever had--Susan Miller.

The early years of Susan's employment with the club kept her very busy answering mail from volunteers. Many of them had in their minds a view of the Sierra Club office: a small room where Susan Miller and Mike McCloskey kept the day-to-day operations going. The small and cramped offices in Mills Tower weren't very different from that description. During the seventies there were great changes in the club. With the movement of membership to the East, new groups and chapters were forming. New volunteers with little club history were coming to meetings and taking on leadership roles. Everyone of them had contact with Susan. She worked with and for the board of directors, with and for the Sierra Club Council and was the main staff support for the executive director. Susan's years of service as a member of the staff were the seed years for the club as it developed into the strong international organization it is today. So much of that history has been in Susan's head and heart. Now it's here for you to learn from, enjoy and gain inspiration from.

Inspiration--that's probably the best word; one of the great gifts Susan has given to the club, its members and its staff. It didn't matter whether it was a discussion of abolishing the council, how we'd survive drastic budget cuts, what to do about field staff, how to keep track of members, or how to get more people involved; Susan would smile, put her hand on your shoulder, and tell you, "We'll do it, and we'll do a good job." And, she was always right.

After years on staff Susan retired the way many great leaders of the club retire. She became a volunteer complete with the same drive, dedication and determination. She served as chair of the internal organization committee, which looked at club organization and administration. She worked with volunteers and staff on committees and task forces designed to support and encourage members and leaders at the group and chapter level. Her own chapter chaired the convention in Hawaii, where she has benefited from her knowledge. Those club members who have an opportunity to work with her are fortunate indeed.

When the Sierra Club Council established the Susan Miller Award, they did it as much to honor Susan as to honor those qualities of leadership which she has continued to exhibit. Susan's gentle reverence for the best in everyone and her constant encouragement to go just one step more, push us all to reach our goals and the goals of the club. Susan's accomplishments are many but in reality are innumerable because she has and continues to work through other people.

This oral history will give you a view of some of the important changes within the Sierra Club. I encourage you to open the pages and learn and to meet an incredible and courageous human being--my friend, Susan Miller.

Marlene Fluharty  
Director, Sierra Club

March 1984  
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Susan Miller was a key staff member of the Sierra Club during a period of rapid growth and expansion and attendant organizational upheavals. From her positions in the club member services department and as staff assistant to Executive Director Mike McCloskey, the board of directors, and the council, Susan provided large portions of the "cosmic glue" that gave stability to the club organization during these changing times. Her contributions to the IOC, the Council's internal organization committee, helped lay the guidelines for the club's structural integrity in the 1970s.

Above all, her good-humored approach, attention to accuracy and essential details, and helpful attitude have made her legendary among club volunteers. These same qualities are evident in the careful observations recorded here-- observations of the Sierra Club from her "insider's" vantage point as a staff member from 1964 to 1977.

Susan was interviewed in 1980 and 1982 by Becky Evans, her close friend, former roommate, and colleague on the Sierra Club staff for many years. The interview reflects Becky's intimate knowledge of the club and her awareness of Susan's range of involvement, as well as her admiration of Susan's many fine qualities and contributions.

Susan made only minor changes during her review of the interview transcript. Tapes from the interview are available in The Bancroft Library.

Ann Lage, Cochair  
Sierra Club History Committee

Berkeley, California  
April 15, 1984

I WORKING ON THE SIERRA CLUB STAFF, 1964-1977

[Interview 1: November 17, 1980]##

Early Work on the Sierra Club Staff

Evans: Susy, could you tell us a little bit about your educational background?

Miller: Well, I was raised in Marin County, California, just north of San Francisco, and went to elementary and high school there. I went to the University of California, Davis, for two years and transferred to the University of California, Berkeley, and graduated in 1961 with a degree in biochemistry. I worked in bacteriological and biochemical research for the next three years, and then went to work for the Sierra Club in 1964. After I finished working for the Sierra Club in May of 1977, I went back and got a master's degree in library science at the University of California, Berkeley.

Evans: I noted that you joined the Sierra Club in 1958, which was some years before the membership in the club burgeoned quite a bit. Was there some particular reason that caused you to join at that time? Was there a campaign or some awareness that you reached that caused you to join that year?

Miller: I started at Davis in 1957, and in the spring of 1958 somehow I found out about a Mother Lode chapter outing to the Fort Bragg area. One of the things they were going for was to ride on the skunk train, and I decided that I would like to go on that weekend outing, and so I signed up and went. One of the leaders of the trip, I don't remember who, encouraged me to join. I decided it was something I was interested in, so I did. I was never active in that chapter, as a matter of fact, even though I may have gone on another hike with them; that's about it.

---

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 47.

Evans: Did you have any particular things in your childhood like hiking or camping or any kind of natural science experience that would have led you to join the club?

Miller: Growing up in Marin County--and actually in Mill Valley right at the foot of Mount Tamalpais--being surrounded in early years by woods and a cow pasture across the street and hills and all, it was natural just to go wandering out in them, and I did a lot. I went off hiking on my own; many a Saturday I would pack a sack lunch and just take off up the hill, go hiking on Mount Tam by myself.

Evans: What was your first job in the Sierra Club, and how did you become employed by the club in 1964?

Miller: My first job was, I think, entitled IBM File Clerk, and I took it because the research work I had done was funded by grants. The problem of working on grants is that all of a sudden there is no more money, so I was temporarily out of work.

One of my roommates was marrying the son of a Sierra Club employee, and I agreed to make my roommate's wedding dress. This future mother-in-law, Jane Southwell, was quite a seamstress herself, and we were supposed to meet in San Francisco to pick out material and a pattern. We went to the Sierra Club to meet Jane, and I decided that, well, I was looking for a job, and I might as well apply here for a job. I applied, and I got a job at the princely sum of, I think it was about \$240 a month, which then you could live on.

The job entailed keeping a file of IBM cards which were used to set up the book orders. They had a very simple, early pegboard computer, and you used a set of punch cards to represent a book order, and it had the person who had ordered it and who to send the bill to or to ship to. Those were maintained because they were known, or if they weren't, you'd put in a little blank card. Then you put in actual cards that represented one book or five of one book, et cetera. That's how book order invoices were done in those days. My job was keeping track of cards.

Evans: Had the Exhibit Format series begun at this time?

Miller: In 1964, yes, there were a few of them. There was In Wildness and there was This is the American Earth. Words of the Earth may have just come out.

Evans: Two of those are still in print; In Wildness and Words of the Earth are still in print.

The club grew like topsy in the 1960s, and I suspect one of the reasons was the club's prominence in the press and some of the issues. What were your thoughts on this growth, and how did the club handle its growth during this early period?

Miller: Well, I guess the growth was like a mushroom spore that's been in a nice humus bed and somebody suddenly waters it and it goes poof in one night.

I worked there nine months in that job, and then I did leave for three months because I applied to the Peace Corps, and they had told me to be ready to leave at any moment if I was accepted. But then the Peace Corps decided they wanted people with more experience to be able to teach subjects, and I didn't have it, so I went back to work for the Sierra Club.

That's when I started in what was then called the membership department, and I worked under Opal Hartman who was then the membership secretary and had been for almost ten years. She had been doing the job herself, and then she had one assistant, and I took that assistant's place. We were not prepared to handle the flow of applications that came in, particularly in response to the newspaper ads that were put in, I think, at least four national papers: The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, and the Chronicle.

Evans: Did the ads at that time require sponsorship by a club member, which was part of the regular membership procedure?

Miller: They didn't have a sponsorship requirement. What happened was that even before that, sponsorship was still required, but we would take all the unsponsored applications, and we would carry them around the office, and we would give four to Hasse Bunnelle and six to Annie Nilsson, who was a receptionist, and six to Jane Southwell, and Opal would sign a bunch and anybody who was a member would sign. The sponsorship requirement was really de facto; sponsorship went out the window a long time before it was removed, that's for sure.

#### Assessment of the Brower Controversy

Evans: You began to work at the club probably a decade after Brower had been there as executive director--

Miller: About eight years after. Nineteen fifty-six I believe, was when he became the executive director, and I started in 1964.

Evans: Could you tell us about working with David Brower as a staff member? What kind of an administrator was he? How did you feel about him as a conservationist?

Miller: I don't really feel I'm in a position to judge him as conservationist. I would say as for being an administrator, the man was a genius, but he had no real idea of what it took to accomplish some of his ideas, or what even the foreseeable results might be. It seemed as though he didn't take them into account. For example, we did not know about the membership applications in those newspaper advertisements until after they started to come in. We were never informed.

Evans: There wasn't a flow of information, then, to the places--?

Miller: The flow of information was sporadic, to say the least. I would say that I had an impression of Dave Brower, actually up until the night of the last annual dinner which he attended. It was actually the day he resigned [May 1969]; it was the board meeting at which he had resigned. He did come to the annual dinner; it was in the Claremont Hotel. And I remember that was the first time I felt that David was a human being. It's not that he was inhuman, but it was sort of he was superhuman.

Evans: A lofty person?

Miller: Yes, a lofty person and a very untouchable person. And what I realized that night, just in speaking to him very briefly, was that he was a terribly isolated person. I realized that he was terribly afraid to let people get close to him, and that he was very human.

Maybe I wouldn't have had the feeling that I had if he had been around longer, and I had grown more in my own sense of strength within the organization. When he left, I started as director--actually at that time it was called membership secretary; I took Opal's place in the beginning of 1967. So in a sense I should have been dealing with him, at least in some degree, but I really wasn't very much. I dealt mostly with the administrative people, principally with Cliff Rudden.

Evans: Was the fact that he was out of the office a lot account for part of the--?

Miller: Yes, he was out of the office a lot, and also the feeling was that he just didn't care about the housekeeping details. It was sort of like everybody was expected to sweep up whatever piles of sawdust were created and pick up the lumber and be sure they were all available.

Evans: The crisis of the late 1960s which, I guess, was the period of 1968-1969, was very traumatic to the club. It affected many people very deeply. Could you comment on this, particularly your assessment of the role the staff might have played in the whole affair?



Miller: I'm not a journal keeper, so I have no way of referring to what I thought about it at the time. My feeling looking back on it, is that there were staff members who were very partisan to Brower. There were other staff members who were basically concerned that, "The ship is rocking; are we going to capsize?" And there were others that felt, "This is a job, and I'm here to do the job" and who really weren't that much affected by it. But there certainly were those-- I think of Hugh Nash and Bob Golden--who were very partisan, on Brower's side, understandably. Tom Turner was another one.

I really don't know how someone like Cliff Rudden felt about it. I made it a point to attend board and council meetings from even before my time of starting to run the membership department, but certainly from that time on, I felt it was very important for a couple of reasons. One reason was that I felt that Dave did not always have the correct picture of what was going on in the house-keeping departments and that sometimes things came up in those meetings, where there needed to be some statements of what was in fact going on.

I stuck my long neck out as usual and would make statements at those meetings, but I also was very careful in that the next Monday after a board meeting I would have a staff meeting of my department, and I told them, from the very first time I did it, "There's going to be a lot of stuff going around the grapevine, and I don't want you to be getting green grapes." So I did try to make very sure that people in my department had as full a picture as I could give them of whatever had gone on.

Evans: Did the war that was going on in the membership in the Sierra Club prove distracting to the staff? Was it affecting the efficiency or the ability of the staff to get work done?

Miller: It certainly affected some of the staff members, yes. I wouldn't say that, say, the whole thing was rocking back and forth. I'm trying to get the whole thing straightened out; I'm trying to remember when Max Lynn was there; that was later.

Evans: Michael McCloskey was conservation director at the time that Mr. Brower resigned. Could you tell us a little bit about Mike taking over the role of executive director and the recovery from the changes that happened in May of 1969?

Miller: Mike was the senior staff member at that time. I might comment that the Washington, D.C., office had not been developed nearly to the extent that it has now, so that now Brock [Evans] is actually associate executive director, and there's sort of a second headquarters in the East.

Miller: Then Mike McCloskey was really the ranking person, so he was asked to take over. I think they called him acting chief officer; it wasn't executive director even, and I don't know how he felt about that. I can't speak to that at all; I don't believe I ever discussed it with him.

Mike was an unknown quantity to many people, but he also was not a threatening person in any way. From my perception, I don't believe that any of the staff members who remained--there were those who resigned when Brower did--felt that Mike was on one side or the other. Mike had been doing his job as conservation director and that was it. I don't think there was any fear involved in that, even if they, perhaps, had been more partisan to Brower or something of that order.

Mike worked very hard to make people feel that they knew what was going on. There were full staff meetings; of course, full staff at that time meant perhaps forty people. And so you could fit them all in the library at Mills Tower, which at that time was about half the size of the current library. There were relatively frequent staff meetings to keep people apprised, and I think that helped give people a feeling they were all sort of being brought along about what was going on.

Evans: David Brower, being executive director, was probably a very central figure in the club at this time. What kind of a role did Mr. McCloskey have as conservation director working with a man like Mr. Brower? And what was the division of responsibility, do you recall?

Miller: I had an impression, at least. And again I don't have anything to base it on, because I never did work on the conservation side of the house, so that I wasn't familiar with all the ins and outs and what was going on. My impression would be that Mike was working with the legislature. In many aspects he did what Brock [Evans, Washington representative, 1973-1982] was doing later, although he did it from San Francisco a lot. He spent a fair amount of time in Washington, D.C. Mike was reinforcing what Lloyd [Tupling, Sierra Club's Washington representative, 1968-1973] was doing; Mike retained a strong interest in the Northwest. He had been the Northwest rep which was--I don't know if it still is--but it was a position funded both by the Sierra Club and by the North Cascades Conservation Council, and so the Northwest rep was really expected to focus on the Northwest. This is the way that Mike came into the club.

I feel that basically he was taking care of the conservation side of the house. He was not very often a public spokesman, in my memory. Dave Brower was the public spokesman; Dave's was the name that was known, and I think usually when you'd see somebody quoted, it was much more often, maybe 90 percent of the time, Dave Brower.

Evans: The crisis, if you want to call it that, happened in 1969. How did the club fare in the 1970s? What was the membership about the time that Mr. Brower left? What kind of growth continuum was it? Was it very, very heavy?

Miller: Of course, 1970 was the year of Earth Day, and the Sierra Club membership had had a real growth spurt in 1966-1967 because of the advertising, because of the Grand Canyon campaigns. I don't know how much "because of" but there was also at that time the IRS determinations that the club could no longer be tax deductible for purposes of dues and contributions, and so there were a lot of things that were bringing the Sierra Club into the news.

But then in 1970, of course, the Sierra Club was involved in the national Earth Days. It encouraged its units that then existed to be involved in local Earth Days, and there was quite a growth spurt right after that time. So much so that in 1971 there was a very expanded program proposed and budgeted for, and then in February of 1972 came "Black Sunday" because it was "Black Sunday." There were two board meetings, two weekends in a row, because they could not resolve the problems. Fortunately, I was not secretary of the board at that time. I felt sorry for Margaret Arbogast.

The membership had grown a good deal. When I started working in member services, not when I started running member services, but when I started working in member services, in 1965, the membership was on the order of 25,000 or 26,000. When I left member services, in 1971, the membership was 144,000. That may be high, but we can verify it. I remember figuring it had gone up by a factor of four.\*

#### Board Politics in the Early Seventies

Evans: What held the Sierra Club together in the early 1970s? Was it the board? Was it Mike and the staff? Was it the growth of new chapters? Do you have any feeling about what made it stick together and tick the way it did?

Miller: I must admit I'm reminded of the "Yellow Peril," Dick Sill's little booklet on the organization of the Sierra Club, and in it he had sections for each club entity, and he had a quote at the beginning

---

\*October 1, 1965 membership was 32, 815; October 1, 1971 membership was 131,630.

Miller: of each one. If I recall correctly, the one from the beginning of the section on the board and the executive committee, was: "Ezekiel saw the wheel" and the board was the big wheel that ran by faith, and the "little wheel ran by the grace of God."

That was a time, 1971-1972, when I recall a member of then current executive committee, commenting to me that it was the first time he'd ever been on a five-member committee in which two people were a majority. Because it was consistently a division of two to three but the two happened to be the president and the vice president, so they did sort of what they pleased.

Evans: Was the role of the executive committee much stronger than it is now?

Miller: Yes, it was. There has been a swing back and forth, and I don't know that it will ever stabilize. It seems as though you have situations where the board kind of stands back and the executive committee becomes stronger and then the members of the "outer ten" get sort of antsy and upset and so they reclaim some authority and some say in things, and you get to where the board as a whole is making more decisions and then it swings back again.

Evans: Explain the "outer ten" versus the "inner five."

Miller: "The "inner five" being the executive committee and the "outer ten" being those who are not on the executive committee. And I would say actually up until the middle of the 1970s, there was no real effort made to try to involve the entire board in terms of real responsibilities--making sure that there were liaisons to regional conservation committees, liaisons to issue committees, giving the board members specific responsibility. A lot of that has been developed even in the last two or three years.

Evans: There are several things that happened in the early 1970s, which I think affected changes in the Sierra Club. One was there was a predominance of California directors, which in some circles was known as the "East Bay bloc," because there seemed to be a predominance of East Bay, northern California directors. Another factor was the bylaws amendment, which was passed in the early 1970s. This limited directors to two terms, having them go off the board after two terms, and spend a year off the board before they were eligible to be re-elected again. Also, during this time there was a proposed reorganization of the Sierra Club, which would have impact on the role of executive director in particular. Would you comment on these things?

Miller: I guess I will take them pretty much in the order in which you listed them because it relates to what I was mentioning previously about the executive committee. That division on the executive committee was a result of the broadening geographic representation

Miller: on the board. I'm sure that it wasn't totally due to that, but it certainly had something to do with it, because the minority happened to be members of the "East Bay bloc," and the majority of the directors were all members from other parts of the country. The bylaw provision, which as I recall, was passed in 1971 and applied in 1972, did mean that people who had been on the board, and may have been on the board in some cases for twenty to thirty years, gradually were replaced by people who might not have been involved in the Sierra Club as long but were more in touch with the elements of the club from which they sprung, in particular the council [organization of representatives from chapters], and to some extent the issue committees.

The other thing that happened, and it happened at that time although it really wasn't related to that, but the council developed a series of guidelines for the selection of nominees to the board, and one of the things they stressed was that people who were nominated for the board should be active club members. They should not be simply people who were club members whose names were well known, in other words, no figureheads. That was really considered very important. I think it was perhaps largely a result of the fact that people who had been on the board for a long time had to get off at least for a year, and secondarily the fact that the nominations guidelines did go into effect about that time and the guidelines stressed more of geographic representation on the board. They stressed the fact that people should have been active in the club at various levels. Both of those things have changed the makeup of the board considerably.

It's meant that the board members do not have, perhaps, a continuity, although it has been true that people who have a long-term continuity on the board have gone off for a year and have been re-elected. Ed Wayburn is the prime example, and Phil Berry is another one, and Bill Futrell actually has had quite a long history on the board. So the continuity remains. There were people who were very fearful when this bylaw amendment was proposed, and they argued vociferously against it, and this was not necessarily people who were then on the board. They may have been represented by these others; I don't know, but these were older club members who were very concerned that you were going to end up with a board that knew nothing.

Evans: As I recall, though, when the board voted on it at a meeting at Clair Tappaan lodge in the fall of 1971, I guess, the vote was something like fourteen to one, and only one director opposed supporting its placement on the ballot, so it is interesting.

Miller: That is the case; they did choose to give the membership that choice, but there were very vociferous objections by the members.

The Proposal for a Paid Presidency

Evans: About 1971-1972 or perhaps 1973, there was a proposal for the re-organization of the Sierra Club which involved an upgraded position of assistant to the president. The proposal caused some consternation in the club. Would you tell us about it?

Miller: As I recall, the concern was that this assistant to the president would, in fact, be the "camel's nose in the tent" for a paid president who would supercede the executive director. This caused a lot of eruptions in the staff. I would say that some of the staff were perhaps threatened for themselves; I think the sense was more that they were threatened for Mike. They felt that Mike's authority was potentially being undermined, and they didn't want that to happen. I don't think it had to do with the person who was being considered for that position.

Evans: This proposal for the new paid presidency. if you want to call it that, was it part of the proposal made by the reorganization committee which had been ongoing for some time, or was it something that just happened to come along at the same time?

Miller: No, it was an outgrowth, as I recall, of a committee which had been established after Dave Brower's resignation. It started out being called the "Publications Reorganization Committee" because publications, of course, had been a field in which Dave Brower had been very involved. It extended, and then sort of expanded its efforts to become the reorganization committee, and it was headed by Charles Huestis, who was first treasurer as a member off of the board and then was elected to the board. As I remember, he was a Duke University financial vice president, so he had a lot of experience in that area.

It was both that committee's work and also the desire of the then president, Ray Sherwin, who felt that in order to do a proper job he needed more direct assistance than he was getting. My impression is that he felt he needed a representative in the office fulltime. Previous presidents--Ed Wayburn during the time of the Brower crisis--had had an administrative assistant, someone like Robin Way, and then John Flannery. At any rate, there had been staff people whose basic responsibility was to be, not an authority figure at all--

Evans: Have his ear on the staff, is that a correct description?

Miller: Perhaps in some ways, but basically it was to do a lot of the president's work, because the presidents were professional people who had their own jobs to attend to, and in the case of Wayburn, they

Miller: had other conservation things they were interested in, and they weren't always present. So an ear perhaps, but I think at least as much a workhorse.

The proposal for a paid assistant to the president, though, was a much more wide-ranging thing, and, as I recall, as originally proposed that person would have had line authority over the executive director. There was a real resistance both in the staff and volunteer structure to doing this. The Sierra Club had had a tradition that it is a member-run organization, and that, while it had a growing staff and that staff does have a head, that head is responsible to and is selected by the board of directors, and responsible to the president who is the personification of the board when the board is not there.

Evans: Let me ask you an aside question. I know that Judge Sherwin was the president at the time this thing came out into the open. Had there been a non-California president of the club at that time? Had Larry Moss been president then or did he follow Sherwin?

Miller: No, Larry followed Ray Sherwin; he was president the last year he could serve [1973].

Evans: It's interesting that this comes out of a Sierra Club that still had a California presidency, and, of course, Judge Sherwin lived at that time in the Bay Area.

Miller: Yes, he was close, and he had Townsley, Jack Townsley. That actually happened after this other blew over--that Jack Townsley came to be and was Ray Sherwin's administrative assistant, but it was at a different level, So going back to the other--as I recall, what happened was, there was an extraordinary meeting of the board and council in June of 1972.

Evans: The chairman of the council at that time was George Shipway, or was he head of the IOC at that time?

Miller: No, he was head of the internal organization committee and the IOC was the latest metamorphosis of a council committee which had existed from the beginning. There was always some council committee which involved itself with specifically the internal structure of the club. At one time it was the committee on committees; that was its name. It had sort of a side committee which was called NEPAC, nominating and election procedures advisory committee, I think. And then there was another one which was the SCOPE committee--it was the Sierra Club operating procedures committee, something like that.

The internal organization committee, I can't recall right now when it got that name, but it had been functioning for at least a couple of years at that point. And George Shipway was the chairman, and they worked on a number of different things about this

Miller: time. One of the things being the RCCs [regional conservation committees], which were developing along and which we could perhaps come back to at some point because they do fit into the national growth of the club, both in the matrix and also in the fact that this is a national organization. But their proposal, the proposal of the internal organization committee on the whole administrative structure of the club, was that the executive director's position should be retained. They were not supportive of the idea of a paid assistant to the president who would have line authority over the executive director. They did feel that there should be an administrator who also reported to the board. Not someone who was under the executive director but someone who was co-equal to the executive director and handled the administrative details.

As I think you know, there was not an administrator of the club who was really able to be effective until just within the last year and a half. That structure is a different one; that structure still has the executive director, and then the administrator is under the executive director.

Evans: Of course, that structure came out of a professional management firm, and that may be why it's different.

Miller: It's possible. There was an attempt to implement the other, and Max Lynn was brought in as administrator, but it didn't work for a number of reasons; I'm not sure I can enumerate those. But I think it made good sense because Mike is a very excellent person politically; he's an excellent person in conservation, but he is not, honestly, a good administrator. He has said himself he doesn't want to be an administrator, but he was put in the position of being an administrator for many years. He had needed the kind of assistance that he now has for a very long time, as was noted in the document which brought that whole idea recently to the board's attention for their action.

Evans: I recall from my perspective as a fairly new member at that time that the reorganization committee came up with a proposal which was really unliked by most of the people who knew about it, and the internal organization committee ran to the rescue with a report that they came up with in about three weeks which everybody accepted.

#### The Role of the Sierra Club Council

Evans: The council will be twenty-five years old next spring. It was organized in 1956, and it's something which club activists have very strong feelings about. Could you tell us about the council --how you started working for the council and the growth you've seen there and the work that it does in the club? Particularly up till the time you left the staff; it's changed a little bit since then.



Miller: I got involved in the internal organization committee before I started working for the council. In 1971, I resigned as head of member services, and I thought I was going to be in a different situation, so I was gone from the club for about three months. Then the person who took my place became seriously ill; actually, it turned out to be fatally ill, and I came back to train someone else and to help run things.

Then in December of 1971, Christie Hakim, who had been secretary to the council and also had been doing what evolved into chapter services, left for a year's trip to India with her husband, and so I applied for that job and was accepted. It was at that point that I began to get involved with the council. My job was about half chapter services; at least 75 percent was simply keeping the records of the leaders' names and addresses and the various committees, chapters, groups, that they were president or secretary of or whatever.

Evans: Maintaining the list by category.

Miller: Maintaining the list by category, developing an alphabetic list of those leaders. Christie had started developing the various handouts to help chapter and group leaders function, and one of the functions of the office was when people wrote in and said, "I want to start a chapter or a group," we would send them materials, and we would put them in touch with various people. I had an atlas, and people would write from very small towns in Nebraska or something like this, so I would use that to try to figure out how close they were to which place where there was activity.

Evans: You're lucky because the person who has that job now is supposed to keep the map up with pins in it; whenever the group chairman moves, they have to move the pin.

Miller: I know the map they have; they can't do that too much because it isn't that detailed. But that road atlas was a very important part of my equipment. It sat right up on my desk along with other things. Then the other part of my duties was to be secretary and general factotum to the council--

Evans: Tell us what the council is?

Miller: The council was, at that time, composed of representatives, one from each chapter, and one from a number of national committees, internal committees. There were no issue committees; the council does not deal, basically, with conservation issues.

It was set up to do two things: one was that members of the chapters felt that they wanted to have some way to keep an eye on the board and what the board was doing, and this, I think is fairly

Miller: explicit in some of the early minutes and the early council chairmen's report and so on. They could see themselves, perhaps, even slightly as a loyal opposition. It was not always an opposition, but they wanted to be there; they wanted to have a regular mechanism by which there would be representatives from the chapters there when the board was making decisions.

The other thing was that at that time in 1956, if I recall correctly, there were eleven chapters, and they felt the need to begin to coordinate. This was also the time when the first non-California chapter was formed. That was the Great Lakes Chapter.\* So they felt the need for a communication among themselves and also observation of what the people up on that board were doing. You've got to remember that back at that time there were no restrictions on terms of board members and also the guidelines were not an issue, and were much less clear, and there was not necessarily a feeling of connection with those board members.

The board had never been active at the chapter level. Because chapters grew very slowly--the first chapter, if I recall correctly, was formed in 1924 [1911-Ed.] and that was the Angeles Chapter and then the San Francisco Bay Chapter [1924] was the second chapter that was formed. But when you realize that from 1924 to 1956, you went from one to eleven chapters, and from 1956 till 1978--I think that was the last time there was a chapter accepted--

Evans: There have been name changes more recently, but they were the chapters that existed--it may have been one of the Dakotas, or one of the Carolinas, I'm not sure.

Miller: Anyway 1978 or 1979, but now you have fifty-three chapters. You now have chapter representation in every state. In the case of California, there are twelve and a half chapters. The half being the Toiyabe Chapter, which is in California east of the Sierra Nevada and in Nevada.

The council has always focused on internal organization--the administrative aspects--and they were set up to recommend to the board on anything having to do--actually according to the present bylaws, if I remember correctly, they can recommend to the board on any matter.

Evans: Could you give us some idea of the kinds of things the council deals with?

---

\*Atlantic Chapter formed 1950; Pacific Northwest Chapter, 1954; Toiyabe Chapter, 1957; Great Lakes Chapter, 1959--ed.

Miller: One of the biggest things was chapter formation, guidelines for chapter formation; it took quite a while before there really were chapter guidelines about what was required to become a chapter other than what is in the bylaws. There were minimal things in the bylaws, but one of the concerns was whether there was a real depth of leadership. After all, the bylaws say you can have a chapter upon petition of fifty members. You can have fifty members spread out over--say the original Rocky Mountain Chapter, which was six states--you could have fifty members spread out over those six states and have none of them in the same town.

So there was a real concern, and Norm O'Neill was the one who was chairman of the committee on chapters for many, many years. He compiled dossiers on each chapter that applied, including copies of their newsletters, and he had them all bound. I hope those have come to the club's historical archives. If they have not, someone should get in touch with him. He would, I think, be wanting to have them preserved.

Darrell Southwell was another one that was active in that committee.

Then another thing the council concerned themselves with at a later time was affiliations, chapters becoming affiliated with various outside organizations. This became a real legal problem at one point because the Sierra Club, of course, is the only legal entity, and if a chapter affiliates itself with some organization and then someone else sues the organization with which the chapter is affiliated, it can just as easily go right on and sue the chapter for an action that the chapter may not have agreed with. So one of the things was to develop a procedure for checking on these affiliations and for requiring a disclaimer to the groups that the chapter wanted to affiliate, but that any action which they took was not the action of the chapter, group, or the Sierra Club unless the chapter, group, or the Sierra Club took that action on their own.

Evans: So club and chapter participation in coalitions still must be approved by the council?

Miller: Chapter and group affiliation. Group affiliation has to come through the chapter, and both have to come through the Sierra Club. It's the council's executive committee, actually. Club affiliations go through the board; they're approved by the board. Dues allocation has been something that has been a council concern for a very long time, and there was a dues allocation committee. It was a standing committee for a number of years, and Dick Searle particularly, developed the formulas that have been used; Ed Bennett was involved in that, too.

Miller: Dues allocation was involved in the council meeting that was held in Boulder, Colorado, in conjunction with the Wilderness Conference in 1973. A large part of the time was taken up by the dues allocation committee, but that was about at the point which they had the thing pretty well resolved. It had gone on for several years previously. It was a question of how much should go back to the chapters; that amount is limited in the bylaws.

How do you calculate the apportionment? If you calculate on the basis of just number of members, you throw the balance one way. If you calculate it on the basis of area, you throw the balance another way. So that's where they started coming up with things like square roots of the area, and actually ended up with a calculation that has then involved both membership and area and the number of accredited groups.

Now groups are something that actually started to develop in about 1970. I think that if you go back to the council records you will find that the first listing of groups was done in 1970. Now I understand there is something like 253 accredited groups, and accreditation was the whole process that was developed by the council. It's a process that the groups have to go through to get chapter approval of their development, and then the chapter forwards that on. It grew out of, I think, what was happening in the Angeles Chapter. They had had activity sections for a long time, special interest sections like the Hundred Peaks Section and the Cabrillo Club that went out sort of exploring, and they might take ship rides and stuff like that, and various climbing and hiking sections.

The idea of a regional group--a subunit of the chapter, centered in a population center, generally--was a new one and sort of like a lot of other things in the Sierra Club: somebody sprinkled a little water on the mushroom. One of the things in this case that was water on the mushroom was including the number of accredited groups in the dues allocation formula because it encouraged chapters to have groups. However, in the long run, as with many such things, that has backfired because there is a set pot of money, and the more groups you have to divide it up among, the smaller each piece of the pie.

I remember teasing Eugene Carroll from the Potomac Chapter about the Potomac Chapter's growth in groups, because he decided that what they needed was groups, and they really did. They had a lot of centers of population. They had Sierra Club membership in those, and their chapter structure was not strong, and so it was a way of making the whole thing a much better organization. But in one year they accredited nine groups, so I called them the "rabbit chapter."

Proposals to Reform the Council

Evans: You're talking about the structure of the club, the chapters and the groups. The council has grown from eleven chapters in 1956 to what is now, in 1980, fifty-three chapters. Fifty-three delegates, what kind of a council does that make, and have there been any proposals or thoughts to reform the council over the years you've been involved?

Miller: I mentioned in the beginning that the council included representatives of certain internal committees. That was dropped over a period of time and over the opposition of a couple of committees. The outings committee for one, that was the principal one, although there also was another committee that we retained for quite a while. The outings committee was one that very much felt that they should continue to be represented, and the point kept being made, "Well, you're welcome to have representation, to have people there," but I think it was partly an aspect of the fact the council was growing. The numbers were growing, and the feeling was that we can't have eleven or so internal committees represented; the structure won't take it. So as I recall, the end result was a change in the bylaws which allowed the board to name representation for committees if they so decided, and they decided not to. And so there has not been representation of committees since the mid-seventies.

Evans: You were talking about the growth of the size of the council--

Miller: Yes, the growth of the size of the council and the proposals to reform the council. I suspect probably the first proposal to reform the council came up the day after the council was established. Sierra Club members, in my experience, are at least equal to the most opinionated people you'll ever find around anywhere, and they have very definite ideas about things.

One of the ideas that has kicked around for a long time is the idea of regional councils, the idea of having an equivalent to a regional conservation committee. The original conservation committees was something whose guidelines and procedures were developed by the internal organization committee of the council. It went through the council's approval procedures before it went to the board, although the RCC in southern California had developed over a number of years and then the midwest RCC started to develop.

So as the RCCs developed, then there was some push to say, "Okay, the council's getting awfully vague." One of the things that happened was that expenses increased with the number of people and also with the economic situation, and people would say we need to cut down on the number of representatives, or we need to cut down the number of meetings. "We've got to do something about this." So a recurrent proposal has been for something equivalent to RCC for the council.

##

Miller: Another idea that was broached at least a couple of different times was having the eastern part of the council meet in the East and the western part of the council meet in the West, or something on that order. In other words, have two council meetings, and then you would have delegates from that come to some kind of a super council meeting. This has also been an aspect of several of the regionalized proposals; it would be that each region would have the internal equivalent of the regional conservation committee chairman, and those would bring the problems to a central meeting, and those people would be present at board meetings to observe.

Of the two big recurring arguments against any regionalization of the council, one has been the function of the board observation. This is the feeling that all chapters ought to be there and ought to be represented when questions come up because that function, in terms of conservation issues, is available through the regional conservation committee chairman, but in terms of internal issues, it isn't necessarily.

The other argument has been the idea that the council delegate should be someone who can connect the chapter and its groups with the national organization, and that's not just with the board. That's also with the staff, and it's with each other, and that happens through formal training mechanisms, formal workshops. It happens also a great deal through what are called conversations in the hall. There are those who will say, and I think that it's a very viable statement, that actually those conversations are much more valuable than many of the meetings themselves. It's at those points when people really start getting down to the nitty-gritty, "This is our problem." Other people can say, "We had that problem, and this is how we dealt with it." You can do this to a certain extent--have informal sessions--and there has been, particularly in more recent years, a real attempt to do this within the council.

I remember doing a survey about chapters' feelings about having a council, about not having a council, about the various aspects of the council.\* A lot of it was taking various aspects of things the council did and saying, "Do you want to do these by personal representation? by mail? by some kind of regionalized structure?" or whatever. People were given several alternatives, and in general, the response was "We feel that it's important to have the personal connection, the face-to-face connection." So, I think, this is perhaps the strongest thing that has kept the regionalization proposals from not going any further than they have.

---

\*Sierra Club papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

Miller: What has happened is, that over the years the council has met fewer and fewer times each year. When it first started and when I first became involved in it, the council met four times a year. I don't remember exactly how the attrition occurred or at what times it occurred, but I would say that it was probably by 1976 that we were down to two meetings a year. I'm not sure.

#### Relationship of the Council to the Board

Evans: You said that the council formed originally to keep an eye on the board, and, of course, the council is able to meet when the board budgets them enough money to do so. What has been the relationship of the council and the board over time?

Miller: It hasn't been quite as much of a pendulum swing as the relationship we were speaking of earlier between the executive committee and the other members of the board, but there has been some of the pendulum swing there too. There has been some real antagonism to the council by people who were not on the council and never had been. Ted Snyder, particularly at one time, appeared to be someone who felt that basically the Sierra Club could get along very well without the Sierra Club Council, and I think he made no bones about it publicly, and there's no reason for my not mentioning it.

There were a number of other proposals. I did that survey at the time that the internal organization committee was trying to look at the question of "How should the council be structured?" Ted had some very strong feelings on the subject. Holway Jones made some proposals, and his feeling was that there needed--and I think Ted felt this to some extent but Holly made it much more specific. Holway felt that at least a part of the money that was being spent on bringing people to San Francisco should be spent on sending them to Washington and teaching them to lobby. I think that there was this confusion; there was confusion about what the council existed to do.

I think it's fair to say that I don't recall a time when the board as a whole was anticouncil. There have been times when individual members have not been supportive of the council, but I think almost always the council leadership has taken it upon itself, when that occurred, to try to say "Okay, what are we doing wrong? We are here to serve our joint interest, the Sierra Club interest, and how can we function better?" I was thinking about that Gill-Shaffer memorandum a couple of years ago. It was just one more iteration of the idea of the regionalization of the council, really.

I think I'd like to make a postscript to what we have been talking about because it occurs to me that there was another aspect, besides regionalization, once the RCCs got formed and got going

- Miller: really well. In some RCCs there seemed to be enough time to spend on administrative things, so there was pressure from people who were familiar with those RCCs and not familiar with others, to say, "Okay, the RCCs have time to deal with the administrative things, we'll just abolish the council altogether, and the RCCs will be the total focus. All representation, both conservation and administrative, will be through the RCC function."
- Evans: The RCCs aren't even in the bylaws.
- Miller: No, they're not in the current bylaws.
- Evans: They have become supercommittees with a great deal of responsibility and authority, but they're not covered in the bylaws. They are sort of illegitimate children, in a way.
- Miller: They're not mentioned. Neither are groups. The bylaws mention standing committees, and they mention the council--by virtue of an amendment of the bylaws--and they mention chapters.
- Evans: So perhaps RCCs are standing committees in a sense?
- Miller: I think RCCs would probably fall under that for anybody who needed a legal framework, but as I say, there was also this feeling that, "Okay, the RCCs can handle everything." Of course, there were other RCCs who said, "You're out of your cotton-picking mind."
- Evans: Wasn't there also a proposal--I don't know how well considered it was--for a regionalization, in the sense, for the council to have a smaller size and for chapters to send delegates? Say that if chapters had a certain number of members that they might send a delegate. If the chapter had five thousand members, it was entitled to one delegate. If they didn't, they would join with some other chapters?
- Miller: That was one of three scenarios for reorganizing the council, and it was by population. It was one that was put together, I think, by George Shipway and Ed Bennett, and it was given some consideration. A tremendous amount of work has gone in over the years on this question, and I suspect that most of it is probably reflected in council materials. It would be an interesting study for someone if they were ever interested in how that sort of thing happens in a membership organization, to focus on that particular aspect because it had these various iterations, and there's been a lot of creative thinking done on it.
- Evans: Of course, at the present time, the council always meets in San Francisco. The larger chapters, except for two or three, are in the state of California. I know that some of the chapters have become concerned about the fact that they're spending a lot of money to bring other delegates from other chapters to the Bay Area because the



- Evans: council support is on a per capita basis, from each chapter. As an example, the San Francisco Bay Chapter "spends" several thousand dollars a year to bring someone from the East Bay to San Francisco, so this may be part of the reason there have been--
- Miller: They're subsidizing other chapters in a sense, and that's true. On the other hand, you can make the argument that within the federal government, the fact that you and I can get a decent job doesn't mean that everybody else can get a decent job, and it doesn't, therefore, mean that other people aren't entitled to some reasonably decent standard of living. Everyone could carry that analogy, I think, any way you want to, and one way is this way: there are chapters that couldn't afford to send a delegate if they had to pay the full cost of sending that delegate because they don't have the membership base.

#### The Sierra Club as a National Organization

- Evans: Over the past few years the Sierra Club has had two or three non-California presidents, and of course, the greatest growth in the Sierra Club right now, I believe, comes from some of the eastern or southern chapters. Do you think the council fostered this in any way, or how did they make the most of it? Do you have any feelings about the nationalization of the Sierra Club?
- Miller: Actually the nationalization of the Sierra Club, I suppose, was fostered by the council in the sense that the council was the initial body to which people came when they wanted to form a new chapter and to the extent that the council set up criteria for the new chapters and framed it within certain numbers--three hundred to five hundred members--and framed the viable leadership corps, and this and that. They in that way set the stage for a rapid proliferation of chapters as membership grew in various areas of the country.

I can remember sort of the magic point at which there were more --or rather less--than two-thirds of the members living in California. It may have been a watershed in a way, I don't know, because it has continued to go down. My impression is now that it is a little bit higher; only a very little bit higher in California, if that. I think it's just about fifty-fifty now.

The pressure, of course, to form the chapters didn't come from the council itself. I think part of the pressure was financial, because if you were a chapter you got money. If you were a chapter of four states, you got so much money, but each state group could get money if they were each a chapter. They each got a base

Miller: allocation besides their dues; they got at least an extra \$200 a year just for being a chapter. So this is one place where I feel that, with hindsight, I think in the formation of groups and, to some extent, in the formation of chapters, the council may not have really realized what they were doing. They set up financial incentives to form groups and to form chapters, and while they did and do have criteria for doing that, it has resulted perhaps in the formation of some chapters where there was a little bit of question. Chapters have been formed for some very odd reasons.

Evans: I think that the smallest chapter has probably less than six hundred members and the largest is somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty-four thousand. That's a very diverse political structure.

Miller: Yes, it is tremendously diverse. There was, for example, a splitting of the Los Padres Chapter over the Brower issue, basically. It was partly the Nipomo Dunes, but it was Brower's association with that issue, and there was a great polarization between the Santa Lucia members in what was Los Padres--the present Los Padres and Santa Lucia were all one chapter, and Santa Lucia split off at that time, and a lot of it was political.

Evans: Did it have something to do with the Diablo Canyon nuclear site? Was it part of it?

Miller: It was the Diablo Canyon nuclear site which was related to Nipomo Dunes because that's where PG&E wanted to put the plant in the first place. So that it was the two issues, both of which lie in Santa Lucia and both of which Brower had been very closely associated with. So there was a lot of politics in the formation of that chapter, internal club politics.

As far as acceptance of the club as a national organization, it has been interesting to me to observe (I know that Mike McCloskey has been concerned about this, also) that the board members seemed to have very often lost a national perspective. They tend to represent a constituency. I remember a long time ago, and with a real sense of shock, hearing Mike say that the Sierra Club was inevitably going to have political parties. They weren't going to be called that, but it was just sort of in the nature of the evolving of an organization that when it gets to a certain size, it tends to, at least, want to divide. It's trying to divide, or maybe it's trying to stay together, but it is various pieces.

I share Mike's concern for a lack of vision of the Sierra Club as a national organization, at the board level, and I find it very difficult with certain board members because I have the feeling that almost regardless of what the issue is, they are going to cast it in the light of their particular constituency. Unfortunately, the

Miller: impression it gives--and it may be a totally inaccurate one--but the impression it gives is that that is the only light in which they see it. That they can only view it through those colored glasses, whatever those colored glasses may be.

It certainly isn't true of all board members, but it has become perhaps more true, and I have had certain board members express to me real feelings of concern. There were board members who were writing ballot statements and said, "I really tried to focus on the club as a national organization and on my responsibility as a director to that." They felt that in doing so, they were sort of throwing themselves at the bottom of the totem pole--that you had to appeal to a constituency in order to get elected.

Evans: We both know that appealing to a constituency has brought members to the board in a couple of very specific cases within recent years.

II PERSPECTIVES ON THE CLUB, THE COUNCIL, AND THE BOARD

[Interview 2: May 23, 1982]##

Dealing with Club Growth: The Early Seventies##

- Evans: Susan, you were a staff member at the club. Actually, you had several staff positions in a time of great change and great transition in the club. We talked before a little bit about the council and about the internal organization committee. At the time when the IOC was doing most of its work, you were working as the chapter services staff person and about twenty-five percent of your time, I think you said, was doing council things. Could you talk a little bit about this and the kind of role that the IOC played and the direction that it helped to give to the club during this time?
- Miller: One of the things I think the IOC was trying to deal with was the growth that occurred in the club. Say from '70 to '72 there was a large period of growth and then the growth slowed down, but there had been proliferation of groups in particular and also of chapters. There were a number of chapters formed during that period of time, older chapters splitting up into newer chapters. I can recall Kent Gill presenting the last breakup of what had been the old Atlantic Chapter, and he said that the Atlantic Chapter was falling apart [laughs], and that was when Pennsylvania and New Jersey and New England--let's see, did New England come out of that?
- Evans: It had already, I think.
- Miller: Yes, as I recall, the guidelines call for 350 members as a minimal requirement for a chapter. But at any rate, the IOC, I think, was trying to deal with some of the structural problems that resulted from this type of growth and trying to deal with ways that the infrastructure could grow and still remain attached to the club and to the club traditions and yet not become a real central system because there was a pressure to do that and that pressure showed up in a lot of different ways over a period of time.

Miller: It showed up perhaps even more extremely after I left my staff position. The committee on effective volunteer organization which was informally known as the Gill committee [laughs]--against the wishes of the chairman [Kent Gill]--produced a report that had a number of different variations on what could happen to the club, but practically all of them in my memory had a degree of federalism in them which the club has never in fact had, but which was one way of resolving the poles that existed when you have groups and chapters and RCCs all trying to relate to each other and to a national board of directors and a national staff.

Evans: Then you had chapters.

Miller: Yes, and you had chapter staff as well sitting in there, so there needed to be developed some way that they would work together and yet not be so bureaucratic that they couldn't do anything or that they felt that they couldn't do anything. I have perceived this both as a staff member and now as a volunteer, that people, members of the club, active members, may feel that they can't do things when in fact they can, that there aren't as many restraints on them as they think there are.

Evans: I think considering the size of the club and the number of different entities in the club that it is amazing that the structure works as well as it does. I think that some of the tendencies that we had toward federalism result from things to do with our taxes, with reporting income, that kind of thing where some of that information has to come through the national organization. After all, there is only one legal California corporation, the Sierra Club.

Miller: Yes.

#### Working as the Board Staff Secretary

Evans: You used to joke about a department that you worked in as the "department of cosmic glue." I think the department of cosmic glue may have changed a little bit when in 1974 you were asked by the newly elected president Kent Gill to be the board staff secretary. Can you talk about how the role of the board staff secretary changed in that time frame?

Miller: I would clarify that slightly. The position was open, and I applied, and I was accepted. I don't know whether I was specifically asked to do it, although I had worked with Kent when he was council chairman. But the position of the board staff secretary had actually been a secretary to the executive director who also handled details of setting up board meetings, taking board minutes, getting them

Miller: distributed, et cetera. What it amounted to was that the very minimal things were done, but there was no one in the staff who was actually available to the president and to the board members and to the national committee chairman, including the RCC chairmen, to facilitate things for them.

Evans: And to monitor progress I would guess, too.

Miller: Yes, of course, I don't know whether previous people who had the position before me--Christie Hakim, and Margaret Arbogast Watson, Pat Shaller--how they had interpreted their role, but one of the ways that I interpreted as my role was that it was technically the board secretary's job to watch over what went on in the board meetings and make sure that what didn't get finished at this board meeting got brought up again in the proper place--the follow-through types of things--particularly as the board itself diversified geographically--

Evans: Away from the California--

Miller: Away from the San Francisco Bay Area and then away from having a preponderance of California directors. This became more and more a need. I was trying to recall the secretaries of the board while I was board staff secretary.

Evans: Do you mean the directors that were secretaries?

Miller: Yes; that is, the elected secretaries were Richard Cellarius and Bill Futrell.

Evans: Would Ellen Winchester be one of them?

Miller: Ellen became secretary the year I left, if my memory serves me correctly. But both Cellarius and Futrell were people who were not located in the San Francisco Bay Area, and so our communications were somewhat limited. Perhaps because of that or perhaps just because I am who I am or whatever, I did interpret part of my role as being [laughs]--what I used to say is that my job was a certain percent "pest," that I had to follow through and make sure that things did get taken care of and that the motions that were tabled to a particular meeting were then brought up again. In another situation perhaps the elected secretary, the director who was secretary, might have done this.

Kent became president in May of '74, and I started to work as board staff secretary in August of '74. I remember my first board meeting was up at Clair Tappaan Lodge; it was the budget meeting. [laughs] This is a slight aside, but I guess maybe it is typical of the way I felt about the situation. To me, it was important to maintain some levity in the proceedings. At that

Miller: meeting Nick Clinch, in a moment of perhaps boredom with the discussion, was going through an old New Yorker Magazine that was sitting there in the lodge living room, and he found this cartoon, and it had a very large bear in the zoo giving directions to visitors to the zoo and one zoo keeper saying to the other, "Well, with all the budget cuts, we've had to economize!" [laughs] The bear is pushing a broom. So I cut the cartoon out and put it in the brief of actions of the board meeting!

Evans: That was something you did frequently, as I recall, cartoons.

Miller: I tried to--cartoons or little quotes or some things that were fun and tried to lighten things up with it. But at any rate, one of the things that I felt and Kent felt was that the committees of the club needed to be looked at, and we did set up, oh, about a five-page questionnaire, I believe. This was something that we did somewhat with the IOC, although it was not an IOC project. It was a board office project. Paul Swatek was then treasurer, and he was involved in this. In part, what we were trying to see was, what were the committees doing? what did they think they were doing? did they have charges? did they know what the charges were? what kind of budgets did they have? how were they using their budgets and--

Evans: If they had one!

Miller: If they had one. Most of them at that time did. They had some kind of a budget. It may have been a postage and telephone kind of budget, but at least they had some kind of a budget. Also, there were a number of committees that had existed for a number of years which, after review--I say a number, there were three or four--were turned into liaisons. One of them was insurance. There had been an insurance committee, but it had consisted of Robert Howell, one person, for many years, and there was no committee. The same thing was decided at that time about the library, that the library committee had been inactive and so at that point it was laid down. So we went through this process of review of committees.

Evans: It sounds like these were mostly internal committees; is that correct, or were some of the policy--

Miller: As I recall, we dealt at that point principally with the internal committees, and we were basing it partly on the fact that in 1972, the IOC had developed recommendations and guidelines for selection and operation of committees. One of the things was that members should not serve more than three two-year terms and that people shouldn't be chairman forever and things of this nature.

Since Kent and I had both been active on the IOC, we felt that it was appropriate to see that this did happen, and one of the things that was at that time set up, which had never existed

Miller: before, was a set of files, two for each committee. One was a correspondence file and the other was its internal workings, its charge, lists of its present and past committee members, this type of thing; a sort of committee history.

Then also we funneled all of the committee expenses, including RCCs, through the board office so that it meant that basically we were trying to keep track of their budgets to some extent and how their budgets were being spent. At that time, the accounting staff was having difficulty providing budget status reports.

Evans: It seems like Kent's background in the council and as a chapter leader was a great advantage to his role as president in the sense that he was an organizational kind of person.

Miller: Yes, I think that was true. He did have some other things that he focused on, energy being one of them, and he served as the club's delegate on an American Petroleum Institute committee. So that was one of his other major things. But as far as the operation of the club was concerned, yes, I think that was certainly true of his effectiveness.

#### Antagonism Between the Council and the Board

Evans: Going back a little bit to the council, Kent had left the council at this time and, of course, you were no longer the council staff person. The council was growing because there were more and more chapters, and this was part of the structural problem. There was in the period following Kent's presidency, I think, some antagonism toward the council. Could you talk about this a little bit?

Miller: I think it came from a viewpoint that a number of people held, and some of them have been somewhat involved with the council, some of them had never been involved with the council. But the council was getting too big to be an effective organization for communication and for education. I mean it was set up to deal with the internal administrative parts of the club. I think over time in various discussions, the idea was that it was to serve the communication and the information and education function among leaders, and that council delegates were expected to become educated and to carry that education back to their chapters.

Unfortunately, particularly when we had a number of new chapters, one right after another and sometimes more than one at a time, new chapters particularly tended to view the council delegate's position as a way to get people oriented to San Francisco and to the national operation.



Evans: Come to Mecca!

Miller: Yes, come to Mecca, get your reward, this type of thing. So it was very hard to enforce one of the criteria for delegate selection, which was that the delegate should be a delegate for a minimum of two years. It was not with the idea that someone should be a delegate forever, although we do have some people still on the council who have been delegates for a long time, George Shipway being one of them.

Evans: George and others seem to rotate in and out of those roles, so it's not quite--

Miller: No, it's not, it's not. It hasn't been absolutely constant, but I think that, for the most part, those who have stayed in it for a long time have also been people who have been involved and have been effective leaders. However, going back, I think, as I said, the antagonism had to do with a perception that the council was not accomplishing these roles. The perception was on the part of various people--I recall Holly Jones writing one paper. I say "paper" because it was three or four pages long, as I recall, and it may have been a letter.

Evans: Was he on the board at the time?

Miller: No.

Evans: On the council?

Miller: No, he was on neither. He was at that time, I think, active in the publications committee, but I am not sure that he had any other role. By then he was off of the board, I do believe. Wait a minute. No, I take it back. He may still have been on the board then. Ted Snyder was another person who wrote rather extensive comments about the council and about how he felt it might better be perceived. Now, I believe, as I recall, Ted's solution was that the RCCs should take over the function of the council.

Evans: Of course, the council is administrative and the RCCs are conservation oriented.

Miller: This is an interesting thing because it is my impression that different--RCCs operate differently, and the eastern RCCs--

Evans: Or the non-California ones, perhaps?

Miller: No, I say the eastern ones because I think the Midwest and Southwest RCCs have concentrated much more on conservation issues. The Midwest has done some very good internal educational things. For

Miller: example, as a part of an RCC weekend, they will also bring in all of their newsletter editors and have a newsletter editor's educational day or something, but they don't do that as (quote) an "RCC activity" but simply because you are getting all of these people from the chapters together anyway, so let's put one more in the car. At least, this is my impression.

However, the Appalachian RCC, the Northeast RCC, and Gulf Coast--the Southern Plains, I don't know; I had the impression they stayed more with conservation--those other three at least seem to find a fair amount of time to talk about internal administrative chapter kinds of things, and so I think this is partly the perception that Ted was coming from.

Ted's perception of an RCC was that they did have time in one weekend's meeting to deal with these kinds of problems and that, therefore, you should have this and you should have some kind of expanded RCC--what is now called the regional vice-president's forum; it was then the RCC Chairman's Caucus--in which you might have a conservation delegate who might be the chairman and then someone else who was the administrative delegate. These people would meet on a national level, but then you would take the money that you weren't using with the council and you would put it back into more chapter and/or group activity.

Holly's approach was to have--I think his was not so RCC-oriented--smaller regional councils that would be administrative and then you would have delegates from those come into a national body and part of the money that was then being spent on the council would be spent on doing a lot more of the Washington, D.C., orientation training type of thing. Maybe having one person from every chapter come to a Washington week--

Evans: For lobbying.

Miller: For lobbying and for education in the national lobbying effort. Again, I think this came partly from Holly. Holly was chairman of the wilderness committee during some of this period of time, and I think he felt the need for people to be educated in that way, and so this was one way to find funding for it--you take it from this part of the pie and put it into that part of the pie which, of course, the Sierra Club budget [laughs] has basically always done! They depict it as a pie, and it is treated as a pie. There are bigger pieces and littler pieces.

Evans; The two leaders, Ted Snyder and Holway Jones that you have talked about, made some criticisms of the council. Do you feel that these criticisms were in any way true? Was the council doing what it was supposed to do? Was there too much of a change of personalities in this period to accomplish the work as well as it might have been done?

Miller: I think that the criticisms were valid in that there was a lot of hashing and rehashing. There was a lot of educating going on by essentially throwing people into council committee meetings and into council meetings without enough orientation, without enough sense in some cases of what the committees were supposed to be doing. I think that what has been done--what I mentioned being done with the national committees--needed to be done and had not perhaps been done as well as it should have been with the council committees; that is, to determine what their charges were and what they really ought to be accomplishing.

I think there also was a polarization between little chapters and big chapters, and part of this had to do with dues allocations. Some of the smaller chapters, because they had large areas, and area is one of the factors that is used in allocating the total portion of the dues that comes back to chapters, it resulted in chapters with quite small membership getting rather large per member allocations.

Evans: Like Alaska, for instance.

Miller: Alaska was one; Hawaii was another, and some of the mainland chapters, the lower forty-eight chapters, where there was a good-sized area but a small membership. Then you have very large chapters like the San Francisco Bay Chapter and the Angeles Chapter and, to some extent probably, the Atlantic Chapter, who felt that they were being short-changed. I think this tended to slip over into areas where it really wasn't relevant. There was that kind of thing going on, and this coming up.

I think that another factor that led to this antagonism or questioning about the council was that up until that time, not too many people who had been on the council had gotten onto the board, and in more recent years there has been more movement from the council to the board. Right now there are probably half a dozen board members who either were council members or who participated in council activities. For example, Joe Fontaine, as far as I know, was never a council member, but he participated in the IOC as the RCC representative for a couple of years.

Evans: Basically, you really have only got about four arenas where a club member gets national exposure aside from the board. You have got the council; you have got the RCCs; you have got committee chairmanships, and you have got staff, though only in one case I think has there been a staff member who has become a director and that has been very recently, actually since you left the staff. So those are the four arenas where people can see others participating.

The Educational Function of the Council

Miller: Yes, I think also one of the things that was not perceived by people like Holly and Ted as much as it was by those who had participated in council meetings was the sense of the education and the encouragement, the sense of--

Evans: Of family?

Miller: Of family and a moral strengthening, sort of; morale strengthening, I should say, not moral. [laughs] We will leave the morals aside!

Evans: That word is misused a lot!

Miller: But morale strengthening from the interchange between the chapter leaders coming together at council meetings. A lot of that, as you are well aware, does not happen at formal meetings of either the committees or the council. I believe that part of what has been accomplished by more recent leadership in the council is that some of this has been institutionalized, in a way, and some efforts have been made to provide opportunities for it to happen in more structured ways.

The other thing, I think, that has changed people's perception of the council--I say "people's," I probably should say the board's perception of the council, principally, and the council member's perception of the council--is that the council now only meets twice a year, whereas when I was first associated with it, it met four times a year. It meets for four days. It starts its meetings Thursday morning, and council members are expected to attend the sessions on Thursday and Friday and then to attend the board and the council meetings on the weekend.

Evans: Do you mean the council requires a lot of commitment?

Miller: Yes, it requires a lot of commitment. The longer time does allow much more of the educational function to occur. It has allowed the council executive committee to set up various kinds of workshops. I think because of that, because they can say to a council delegate, "Look, here we spent a half a day on meeting process. You have had a chance to really get this under your belt." In a sense they are saying this. In fact, I don't think I have heard it stated in so many words, but in a sense they can say, "Now, you have got something you can go back to your chapter to teach, and you can't say, 'I didn't learn anything that I can teach.'" So the back-and-forth role of the council delegate, I think, has been strengthened because of this.

- Evans: That is true, but in a sense there is still a problem in that some of the council delegates are not able to attend meetings of the board so that part of the exchange that is going on in the rest of the meeting they are not privy to, and that is one thing that they have to get to.
- Miller: Yes, it has been a question in my mind ever since they started running them simultaneously, and my impression was at this last meeting that there was a really strong desire on the part of both board and council members to try to resolve this and work it out in some way so that there will not be concurrent meetings.
- ##
- Evans: These are the two major bodies?
- Miller: Yes, that's it. There may be concurrent meetings of committees and this kind of thing, although they seem to have done fairly well the last couple of times in allowing pretty long meetings for the committees that felt they needed it. I mean, the membership committee met all day on Friday, and they seem to feel that they needed it and that they used it well.
- Evans: That's true, but how many council delegates are on that committee that missed other parts of the session? I guess that is the question when you are talking about concurrent meetings that are important.
- Miller: Yes, it is difficult. It makes it difficult for a person to attend more than one or two different kinds of things, but I do feel that some of those education functions have been thought about, and they have been deliberately looked at and worked at and incorporated, and I believe that this is partly why there is a feeling that the council is more effective and doing more of what it was supposed to do.
- Evans: You mentioned earlier that part of the change and the perception of the council on the part of the directors may be because some of the directors were on the council. I think perhaps that in a couple of instances--and granted this is mostly since you left the staff--but there have been a couple of directors who have been very, very--I want to use the word protective, but that isn't right--have been the chapters' voice on the board to make sure that the chapters and the groups are represented, that their concerns are represented, whether or not they are actually voiced or verbalized that way. Director [Marty] Fluharty, for instance, is probably on the current board the major voice of the chapters and groups. I think that is partially the reason there has been a change of perception of people there that are doing the nitty-gritty work in making sure the chapters and groups get their due.
- Miller: I think that is true. I think also that some board members--and certainly Marty Fluharty is one--some members of the board have taken it upon themselves, and Director Fontaine is another one, that they

Miller: have a real responsibility, as much as their other duties and life will permit them, to be in contact with chapters and groups and not to simply exist as a board over here and chapters and groups somewhere over here and never the twain shall meet. I think that to the extent that the club can see its way clear to financing more of that, it will greatly increase the strength of the club, and I would not be at all surprised to see the proposed national assembly--if it goes well, and I certainly hope it will because it's an idea that I have felt strongly for a long time had a lot of merit--that it might very well create more demands for that sort of thing.

#### Assessment of Changes in the Board's Role

Evans: Do you see the board's role in the club changing over the fifteen or so years you have been involved, or how do you see it changing? It has obviously changed. What kind of changes have you seen since, say, 1969 or '70.

Miller: I think that one of the more obvious ones is that as the RCCs have become stronger and more confident in their areas, there are fewer regional conservation issues being brought to the board. Occasionally, they are brought to the board when there is an RCC's perception that it will make their position stronger if they have a national statement. But there are certainly fewer regional issues being brought to the board in terms of conservation.

Evans: The policy is more broad brush, then?

Miller: Yes, it's more broad brush, and most of the basic policy--and here I am echoing comments that I know Mike McCloskey has made in my hearing, and to some extent other members of the conservation staff feel this too--that most of the basic conservation policy probably had been pretty well enunciated by the late seventies and that the policies that the board would deal with would either be totally new issues, of which there aren't too many, or explications, revisions, refinements of policy.

I think another thing is that the board has gone through a period of distrust of staff when it came to handling the budget. The board has now seemingly, at least at this point, reached a situation where they are much more willing to take the work of the staff and the work of the budget committee (which includes members of the board) instead of having to deal with each and every line item. I mean, a budget session of the board, which was the early fall session, used to mean essentially going through every line item in the budget, and it made it an horrendous process for all concerned, a very uncomfortable process, and I think was frankly

Miller: not a really wise use of the directors' time. If they trusted the people that they put on the budget committee, and if they trusted the staff members, then I think that they would do well to follow the course that they seem to be more recently following and that is in most cases to say, "These are the recommendations and, with perhaps some exceptions, we accept these," rather than spend a lot of time hassling over it. So that's another area.

Of course, as I recall, it was proposed before 1970 that the Sierra Club should have an administrator as well as an executive director and a conservation director. That administrator was not hired until after I left the staff. Mr. [Len] Levitt was hired in '79 or '78. I think it was '79 because I think it was after I went to Hawaii. So that is another change because Mike McCloskey is not trying to handle all of those various facets.

In one sense, what had happened previously, it seems to me at least, was because he was trying to do more than was humanly possible, some of the administrative things were actually ending up at the board where they didn't belong. Now with the administrator, presumably, some of those things are not. I am not saying that I think that all is roses in that area. I am not that privy to all that is going on, but I do have the feeling that sometimes on the administrative side of things, the [staff] people are not as aware as they need to be of the various facets of the club, that there is a tendency to be more staff-oriented.

Evans: There could be some sensitivity training then.

Miller: I think that might be a good way to approach it! [laughs] Perhaps an education at that level. [tape interruption]

#### The Chapter Services Office

Evans: Susan, let's leave the board and go back to the department of cosmic glue. In your different roles at the club, you became known as quite a phenomena for knowing where things belonged and what had happened over time. Can you tell us about the chapter services office that you worked in, and how it grew and changed in the club?

Miller: I took over the chapter services office in December of '71. At that time, Christie Hakim had been doing that and also doing quite a bit of work in the executive director's office. At that time, chapter services essentially was keeping track of the list of Sierra Club leaders and activists. It was considered actually a function of the council in a way. The council paid part of the salary of that person because it dealt with the leaders in the chapters and the

Miller: groups. It dealt with a new group formation so that when people wrote in and said, "Is there a Sierra Club in my area, and if there isn't, I would like to start one," and so forth; those letters came to chapter services.

The leadership lists at that time were kept on xerox labels, and you had one label for each set of lists. There had been developed a number of lists, and when I was working with it, we developed a number more.

Evans: More than fifty by the time you left, weren't there?

Miller: We didn't have actually fifty lists. I think we had about thirty-five. We used higher numbers for some things. But these were coded --that is, if a person was a leader, you could code the computer for their being on these lists, but because all our computer facilities were at a service bureau and we maybe updated the list--the service bureau tapes--twice a month, we couldn't just get a list off of the computer just like that.

So we had to maintain the lists on the computer; we maintained the lists on the xerox labels, and because many leaders wore more than one hat, we might have a person who appeared on five different lists. That meant they had a label on each list, which meant that you had to cross-reference every label for its other list. So to do that, I set up a system using a roladex and an alphabetic file so that you had an indication of who was a chapter chairman and also a delegate to an RCC and maybe sat on the wilderness committee or something like this. There would be a card that indicated all of those connections and that way if you made any change, you would know where else you had to change the cross-references. Then there was also a roladex file there that was for each list, so that if the labels disappeared, which happened on occasion, they could be recreated.

We also put the alphabet list on the magnetic tape typewriter which the club had acquired about the time that I got into chapter services, and we started to use it about two years later. That allowed us to produce alphabetic lists of the entire club leadership, and we made an effort to offer these to each incoming leader who was asked if they were interested in these and in specific lists. So we tried to convey that kind of information.

What we ended up with was actually two and a half people working in that office because we also sort of drew into that office all of the various types of information that were available about the club and what now is in information services was actually a function of that office.

Evans: Including the conservation related things?



Miller: Including those things which had been put up as some sort of re-print. We had those as well. If it was specific-issue policy and that sort of thing, we didn't. Policy history, that type of thing, was not something that we dealt with. But we did have information sheets on--

Evans: But it was mostly internal?

Miller: Mostly internal, yes.

Evans: As I recall, Margaret Arbogast Watson was handling the information services role about the time that you were doing that.

Miller: It was a little later, actually. More of ours was internal, and some of it was conservation. The other function we served was simply that council delegates and the other chapter leaders knew that if they contacted our office with a question, we would know where to forward it. We created the first directory of staff services and kept that up-to-date.

Evans: I am not even sure that is produced anymore.

Miller: It is incorporated in the chapter and group leader's landbook. I don't know to what extent it's going to be updated, but at the time it seemed to really help people and again the idea was that if these people didn't know where to turn, or if they had turned there and had not had a satisfactory response, they would contact us.

Evans: Which is sometimes the case.

Miller: Yes, that sometimes happens. So we ended up with actually two full-time people or two and a half, and the half person was Eugenia Lashenko. She came to us under the Jobs for Older Americans program, and she worked as a part of that program for a while and then actually became a staff member. She handled the fulfilling of orders for all of these kinds of information. Then also we had a system of keeping track of the elections for all of the chapters and groups and sending out forms to them--the infamous blue sheet--which still exists and still bedevils people. The form has changed a lot since then, but we started those. I guess in that role I was responsible for developing a lot of informational types of things, either things to send information out or things to bring information in and then making that information available to people.

Evans: That role is now in a different department, I think; at least the internal things now go through the executive offices and information services handles most of the conservation things, but it has been attached to the public affairs department.

Miller: Yes, and the leadership services office--

Evans: Now it is four full-time staff members.

Miller: Yes, which incorporates the label ordering which used to be in-member records. So it is incorporated in some other things, but that is another aspect of what was once done in this chapter services framework.

Evans: Considering how much the club itself has grown in those intervening ten years, it is not surprising.

Miller: No. [tape interruption]

#### The Board: Patterns of Change

Evans: I think one of the things we have seen in the club over the last few years, in terms of the board, is that while the board used to be dominated by California members, this has become less and less so. What other kinds of patterns, either cyclical or otherwise, have you seen on the board in your years as a staff member?

Miller: One of the things that seems to me to be true, and I certainly haven't gone back and documented it, but it's a sense that the board shifts from being a fairly cohesive group usually, through a polarization where there will be perhaps a nine-to-six or eight-to-seven vote on a lot of issues, to a situation where there is polarization which essentially is centered around the executive committee as one group and, as we discussed earlier, the "outer ten" as the other group. In turn, the internal workings, if you will, of the board--the way they operate as a board--affects very substantially the active members' perceptions.

Evans: The members of the club do you mean?

Miller: The club members' perception, the club leaders' perception, and by leaders I am talking about those three thousand or some people on those lists that we referred to earlier, particularly those who are active at a national level. But their perception when there was the five-member executive committee and the outer ten polarization, was often based on the sense of frustration that those outer ten felt that was communicated to the other leaders that they related

Miller: to in their various home areas. So then there would be sort of a general sense of malaise and "something is wrong" and "something has got to be fixed," and yet from the point of view of those other leaders further out in the structure or further away from board meetings, a sense that they couldn't do much about it.

Evans: Did this tend to happen, do you think, when all or most of the board's executive committee was composed of strong people or when there was one or two persons as sort of a single force, a very strong president with maybe one other officer who was very strong? Did you have any sense of that at all, without necessarily naming names?

Miller: I don't know whether I could sense any correlation. I think it perhaps depends more on the perception of the board members as to their role, particularly the board officers, whether their role is basically to be a board officer and do whatever function has been delegated to them.

By the way, speaking of functions delegated to them, I do feel that the board has come a long way, and this is primarily since the time I was a staff member, in actually setting down in black-and-white and on paper what the job responsibilities are, not only of a director in general, but also what the specific responsibilities of each executive committee member is. This, I think, cannot but help to make better executive committees because when people accept a position, they know what will be expected of them and what responsibilities they are expected to undertake. I think this is very helpful, and it didn't always exist in the past, so each person made their own roles as they saw them.

Evans: Of course, part of this, I expect, was dictated by how far that person lived from San Francisco or whatever action they were privy to.

Miller: Yes, I would agree with that and communication among board members has occurred on very different levels. I know that when Brant [Calkin] was president, he felt that one of the ways to communicate was to write sort of an internal newsletter, and he did this periodically, and we would send it around to the board members. This was not something that, as far as I know, got distribution much beyond the board members, but it was a way of keeping them all in touch.

Bill Futrell's way was by phone. He used the phone a great deal. Now, he was, by virtue of his job, much more tied down than some other presidents, so he used the telephone to communicate with various board members, with RCC chairmen, and he also took the approach with RCC chairmen that they were sort of his extension in their region. Again, it's to some extent how each person uses it, what their constraints are. There is this thing about "Is there life 'after'?" Well, there is also "Is there life except as'?"

Miller: [laughter] Most of our board members or many of our board members have other Sierra Club roles. They have other roles that they play in their own communities and as providers or breadwinners and as professional people and so forth, so their time is constrained by all of those various things.

Some of our board members over the years, too, have been very much single-issue board members. Some of their issues were specifically conservation related. I mean there would be certain specific conservation issues--

Evans: Clean air, Alaska--

Miller: --Clean air, Alaska, energy, international, wilderness; each of these, I think at various times have had their specific advocates on the board, and you can know darn well that if those issues come up, that this particular person is going to really put a lot of attention to that.

Evans: And most of the other directors to do the same.

Miller: Yes, and then at the same time many of them, when there is more than a single issue orientation, put less emphasis on being a board member and more emphasis on their issue. At one time there was sort of an understanding in the nominating committee procedures. I don't know that it has ever been written down, but one of the things that would be asked of perspective nominees, when they wrote their statements for the ballot, was to state how they felt about their role as a director.

I think the question may still be asked, but it has gotten away from the idea of the director as being someone who has to have the whole perspective of the club in mind. I personally feel that some people have been elected to the board on single issues. Their ballot statements have been single issue ballot statements, and I see really no other basic reason why they probably got elected.

Evans: One always hopes that a person will put aside his particular regionalities, et cetera, and try to work for the good of the whole club when he or she becomes a director.

Miller: Yes, I would agree that one would hope that that would be the case. I think it has been in some cases, and it has not been in other cases. [tape interruption]

Retirement and Recognition by the Club

Evans: Susan, you left the Sierra Club staff about five years ago. You received a singular honor from the organization when you left, something that has never happened before and may never happen again. Could you tell us about the Susan Miller award?

Miller: [laughs] The first I knew about the Susan Miller award, I guess it was Saturday afternoon and the council was meeting up at Cogswell College on Stockton Street. Jean Gahagan had been working with me-- under me--as council staff secretary, and so she was up at the council meeting, and I was with Lois Mack (who was going to take my place) at the board executive committee meeting because at that time, that was how they were dealing with the problem of trying to have the two meetings concurrently. They had the executive committee meeting during the time that the council met, with the idea that fewer people needed to be involved in that.

So I was there with Lois sort of being a backup and reference and all, and all of a sudden, Brant Calkin, who was the outgoing president, appeared at my shoulder and whispered in my ear that Jean seemed to be having real trouble.

Evans: There was a crisis of some kind.

Miller: Yes, there was this crisis, and that she was in tears and nobody seemed to be able to figure out what was wrong, and would I please come up to the council meeting. So little suspecting what was happening, I went up and, as I recall, you accompanied us up the hill. Going up that hill was something else! We got up to the meeting, and we came in sort of at the back of the meeting, and I looked over, and Jean looked perfectly healthy. [laughter]

Evans: Her Irish eyes were smiling!

Miller: Yes, she didn't appear to have been crying or anything like that. So at that point, it was announced that the council had established the Susan E. Miller Chapter Service Award of which none to three were to be given annually. The way it works is that each chapter may nominate someone for a chapter service award, so there can be fifty-three chapter service awards if that many chapters nominated someone that the committee felt had done the requisite things and then of those people, zero to three may be named as recipients of the Susan E. Miller Chapter Service Award. The basic idea was, as I understood it, that these awards are for people who have worked in the internal parts of the club.

Evans: Fund raising, membership--

Miller: --Fund raising, membership, general organization, just keeping the local departments of cosmic glue. I really can't say how it felt. It was really amazing and certainly far more moving, I think, than to have received an award myself. I was most shocked.

##

Evans: The club named an award after you, but a year ago, I had the great privilege and pleasure of accepting an award for you since you weren't in San Francisco at the time of the annual meeting. A member of the honors and awards committee asked me to accept an award for you, and at first I wasn't told what it was going to be, and then I came to realize that it was the William Colby Award, which is, in my own estimation, the highest award that the club can give to one of its members. Marty Fluharty, who is an old friend of yours, presented the award, and I accepted it, and it was with a great deal of glee that we called you in Honolulu after the annual dinner to tell you about the award. What was your feeling when we gave you the phone call, and what were the thoughts that you had?

Miller: I recall that you asked me if I was standing up when I answered the phone, or you suggested that I sit down--I guess that was it--and I was already seated, but I was completely astounded, I really was. I don't recall that I said it to you, but I know that I put into the letter that I wrote to Joe Fontaine that as far as I could recall, all of the people that I knew of who had gotten the William E. Colby Award had been volunteers for at least twenty years, so I felt it committed me to doing a lot more [laughs] because, after all, at that time I had been a volunteer for about four years, and I didn't really feel that I had done the same--really as much--as the people who had gotten that award. It was most, most surprising.

Evans: Well, the contributions you made to the club as a staff member certainly included a lot of volunteer time. You were known as a staff person who has always been willing to give whatever it took to get the job done, whether it was between the hours of nine to five or not. I think that you gave a lot of volunteer hours, and you gave with the spirit of volunteers in many of the things that you did, and I think that's part of it.

I think this is also a signal to some of the club membership that the club does know how to honor its staff persons when they merit the kind of--I hate to use the word "reward"--but the kind of recognition that you were given last year. Also Brock Evans, who is a former staff member, but now a member of the board, also was given the John Muir Award for conservation work, and Mike McCloskey, of course, was honored by the club and the board with the Muir Award.

New Perspectives as a Club Volunteer

Evans: You have been off of the staff now for a little bit more than five years, and you have been active with the Honolulu group of the Hawaii Chapter and, of course, you don't get to San Francisco as often, but you still are certainly a part of the club and its organization. How does it feel being a volunteer now as being different from being a staff member, and how do you feel about your years on the staff?

Miller: I think being a volunteer, and particularly a volunteer in a chapter that is as far away from San Francisco as anybody is-- [laughter]

Evans: We do have members in Guam, as I recall, but no chapter there!

Miller: Very few, very few. There is a frustration. I can understand a little better the frustration that was evidenced sometimes by leaders while I was on staff in terms of why things didn't happen that were expected to happen when you thought you had done the right thing! Then I don't know whether I feel this problem more acutely than other volunteers who had been active in a leadership role for a long time. I do have a sense of lack of information.

Evans: The word doesn't get out?

Miller: The word doesn't get out, or all of a sudden I will hear that something is happening, and I haven't heard anything preliminary to it. It is just all of a sudden there full-blown. Many years ago in discussions about what the Sierra Club Newsletter, now called The Forum, should be, the IOC talked about using it as a means of internal communication, or letting the volunteer leadership have more of a running view of what was happening. I think that the point of view still has some validity, and there is some need for it.

Again, as I say, it is a little difficult for me to tell whether part of that that I feel has to do with some perception of--I do maintain contact with you, and I do occasionally talk to other staff members so that I am aware of some things that are going on perhaps that others aren't aware that are going on. But again, there is something that is there all of a sudden, and we don't really know where it came from.

We have been fortunate in that, I think, the last three council delegates from the Hawaii Chapter have all been people who have taken seriously their responsibility to bring things back to the chapter. I have participated at the chapter level. We are not

Miller: members of an RCC, but we have a chapter conservation committee made up of the chairman of each group conservation committee and the regional vice-president and the chapter conservation chairman. We meet concurrently with the chapter executive committee quarterly, so for that reason I have been somewhat involved at the chapter level as well and, therefore, do get more feedback than I might otherwise.

Our bylaws make the group chairmen or their designates voting members of the chapter executive committee, and that person is encouraged to play the same role from the chapter to the group and back as the council delegate is at the national level. To the extent that that functions well, that helps the group executive committee to be aware of what is going on. I am not a member of the group executive committee. I was appointed. I was conservation chairman for a year and a half, and now we do not actually have a group conservation chairman at the moment.

I am sort of helping along with things; I am a member of and remain a member. My particular interest and concern is--and it's a concern that I have locally, and I am trying to implement locally--the integration of people who want to become active, actually taking those people who say to our gal who is phoning our members on Oahu that they want to be more active, getting in touch with them, and finding out how they want to be more active and trying to help them work their way into the activities and become involved. I know that this seems to be a concern, and really a valid one, of the national membership committee with the recent immense growth of the club as a result of the Watt petitions and the concern about the environment. We have an infrastructure that I think can accept them, but it's not going to accept them by our sitting around and saying, "Oh, how nice, we have a 40 percent growth rate," or whatever it is. There is no way that those people are going to just find their niche all by themselves.

I really feel that we should take a really active role, a seeking role, as leaders going out to these people and not forcing them into activism but encouraging those who want to be active. That also does not mean simply saying, "We want to be active in this issue, get in touch with so-and-so." It means, perhaps, arranging a meeting--where you and this other person and this other person get together and talk about this. If they say, "Yes, I would be willing to go down and listen to the meetings of the city and county planning committee," we should go with them to those meetings for one or two times, so that they don't--

Evans: Hand holding?

Miller: Yes, I think that there has to be this. I don't think that you can dump people into it, and I feel we've tried this too much, and it doesn't work. What happens is that people do become involved. I



- Miller: think they feel as though they are out there on their own, and I think they are much more likely to burn out because they don't feel that there is anybody there to back them up. So I don't know whether it will work or not. It is something that I have done a lot of thinking about. It is not something that I have done a lot of acting on yet, but I hope to be beginning this summer.
- Evans: Let me ask you the \$64 question. I know that you have been approached by the nominating committee as to whether or not you would be interested in being a candidate for the board. There is currently a staff member who is a former director, and there is a new director who is a former staff member. Do you have any opinions, strongly held or otherwise, about the wisdom of this change in roles for club activists or whether it can work?
- Miller: I think it certainly has worked in the direction of activists becoming staff members and certainly when that happens, the club gains a staff member who already knows a good deal about how the club operates, which I think is very beneficial to any staff member, and also the club supervisory staff knows that person well and knows what they can do and what they can't do. As for staff members, ex-staff members, being members of the board, I think that is a different kettle of fish. Certainly staff members who have been in a position which has exposed them to the club leadership have as good a chance of being elected as any one who has served on the council or has been an RCC chairman or whatever.
- I think the perspective an ex-staff member brings to the board would be helpful to some board deliberations in that the board has at times done the same thing that I think I mentioned earlier in what Dave Brower was doing, and that is deciding that something would be a good idea (and other staff members have done this in other contexts) without really stopping to figure out who all is going to do it and how much time it's going to take and what the logistics of this thing really are or what are you really getting into when you are proposing to do this. I think that those who have been on the staff can certainly provide some perspective in this type of situation.
- If a person has been in a staff position which has not exposed them to the club structure, I think that could be a very difficult thing because I think it amounts to the same type of thing that used to happen when we had board members who were elected because they were something else in the outside world, outside the Sierra Club, but they hadn't really been active in the Sierra Club.
- Evans: Like an editor of the New York Times.
- Miller: Yes, the editor of the New York Times. There have been others.

Evans: A Supreme Court justice.

Miller: Yes, there have been others in that same sort of position. I think that could be difficult. I don't think that there is anything against it, but I don't think there is anything particularly for it either.

Evans: Thank you very much.

Transcribers: Peggy Harrison and Michelle Stafford  
Final Typist: Marie Herold

## TAPE GUIDE -- Susan Miller

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Interview 1: November 17, 1980       | 1  |
| tape 1, side A                       | 1  |
| tape 1, side B                       | 10 |
| tape 2, side A [side B not recorded] | 18 |
| Interview 2: May 23, 1982            | 24 |
| tape 3, side A                       | 24 |
| tape 3, side B                       | 33 |
| tape 4, side A [side B not recorded] | 42 |

## INDEX -- Susan Miller

- Bennett, Ed, 15, 20  
 Berry, Phillip, 9  
 Brower, David R., 3-6, 22  
 Bunnelle, Hasse, 3
- Calkin, Brant, 39  
 Cellarius, Richard, 26  
 Clinch, Nick, 27
- Diablo Canyon nuclear site, 22
- Earth Day, 1970, 7
- Fluharty, Marty, 33-34, 42  
 Fontaine, Joe, 31, 33-34  
 Futrell, William, 9, 26, 39
- Gill, Kent, 24-28  
 Golden, Bob, 5
- Hakim, Christie, 13, 26, 35  
 Hartman, Opal, 3  
 Huestes, Charles, 10
- Jones, Holway, 19, 29-30
- Lashenko, Eugenia, 37  
 Levitt, Len, 35  
 Lynn, Max, 12
- McCloskey, J. Michael, 5-6, 10,  
 12, 22, 34, 35
- Nash, Hugh, 5  
 Nilsson, Annie, 3  
 Nipomo Dunes, 22
- O'Neill, Norm, 15
- Rudden, Cliff, 4, 5
- Searle, Richard, 15  
 Shaller, Pat, 26  
 Sherwin, Raymond, 10, 11  
 Shipway, George, 11, 20, 29
- Sierra Club  
   advertising program, 3  
   awards, 41-42  
   Board of Directors, 7-11, 19, 22-23,  
     25-27, 34-35, 38-40, 45-46  
   chapter services office, 35-38  
   chapters, 14, 22, 24-25  
     Angeles Chapter, 16  
     Atlantic Chapter, 24  
     Hawaii Chapter, 43-45  
     Mother Lode Chapter, 1  
     Potomac Chapter, 16  
     Santa Lucia Chapter, 22  
   committees, internal, 27-28  
   committees, regional conservation, 12,  
     17, 19-20, 29-30, 34  
   conservation policy, 34  
   Council. See Sierra Club Council  
   expansion of, 13, 15, 36  
   internal affairs, 1960s, 3-7, 22  
   internal affairs, 1970s, 7-46  
   membership, growth of, 2-3, 7, 13-14,  
     24-25, 38, 44-45  
   membership, reasons for joining, 1-2  
   presidency, 10-11  
   publications program, 2  
   regional conservation committees. See  
     committees, regional conservation

Sierra Club (continued)  
  staff, passim  
Sierra Club Council, 9, 13-21, 28-  
  34, 35  
  educational function, 31-34  
  internal organization committee,  
    11-12, 13, 19, 24-25, 27  
  Susan Miller Chapter Service  
    Award, 41-42  
Sill, Richard, 7-8  
Snyder, Ted, 19, 29-30  
Southwell, Darrell, 15  
Southwell, Jane 2, 3  
Swatek, Paul, 27

Townsley, Jack, 11  
Turner, Tom, 5

Watson, Margaret Arbogast, 26,  
  37  
Wayburn, Edgar, 9, 10



Sierra Club Oral History Project

Tom Turner

A PERSPECTIVE ON DAVID BROWER AND  
THE SIERRA CLUB, 1968-1969

An Interview Conducted by  
Susan Schrepfer  
in 1974

Underwritten by  
The National Endowment for the Humanities

Sierra Club History Committee  
1984

Sierra Club Oral History Project

Copyright © 1984 by Sierra Club, San Francisco, California  
All rights reserved



TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Tom Turner

|   |    |
|---|----|
| INTERVIEW HISTORY   | i  |
| I EARLY ASSOCIATION WITH DAVE BROWER                                    | 1  |
| Glen Canyon Trip  | 1  |
| Sierra Club Staff Member, May 1968-May 1969                             | 3  |
| II PERSPECTIVE ON SIERRA CLUB INTERNAL POLITICS, 1968-1969              | 5  |
| Staff Position on the Brower Controversy                                | 5  |
| Conflicts between the Professional Staff and Volunteers                 | 6  |
| Sierra Club Involvement with Diablo Canyon, 1966-1969                   | 9  |
| Differences over Sierra Club Expansion                                  | 13 |
| Environmentalists and the Counter-Culture                               | 15 |
| The President and the Executive Director in Conflict                    | 16 |
| Following Brower's Path: The Sierra Club in the Seventies               | 19 |
| Personal Aspects to the Conflict  | 20 |
| III BROWER AND FRIENDS OF THE EARTH                                     | 24 |
| The Staff and the Brower Vision and Style                               | 24 |
| Financial Brinkmanship: A Philosophical Choice                          | 25 |
| Rules and Risks: Further Reflections on the Split in the<br>Sierra Club | 26 |
| POSTSCRIPT  | 32 |
| INDEX   | 33 |

## INTERVIEW HISTORY -- Tom Turner

The following interview with Tom Turner was conducted on March 25, 1974, by Susan R. Schrepfer, as part of her background research for an extensive oral history interview with David Brower, then president of Friends of the Earth and former executive director of the Sierra Club.

Turner worked for the Sierra Club in 1968-1969 during a year of intense internal conflict that led to Brower's departure as executive director. He followed Brower to the newly formed Friends of the Earth, where he has edited the newsmagazine, Not Man Apart, for many years. The interview focuses on Turner's view of the schism in the Sierra Club and his reflections on David Brower--his values and his style as a leader in both the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

Turner was not a direct participant in the dissension in the Sierra Club and some of his memories regarding details and dates of the conflicts may not be completely accurate. Still, his perspective as an ardent Brower supporter on the staff is a new one in this series of interviews on Sierra Club history. His account makes clear the respect and affection Brower commanded (and still commands) among his followers and shows their level of commitment to the environmental cause. In addition, it further illuminates an intriguing period in club history. Particularly when read along with other interviews of the principal actors in the controversy, it demonstrates some of the dynamics between staff and volunteer, youth and age, those loyal to Brower and his vision and those whose major commitment lay in preserving the Sierra Club as an institution.

The interview was transcribed and edited for continuity and clarity in 1982. Mr. Turner reviewed the manuscript making only minor changes and added a brief postscript. The interview tape is available in the Bancroft Library, as are the historical archives of both the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

Ann Lage, Cochair  
Sierra Club History Committee

15 August 1982  
Oakland, California

## I EARLY ASSOCIATION WITH DAVE BROWER

Glen Canyon Trip

Schrepfer: What did you do before you got involved with the Sierra Club [in May 1968]?

Turner: [Previously I was] in the Peace Corps in Turkey, working in a fairly remote village out near the Black Sea, and before that I had been in school.

Schrepfer: How did you get involved in the Sierra Club?

Turner: I had known the Browsers throughout school--not well, but as neighbors in Berkeley. I have known their kids; although we were a couple of years apart in age, we weren't real close. I had [also] been on Sierra Club trips as a child with my family. The one thing that made me want to spend a good part of my life working for the environment like this was a visit to Glen Canyon in its last days. I went down [the canyon] when the lake was about a third full [in Spring 1965] and saw what was happening to some of the prettiest country in the world. I can still get just furious--livid--thinking about that canyon being flooded. I went down there on a trip, along with all the Browsers. (No, John wasn't there, but the rest were.)

Schrepfer: That trip to Glen Canyon must have been quite an adventure.

Turner: Yes, that was very exciting to me. It's the first time I ever saw Brower in action. We were actually on the Escalante most of the time. Most of the main Colorado side canyons were underwater by then, but we went to the Cathedral in the Desert, and Davis Gulch, and Soda Gulch, and several others. This was right in the thick of the Grand Canyon fight.

It seems to me the trip took two weeks, and we had been out for a week or so. It was being led officially by Dick Norgaard, who had been in that country a lot. The Elliots were along--Lou Elliot and his family. One of them asked Dave to bring us up to date on the Grand Canyon fight while we were sitting around the campfire after dinner. Dave gave a little talk for about twenty minutes about the Grand Canyon, and he had everybody screaming for their packs, so they could write letters to their congressmen.

It was just incredible the way he electrified everyone into action, and into getting in there and fighting like hell to save the Grand Canyon, because the government had in mind to do to the canyon what they had already done to Glen [Canyon].

Schrepfer: Was he thinking about the book, The Place No One Knew, at that time?\*

Turner: I believe that had been done already.

Schrepfer: I imagine he must have been in tears most of the time!

Turner: Nearly, yes. Boy, that was a tremendous experience.

Schrepfer: I guess the dam still isn't filled completely--

Turner: No, as a matter of fact, in volume of water it is only about half full. We are now involved in litigation which is pending at the Supreme Court, which is attempting to keep the level where it is now. We lost round one at the Supreme Court, and are going back to ask for a reconsideration, with the Navajo tribe.

---

\* The Place No One Knew: Glen Canyon on The Living Colorado, Eliot Porter; David Brower, ed., May, 1963.

Sierra Club Staff Member, May 1968-May 1969

Turner: After that, I went into the Peace Corps, and after a year or a year and a half I started to think, "All right, you have postponed making a decision now for a year and a half. You can't do it forever. What are you going to do?" One of the first things I thought of was going to work with the Sierra Club, but I thought that it would be presumptuous to ask for a job. It would be trading on whatever small influence I might have had just from being acquainted with the Browers. I had never done much writing, studied biology, or been a great photographer--the things that I assumed that the Sierra Club would be looking for.

So I didn't do anything about it. Right after I got out of the Peace Corps, I came back and got a job with Head Start. I was working in the administrative office here, doing the things that got the poverty program such a bad name, such as passing on grants without having any idea of what was going on out in the field.

I ran into a terrific photographer named Martin Schweitzer, who was also working there. He had lived in New York and he was now living out here, and so on. I was just knocked out by his pictures, and I said that I would try to get Brower to look at them. Schweitzer was a fan of the Sierra Club books, of course. He thought that the greatest thing in the world would be to do a Sierra Club book.

So I screwed up my courage and called Dave and couldn't get through to him at the Sierra Club because there was a fairly well-placed line of receptionists who screened out the weirdos. So I called him at home, and he said, "Why don't you come up?" I said, "All right." So I went up. Norman Clyde was there. That's how this all began. Clyde regaled us with stories of his rescues. We talked several hours, and I got drunker and drunker on the scotch, and Clyde finally turned to Dave and said, "Well, Dave, what about my book? Are you ever going to get it published?" Dave said, "That sort of depends on if I can talk Tom here into coming to work on it." And that was that. [laughs] I nearly fell out of my chair!

Turner: But I came to work within a couple of weeks, and I have been here ever since [with the Sierra Club from May, 1968, to May, 1969, and then with Friends of the Earth]. I never talked about Schweitzer's pictures that night, although we finally published a book of his with Friends of the Earth a year or so ago, and it's been a great success. So it all finished itself up. Schweitzer lives out in Inverness now, and spends a lot of time at Point Reyes.

Schrepfer: Isn't there a book [of Norman Clyde's] coming out?

Turner: It's out. It was published a year or so ago by Scrimshaw. It had gone around and around in the Sierra Club, and Dave asked me to come and try to get it ready. I worked on that for a few months, and then his administrative assistant, Robin Way, quit, so I took over that job.

Clyde's book never got published at the Sierra Club. It was a victim in part of the fight over Brower. The club just wasn't all that interested in doing it; no one was thinking about publishing projects, so they released it to Dave Bohn, and Scrimshaw published it. It was more or less the manuscript I put together, but without pictures. There are a few pictures of Clyde's, and we were going to do a picture book with Cedric Wright's pictures. That part of it got dropped, but they did a pretty nice job on the book.

## II PERSPECTIVE ON SIERRA CLUB INTERNAL POLITICS, 1968-1969

### Staff Position on the Brower Controversy

Schrepfer: After Brower left as executive director [in May, 1969], what did the board do about staff members who had sided with Dave, if that isn't too personal a question?

Turner: Well, there were two of us who were fired at the first executive committee meeting a week or so after Dave resigned. That was Hugh Nash and me (Hugh now works for Friends of the Earth). They had asked Hugh to quit, and then they asked me to quit without any reason beyond the fact that we had been supporting Brower. We both came to the conclusion that that wasn't reason enough [to quit], and they would have to fire us. It was sort of a minor technicality anyway.

Then Anne Chamberlain, Dave's secretary of ten years or so, was fired a couple of months later. Bob Golden was the first professional employee that Brower hired after he was made executive director; he went to work about 1955 or '56. During the fight, Golden filed a resignation which, if Dave lost, they could then accept any time they wanted to. They did [accept the resignation] after a month or so.

The next most outspoken [Brower] supporter was Jack Schanhaar, who was fired. That was all, I guess. Not many people on the staff spoke up because they were afraid of what might happen. [Edgar] Wayburn, who was the president of the club then, called a meeting of the staff at lunch one day and said that we could consider ourselves under a version of the Hatch Act, where the employees of the Sierra Club were not to get involved in the election on company time. He discouraged people getting involved at all. Some of us didn't acknowledge that and didn't go along.

- Schrepfer: I gather the majority of the staff rather favored Dave's position.
- Turner: I think that's true. At one point in all that mess, Hugh circulated a memo supporting Dave; it was signed by everybody on the staff, including Mike McCloskey who, other than that, kept completely quiet and kept his hands completely off. I think most everybody did support Dave, but that didn't matter much to the directors.
- Schrepfer: How much do you think people in the Sierra Club really studied the issues? Did they vote the way they felt on an emotional basis?
- Turner: Do you mean the rank and file?
- Schrepfer: Right.
- Turner: Well, God knows. I mean there was no way that just the normal, everyday member of the Sierra Club could have voted on the issues because they were never presented that way. There was an attempt made on the Brower side to explain the issues and present a coherent argument. But the [anti-Brower] charges had been made so often before that it was just impossible to answer. You can't rebut [charges] like that successfully when there has been a lot of money spent [by the anti-Brower side] on disseminating the propaganda, and so on.

There were deep and genuine differences of opinion, and if the election had been argued on that score, it would have proved something. It would have been worth doing. I would have felt more comfortable in living with the outcome. But that isn't what [the election] was decided on. It was decided because--I don't know. It goes on forever and there are so many little factors involved.

#### Conflicts between Professional Staff and Volunteers

- Schrepfer: How [important were] the issues of professionalism versus volunteerism, or of the centralized staff versus the rest of the club?



Turner: [pause] Well, it's a hard question to answer. That did have something to do with it because Dave's way of operating is not particularly through great mass meetings, or in grass-roots organizing, or in things like that. He finds individuals and tries to get them fired up to do things and then do their own organizing. He is not a great diplomat, and he is not a great handler of people.

None of us argued that it shouldn't be a strong membership organization. It was a question of how much emphasis should be put on a professional staff. The Sierra Club butted heads with professional lobbyists in Washington, and was in the publications business, and things like that. Given these activities, there had to be a good degree of professionalism in the staff, while the club at the same time [needed to] support and enhance an active volunteer effort in the field.

I think that the other side misrepresented to some extent [Brower's] attitude toward volunteers, but [neither did] the professional staff communicate as well as they should have with the chapters and the volunteer leaders, or obviously what happened wouldn't have happened. The anti-Browerites went around and organized all of the chapters and they took over all of the chapter newsletters and that in large measure is what beat Dave in the election. Just before the elections, many of the chapter newsletters were just loaded with anti-Brower stuff, month after month, and that certainly did its damage. [Had] Dave spent more time going around visiting chapters and pushing chapter leaders forward to make them feel more important, I suppose [he] could have avoided some of the bad press he got from the chapters.

But it's not that he was against a strong volunteer operation, not at all. It's just that he wanted to augment [the volunteers] with a professional staff. There are all kinds of problems and headaches working with a volunteer organization. It's great, and it can get things done. And it is the only way that you can operate when you don't have a great deal of money--but it's hard to find people who are reliable if you are not paying them to do a job. Their personal loyalties sometime have to be to the job they get their money from. The best-intentioned people can be unavailable when you need them the most, in a volunteer set-up.

Turner: There has to be a halfway point found, obviously. The Sierra Club is more than just a hundred-person staff; the 120,000 membership has to be well represented by a professional staff that has some latitude. One of the questions posed, and one of the big issues, too, in all of this was that Dave tended to go off without first getting the board's permission for various things. That happened sometimes. It was just [his] feeling that there was a job to be done. He saw his job as being the executive director of the Sierra Club, and when an opportunity came along, if he had to wait around for a board meeting, then the opportunity passed.

Schrepfer: Yes. The big issues where the board said he had acted without permission were the Galapagos books and the London office.

Turner: Yes, I guess. The Earth National Park ad was another one that really nettled people a lot.

Schrepfer: Do you think that he understood that he had permission to run that ad [in January, 1969]?

Turner: I really don't know. There are always various interpretations possible. I wasn't in on the details of any of those [discussions] while they were going on. I heard about them peripherally. I can't give you a first hand account, although I'm sure Dave felt that he was fully justified in going ahead with those things. [He thought] that they fell within broad, general outlines of what his duties were to be, and that those activities could be justified under certain interpretations of various kinds of policy. [He thought his actions] were in the best interest of the Sierra Club--there was no question about that. I mean, he never did anything that he didn't think was the right thing to do for the club.

The one thing that made me mad was when Dick Leonard suggested that Brower was trying to take money for his own purposes out of the books contracts, which was the nastiest kind of charge. There is no Brower money that isn't for larger purposes. I mean, the Browsers' personal bank account is always empty because he is supporting this or that--the Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club.

Schrepfer: That was the ten percent royalty controversy that you are referring to.

Turner: Right. He wanted to collect a ten percent royalty on the books he edited and put it into the executive director's discretionary fund, which would then go into other publishing ventures.

Schrepfer: What about Martin Litton? He seemed to support Brower quite avidly.

Turner: Oh, he is marvelous. He is one of the great guys around here. He sort of dropped out of the picture now. I can't remember if he is still on our board. He was on our board for a while, and he may have moved over to the advisory committee. He was a travel editor and then senior editor at Sunset, but he kept writing things that were much too strong for Sunset's stomach. They would kill his copy and he would quit, and then they would talk him into coming back. He finally quit for keeps about five years ago, I guess. But he was very strong on the redwoods and Grand Canyon primarily, and he now runs trips down [the Grand Canyon] in little wooden boats. He is a purist. He has even talked Brower out of some compromises that Brower considered at times. He won't budge.

#### Sierra Club Involvement in Diablo Canyon, 1966-1969

Schrepfer: What do you think was the most important issue that finally swung the directors against Dave?

Turner: [pause] I suppose the single most important thing was Diablo Canyon, but it is really hard to sort it out from a lot of others. The publications program was important. Dave's doing of things without board approval in a few instances was important. I think probably the single most important [issue] was Diablo Canyon. You probably have all of this, but I will give you my version of it, too, to put in with the rest.

There was a meeting held in Los Angeles just about the time I came to work. I didn't know anything about it at the time. There was a struggle going on with PG&E about PG&E's plan to put nuclear reactors in the Nipomo Dunes, which are on the coast. The local chapter was concerned that the dunes be saved, although the dunes are about half taken over by dune buggies and things now.

Turner: So PG&E very cleverly said, "Okay, if we can't build it in the Nipomo Dunes, we have got to build it someplace. Why don't you help us find another spot?" Then they suggested Diablo Canyon. Nobody on the [Sierra Club] board of directors had ever been to Diablo Canyon, and there was a resolution introduced at the board meeting saying that the Sierra Club finds nothing wrong with PG&E's proposal for reactors at Diablo Canyon, provided..., and then there were three stipulations: That power lines could not go across certain places; that thermal pollution must be controlled; and something about road cuts or the siting of the plant.

Meanwhile, Fred Eissler from Santa Barbara was saying, "My God, let's don't approve this now if nobody has seen it." Brower stood up at the time and said, "Why don't you defer your vote for a week and we will go down there and look at it and then come back and have a special meeting and vote on it."

But they wouldn't have any of that and [the resolution approving reactors at Diablo Canyon was] adopted by a vote of eleven to one [May 1966]. Martin Litton was out of the country or he would have voted against it, I have no doubt of that.

Shortly thereafter, several directors went down to Diablo Canyon. There is a story, which you can get from either Litton or Hugh Nash, about Will Siri and a couple of others being flown down in Danny Kaye's private jet by PG&E. I don't remember the details. They saw that it was on a good, wild piece of coast which, according to general Sierra Club attitude, should be preserved and protected.

There is a stretch of coast [where] the San Luis range, I guess it is, sticks out into the ocean and [becomes] a bulging piece of coastline that goes for about thirty miles or so with no roads on it; the last biggest piece of unmessed up coastline in California, just exactly the sort of thing that the Sierra Club should be interested in saving.

So they took some of the directors down there and looked it over and had a caucus, and seven directors--no eight directors, a majority of fifteen on the board--agreed that their previous vote had been an error and that they would, at their next regular meeting, raise the question again and change their position.

Turner: So Phil Berry, then a director of the Sierra Club, wrote a letter to the president of the PG&E and said that he had good reason to believe that the Sierra Club's position on Diablo Canyon would be changed and that they therefore hoped that PG&E wouldn't go ahead with the project, because in all likelihood the Sierra Club would be opposed.

The minority directors at that time just hit the ceiling. They were furious. This [policy change] was made public and [the minority directors] were embarrassed. [They] said that the Sierra Club was put in an embarrassing position by having its position changed, especially without a regular meeting of the board. They blamed it all on Brower. He had something to do with it, for sure, but he didn't write the letter and he didn't sign it because he wasn't a director.

Then came the historic meeting of September '68, which was held at the [Sierra Club's] Clair Tappaan Lodge in Norden, in the Sierra near Donner Summit. A terribly long, acrimonious, nasty debate went on all afternoon. People accused each other of being dishonest and destroying the Sierra Club's reputation and all that. Some of the chapters showed up in force, and they were very angry. Martin Litton was fully convinced that Dick Leonard was working for PG&E--really nasty stuff like that.

So anyway, at the last minute, Phil Berry, the old compromiser, proposed that the members vote to determine Sierra Club policy on Diablo Canyon. It immediately became a debate about whether or not the Sierra Club could stand to change its position on something, and if the change would destroy its credibility, and if its fruitful relationship with PG&E would be destroyed and all that.

Brower and his supporters pointed out that the Sierra Club had changed its position in all manner of things before. It didn't cut much ice, but the Sierra Club at one point approved of the dam in Glen Canyon, approved of one of the dams in the Grand Canyon, approved of--

Schrepfer: Mineral King?

Turner: Mineral King, right. But that information got lost in the shuffle, and it became a nasty debate. There was another fight with the Bulletin during this time. The directors decided that they would give equal [editorial] space in the

Turner: [Sierra Club] Bulletin for the opposing viewpoints. Will Siri and somebody else were presenting the one side, and Litton was in charge of the pro-wild Diablo Canyon side.

Anyway, they set some deadlines that were agreed upon and Litton got his copy and pictures in, and Siri missed the deadline. He missed the deadline again and again. He missed the deadline for about two months until Hugh Nash, who was the editor, went ahead and printed a few thousand copies of the Bulletin that had two blank pages in it saying, "This space courtesy of Will Siri" or something [like that]. [Nash] very nearly got fired for that.

Schrepfer: I never saw that.

Turner: You're not likely to. I don't know whether any more of those copies exist. Finally, Siri got [his copy] in; [but] I think a good percentage of the members never saw that issue of the Bulletin before they got their ballots. [Perhaps] that was the reason they held [the issue] up so long.

The one other little thing that makes me think Diablo was important [in the Brower controversy], and sort of bears out a little bit some of the conspiracy angle was [the story of] a guy named Joe Browder, who worked for Friends of the Earth for about a year in Washington. He had worked for the National Audubon Society in Florida as a field representative, working mostly on the Everglades. He said that [one night] at a conservation conference in New Orleans or St. Louis he got drunk with a PG&E guy who, in his cups, bragged that "we got Brower." That is about as far as the story ever went, but there was a great deal of paranoia floating around about who was behind all of this [anti-Brower activity, and about] where the anti-Brower people got all of their money. I don't know. It's all speculation, but at least some PG&E guy was pleased that Brower was out.

Schrepfer: That doesn't surprise me. That you wouldn't have to prove! [laughter] What about the basic issue in the Nipomo Dunes [controversy] of selecting an alternate site?

Turner: Well, I had a theory about that [but] I have never worked [it] out well enough to put on paper. [It] is something that is still very much alive, and is still debated, and it looks like it will be more debated as the [environmental groups] get more powerful. My feeling is that there is no requirement for an adversary group like the Sierra Club or Friends of the Earth to advocate alternatives--at least until such

Turner: time as they get real power and have real size and influence. Then perhaps there is a responsibility to accept the presumption that another power plant [is] necessary, and to help find a site for it. I don't think that is the case now. I personally think that the Sierra Club's role is to be a watchdog, to protect areas and to be there to fight off [harmful] proposals. But [the club] does not have the size, the power, the money, the staff time or anything else to propose positive alternatives for things like power plants. As Litton said in the course of one of those debates, "I don't know about any of you, but I have never seen a power plant that I liked." There is plenty to do in keeping Disney out of Mineral King, and the PG&E out of Diablo Canyon. It doesn't leave time for going in with PG&E to try to find the best place for a power plant. I don't think that is the proper role for a conservation group, although you will get a lot of argument on this subject.

#### Differences Over Sierra Club Expansion

Schrepfer: What about the question a lot of people have suggested about the generation gap, or the schism in the Sierra Club--younger people versus the older, more conservative people like Francis Farquhar?

Turner: I guess maybe there's something to that. I never quite thought of it that way. I think there was a fairly good distribution of ages on both sides. I suppose the other side tended to be a little older. It was true that the other side tended to be the old-timers within the club more than the people we were supporting Brower with. Brower had been in the club almost as long as any of them.

In fact, that revolution of non-Bay Area Sierra Club old-timers was just finally carried off in the last election. For the first time the president and the executive committee are no longer from the Bay Area. It's true. That's one of the real issues that didn't get discussed very much during that election, but deserved to be. I mean, there were the Dick Leonards, and the Ansel Adams, Bestor Robinson, and so on, who had grown up with the Sierra Club, and the Sierra Club meant to them Yosemite, and climbing in the Sierra, and hiking in the Sierra, and so on.

Turner: [Then] there were upstarts beginning to show up from places like Kentucky and Georgia and all over, wanting the Sierra Club to expand its horizons and come work for those places. Dave Brower agreed that the Sierra Club should [expand]; that it should just keep growing and expanding its horizons and, you know, save the earth rather than just California.

There were those on the other side who felt [this] was a dangerous thing to do, that the club was good at what it did, that it was organized to fight in California and so on. They felt that if [the club] extended itself and tried to put field representatives all over the place that it would be too much. Dave hired Jeff Ingram [Southwest field representative] and Gary Soucie [Northeast field representative] without board approval out of his discretionary fund which, of course, was a good safety valve. [He acted] without board approval and then went back and got it. Soucie worked in New York City and Ingram worked in Albuquerque, I think--he was working on the Grand Canyon anyhow. I guess it was the same way with Mike [McCloskey]. That would be an interesting question to ask Mike. I think he was hired out of Brower's discretionary fund. I'm sure of it.

[He] worked for a few months without the board knowing that he existed. Then finally Dave said, "Oh, by the way, we have a representative in Portland, or Seattle, or wherever he was, and he is doing a terrific job, and we ought to start paying him because my account is running low. Would you refill it?"

That's a legitimate argument, whether or not for any organization, how thinly do you want to spread yourself? Do you want to concentrate on some things or do you want to spread out? Dave clearly felt that it should spread all over the world, including England, and the others thought that it shouldn't. [They] were afraid that that would endanger the Sierra Club's existence if it spread itself too far.

But that wasn't really discussed during the election. I mean, that came out and was in some of the campaign literature. They claimed that Dave was going to try to expand the name to England and Europe without authority and destroy the Sierra Club's financial position and so on. But it was never argued on the cut and dry question [of] how far [to] spread the horizons of the club. [The question] did exist, although it wasn't, I think, terribly important in the final outcome.



Environmentalists and The Counter-Culture

Schrepfer: There must have been an awful lot of enthusiasm. The club must have been a very exciting place to work in those last years in the sixties.

Turner: It was, it was.

Schrepfer: Was there an awful lot of optimism?

Turner: Yes, it was really quite something to see. Earth Day just sort of appeared. I still have never heard an adequate explanation for why it appeared at the moment it did. I don't suppose anybody knows. It was just one of those coincidences of history. But all of a sudden, everybody in the country got excited about what the Sierra Club had been saying for ten or twenty or thirty years.

Schrepfer: How much do you think that the environmental movement of the sixties got caught up in the whole counter-culture, back-to-nature movement, the peace movement, and all of that?

Turner: Not too much. For a while there was a great deal of merging of those concerns. But the people who were swept up in the great environmental movement of the late sixties--the Earth Day and all that--who in large part had been involved in the peace movement and had now gone on to other movements and other kinds of things, didn't stick, for the most part, I think. The environmental movement got a tremendous boost at that point, there is no question about it. It's now way ahead of where it would have been. But it reached a peak, and now it has slacked off. All of the groups, I think, have lost membership since the peak of a couple of years ago because all of a sudden everybody felt compelled to send in fifteen dollars to several groups--that was the thing to do.

[The movement] did turn on a lot of people that stuck with it. The groups are all bigger than they were in 1968, say, but not as big as they were in 1970. Some of the people who are not attracted to the way that the conservation movement operates moved on to other things. It is a pretty establishmentarian approach to getting things done, even with Friends of the Earth. We don't mind taking outright radical

Turner: positions like in nuclear power. But we play the game according to the rules, with lobbyists in Washington and newsletters and letters to congressmen and so on. A lot of the peace movement types who were swept up in the late sixties are not all that interested in playing that game. Many of them are, but they are more concerned with living new lifestyles and things like that. You could say there is an environmental wing to the counter-culture movement which is allied with the established conservation movement, but it isn't the same thing as the people who read The Mother Earth News and the Whole Earth Catalogue and buy or raise organic food and things like that. They are all close, but they are not the same thing.

##

The President and the Executive Director in Conflict

Schrepfer: One thing I wonder about is Ed Wayburn's position [club president, 1961-1964; 1967-1969]. It seems to me like he sort of sat on the fence.

Turner: He tried to. He tried to stay out of [the Brower controversy], I think, thinking that as president of the club he shouldn't get too involved. I don't know that he was altogether comfortable with all the things that were being said about Brower by his detractors.

It was curious what happened in the election [April 1969]. Dave decided to risk it all and run for the board, and there were five people who developed a slate to oppose him--August Frugé, Ray Sherwin, Nick Clinch, Maynard Munger, and--oh, goodness sakes, who is the last one?--Ansel [Adams]. They formed a slate called "Concerned Members for Conservation" [CMC], which proceeded to produce a lot of blasts about Brower. [They] got Wally Stegner to write an editorial in the Palo Alto Times saying that Brower had been "bitten by the worm of power." The article was reprinted all over the place. It was very damaging.

After about a month, Clinch withdrew, and I have never asked him why. We speculated that he wasn't altogether comfortable with [the attacks on Brower], and that may well be true. He was a friend of Dave's. He is an old climber and he, in fact, is the one who proposed Dave for this

Turner: Pepperdine award--the Tyler award that was just granted, not to Brower but to three other people a few months ago.

Anyway, Clinch got out and the CMC put Wayburn on as its fifth candidate, although his association with them was sort of cloudy. [Wayburn] kept trying to sound like he was being neutral, although he was stopping Dave on several matters during the election campaign. [pauses to recall] My memory is failing me, but [Wayburn] took over the Bulletin from Dave about a year before he left and insisted that he was to be the editor-in-chief of the Bulletin. Hugh Nash had to go up and have lunch with Wayburn once every month and go over copy for the Bulletin, which Wayburn would edit right then, adding commas and periods and driving Hugh up the wall because Wayburn is not an editor particularly.

Wayburn assiduously kept Brower's name off the Bulletin. At one point, Dave got an honorary degree which he felt was newsworthy, and Wayburn wouldn't let Hugh run it unless he ran at the same time the news of some trivial honor that George Marshall had received. I think it was George Marshall; I'm not sure. Wayburn wound up in the role of Brower's antagonist over certain issues.

He felt that Dave had gone off and done things without proper authority, and so on. He was closer to being neutral than the other people on the CMC, but he wasn't really-- I think. That is another bit of hindsight that is debatable. There were some people who, when Dave was getting a slate together to run with, thought that there should have been overtures made to Wayburn to be on the Brower slate. Now, whether [Wayburn] would have accepted that, of course, is questionable, but they decided not to put them on the slate together because there had been too many differences. But the politicians in the crowd thought that might have been a good way to go.

Schrepfer: [Wayburn] was evidently quite a vote-getter within the club.

Turner: Yes, he has been in the club and worked very hard for a hell of a long time. Did you see Sunday that he is one of the "outstanding San Franciscans"? Yes, he has worked very hard and has done a good job.

Schrepfer: Why do you think that Dave did decide to run for the board, like you say, in an all or nothing way?

Turner: Well, there just didn't seem to be any other way to resolve it. All that was going on at the board meetings was fighting about Brower. There was the September, 1968, meeting, where Diablo Canyon was argued. Then there was one in November, where Leonard stood up and made his three formal charges against Brower. One charge was that he tried to take money out of the Galapagos [fund]. Another charge was that he was misusing his authority. I can't remember exactly.

The board meetings just dissolved into debates about Brower. Conservation work was lagging, and publications work was lagging. Everything was taking a back seat to this fight, especially since Diablo Canyon had gone on the ballot. I think Dave decided that the argument and debate about him would never end unless there was something decisive done to try to end it. He decided to take the step of running for the board, although it would have taken a bylaw change even then to do it because there had been an amendment passed fairly recently which said that staff couldn't be on the board. [The amendment] was not quite clear, and they might have been able to get around it. There had been a reorganization committee report the previous summer, which suggested that the club hire a full-time paid president, so as to avoid some of the inevitable problems in having a volunteer president who runs the club. [According to the report, the club needed] a full-time professional executive director under the board, with the paid president then being the main spokesman for the board.

If you get somebody strong and opinionated in as executive director, it will almost inevitably lead to trouble. Mike [McCloskey, Sierra Club Executive Director since 1969], as Gerald Adams put fairly well in his piece on Sunday, just sort of keeps his own opinions to himself and just does what the board tells him to do. In that, the board has what it wants, I guess, and that's not what Brower is.

So Dave had his eye on becoming the paid president of the club. Had he won that election he would have been nominated to fill [the president's] position. I suppose that is what would have happened, although I don't know.

Following Brower's Path: The Sierra Club in the Seventies

Schrepfer: How would you describe Dave's feeling when he left the club?

Turner: One of the amazing things about Brower is his inability to feel bitter, to harbor resentments, and so on. I mean, he still talks about the Sierra Club, and sort of gripes good-naturedly about some of the dirt that was done, but right away he started Friends of the Earth, and he sort of picked up the John Muir Institute to make it into a real organization.

Right from the word "go" he was urging in speeches that people join both organizations, [and telling people] that the Sierra Club was a great organization. He felt very close to the club. He was very sad, of course, about what happened. He felt hurt and abused and so on. But he also put the club and the conservation movement and the country and so on ahead of all that, and I guess he said to himself that moaning about it [his problem with the Sierra Club] wouldn't do anybody any good. He just didn't, and doesn't, and never has done that.

Like I said, in private conversations and bull sessions with friends he lets it hang out a little bit. He gets mad at people who did him wrong. But publicly he has been full of reconciliation and support for the club, and he is happy to see that the club has done as well as it has since he left.

One thing that makes him feel a little strange, I think, as it does me and others, is that the club has gone ahead and done almost everything that he was advocating at that time, and that is one thing that really gripes me in some ways. I mean it's good, and I'm glad that it happened, but some of those guys over there are goddamned hypocrites. They were saying that the Sierra Club should not be international because it couldn't afford to be, and [that] it [was] against its very bylaws to be international, and [that] Brower was breaking the bylaws of the Sierra Club by establishing this office in England. Now, just two months ago, the Sierra Club sponsored a conference in Europe, which they claim to be the first international meeting of environmentalists, which of course is a ridiculous thing to claim with the existence of the IUCN [International Union for the Conservation of Nature] and the UN's big 1972 conference in Stockholm.

Turner: They have expanded their horizons. They are more deeply into lawsuits. They are still publishing, although the publishing program has not thrived, I think, since Dave left. They have spread all over the country. It is no longer a San Francisco-based organization so much as it was.

Personal Aspects to the Conflict

Schrepfer: Do you think there was an element of jealousy at all or personal competition?

Turner: I think there is no doubt of that. You would have to get that from somebody who felt it, but one of the things I am told that happened, and I'm certain that it could have happened, is that Dave has a bad habit of not praising people who need it, when they need it, often enough. There aren't very many of us who can just go ahead and work and work without having the feeling that somebody appreciates what we are doing.

The main example of this that I have heard was Dick Sill, who was a director of the club from Nevada, a professor of physics--a strange little guy. He became one of Brower's proteges. He had this idea of establishing a great national park in the Great Basin. It would have the best places all the way from Nevada to the Rockies preserved in this grand concept of a great reserve there. Dave encouraged him, said it sounded great, and said, "If you think it will work, do it."

Sill apparently needed an enormous amount of handling. It almost got to the point where he would call up Dave to tell him that he was going to brush his teeth before he went to bed. That is how it was described to me. Dave started avoiding Sill's phone calls because he just didn't have time to deal with all of this trivia. That can happen [with Brower] sometimes; the wall goes up and it's hard to get through to him. Sill couldn't limit his requests for conversation time to things that were important. He just had to pour it all out. So Sill turned on [Brower] and was one of [Brower's] most vicious attackers during all of that. He and Dick Leonard and Ansel were sort of the terrible threesome that went after Brower.

Turner: I think that happened more times than just with Dick Sill. There was this problem of wounded egos because Dave tends to get people fired up and started off and then lets them go off on their own; he doesn't try to keep track of all the details as they come along. He tries to delegate authority, and that is a problem around here. I mean, we try to get decisions out of him for some things, and he just doesn't have time. He expects and hopes to find people who are capable of making those kinds of decisions themselves.

Then another sort of general ego-personality problem is inherent in do-good organizations, I think, and it seems to happen time and again when major people [in the organization] are working as volunteers. Many of them need some sort of recognition to substitute for what they would get as salaries if they were being paid for it. If you are doing a professional job, then you don't necessarily need public recognition.

Dave tended to be the one whose name would get in print because he was the one who was testifying; he was the leader of the Grand Canyon debates. I think some people began to resent him for that and felt that he was grandstanding and trying to take all of the glory for himself, which I don't think is true. I really don't think that Brower has the kind of ego that requires that sort of [attention]. But it wouldn't be difficult to draw that conclusion, and a number of people have.

Schrepfer: One of the charges that some made against him was that he couldn't delegate authority, that he tried to do everything himself and that therefore the administration bogged down.

Turner: I have never had any other job except the Peace Corps, which, of course, is not a normal operation, and I don't know how the delegation of authority goes in a smoothly run corporation. The club certainly is not run, I am sure, like most well-organized operations, and it is true that in certain things Dave doesn't let go and doesn't delegate authority, particularly with books. He edits and designs and lays out all the books that are published here. Other people work on them as well, but he always looks them over and makes sure that they agree with the way he thinks the books should be.

Turner: But on conservation battles and things like that, I would make the opposite comment, that he tends to delegate authority without being official about it, but by just sort of turning things over. I think that if there is any one failing, it is that he tends not to follow up as much as he might to oversee and make sure that things are going well. People tend to trash around and get lost sometimes because they need guidance or they need somebody to bounce ideas off of, or somebody to give them authority to go ahead and do things. That can be hard, but at the same time it's hard to pin Dave down to provide the help they need. But I would disagree. I see that the problem was just the opposite of delegating authority. It all comes down to specific cases and personalities and you can't generalize about that too much.

Anybody who had an idea about what their goal was, and if it more or less jibed with Brower and with the Sierra Club policy--for instance, keeping the dams out of the Grand Canyon or stopping reactors or whatever--Dave would just turn it over to them and let them go ahead with it.

Schrepfer: Do you think that in the long run it was a good thing that happened?

Turner: I think so. I mean, not everything about it was good, but I guess in the balance it probably was. I think that it's better to have both Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club. Obviously, it was very hard on the Browsers, more than anybody else. But the Sierra Club just survived. There are people I know, who worked at the club, who say that the spirit has gone out of it, that they have turned into a great bungling bureaucracy. But some of that is inevitable. That is another sort of ongoing, theoretical problem, and I would like to spend more time working on it. But I have an idea that there is some absolute size that an organization can get to be before diminishing returns start to come home and you put an increasing percentage of your budget into membership services, the maintenance of mailing lists, and things like that.

Schrepfer: It seems to me it might be kind of a surge of growth followed by a period of reorganization and a kind of withdrawal possibly. There may be another surge sometime in the future.

Turner: Oh, I think so. Yes, I think probably there will be.



Schrepfer: There is very much a feeling in the club, I think, of sitting back and counting your marbles to see what you actually have before you stick your neck out again.

Turner: Well, they grew and expanded awfully fast. It is hard to keep track of some of it.

## III BROWER AND FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

The Staff and the Brower Vision and Style

Schrepfer: How would you describe the character of the staff at FOE?

Turner: Here now?

Schrepfer: Yes.

Turner: [pause] Well, let's see. At its best it is a mix of fairly professional competence with a great deal of idealistic enthusiasm. It has to do in large part with Brower. Everybody here is here, I think, because they admire Dave and because he in turn has had some confidence in their ability to do a job. People are here to do that job rather than making money. It's not a good paying job by any yardstick. We hope that we are competent at the job that we do, while not being paid as much as if we were doing it for somebody else. But the thing that binds it all together is various versions of the Brower vision of the earth and the need to say that the way that twentieth century civilized man is going through resources can't continue. You've heard the spiel, I guess.

Schrepfer: What would happen if he weren't here?

Turner: That's a very good question. I really don't know. He has said on several occasions that the person he thinks should succeed him as president of the Friends of the Earth--if he dies in a plane crash or has a heart attack or something--should be Ed Matthews, who is the European representative of Friends of the Earth-U.S. He is an American and a partner in an international law firm called Coudert Freres (Coudert Brothers), which has offices in New York and Paris and all over. He is an extremely energetic, youngish lawyer. He is

Turner: somewhere between thirty-five and forty, I guess. He is one of the few people that can keep up with Dave. He is forever getting new branches of Friends of the Earth started and negotiating new contracts and so on. But whether or not he would do it is something else again. It's hard to say. There is enough of an established organization built up in Friends of the Earth now where it would continue as an organization if [Brower] were to leave, just as the Sierra Club certainly exists outside Brower.

But the direction that [FOE] would take would be something else again. I mean Dave, even at the age of sixty-one and a half, still acts on the very spur of the moment and is not an organizational type guy. He thinks of friends, or hears suggestions, and does things on the spur of the moment that may be huge projects and that require a great deal of organization and support and so on. But if they are worth doing, he will give them a fling.

It's the kind of thing that drives boards of directors crazy. There has been some problem with it in Friends of the Earth; the very same things that got him into trouble with the Sierra Club. But he is not going to be changed, and that is one of the great things about him. He doesn't let mundane worries about where the money is going to come from stop him, at least before he explores what is going to happen.

#### Financial Brinkmanship: A Philosophical Choice

Schrepfer: I guess Friends of the Earth does have some financial problems.

Turner: Oh, it always does! It always will, yes. This happens to some degree to most conservation organizations, but when the fervor of Earth Day came along, people began joining Friends of the Earth, ZPG, and the Sierra Club in droves. They projected exponentially growing memberships forever into the future, and there was a serious crash after that. We found ourselves with something like a \$250,000 or \$300,000 debt, which has since been whittled away. The board has been remarkably good at careful financial management. I think we have reduced our expenditures--a couple of us took small salary cuts, and we have made all the economic cuts we have been able to find.

Turner: There was a crisis here a couple of months ago when some big bills came due, and we didn't have the money to pay them. The members have rallied around very well and have given about \$150,000 in response to mailings asking to help dispose of the debt. So the debt is down to \$100,000 or so--I don't know quite what it is now. The debt is a great chain around our ankles, but unless the economy collapses, which is not outside the realm of possibility it seems to me, we'll be all right.

If we can maintain the number of members we have now and grow in a slow but steady and dependable rate, we'll survive. Even if we don't [grow] and if we stay at 20,000 members for the rest of our lives, we'll survive, although we ought to be able to do a hell of a lot better than that.

But this gets back to one of the legitimate differences of opinion between the pro and anti-Brower sides in the Sierra Club, which should have been argued, but wasn't very well. I think Dave would agree with the statement that the Sierra Club was in business first to protect the environment and second to survive as an organization if and when that choice had to be made. Now, that is probably a straw man for a choice, but if you put the ongoing existence of the Sierra Club as your paramount concern, then it tends to lead you toward a very conservative approach, and keeps you from being your most effective at the job that you set out to do.

The Friends of the Earth always has and always will operate right at the edge, being as outgoing and as active as possible, and that is dangerous to your livelihood. But that's what it is for. Dave used to quote August Frugé-- I can't do it quite right--about walking along the edge of a precipice and staying as close to the edge as you can without actually tipping over it. He may give you that quote if he hasn't already.

#### Rules and Risks: Further Reflections on the Split in the Sierra Club

Schrepfer: Some people have speculated that he believed the end was more important than the means, that he believed he had to break the rules to save the Grand Canyon, whether it was the rules of the Sierra Club, or the financial rules, and that he was willing to do it.

Turner: [pause] I can't agree with that. I have never known him to do anything that I felt was dishonorable or dishonest. The goal is certainly important, that's true. But I don't think that Dave would ever agree that the ends justify the means. I don't know of any particular instance that you could point to that would bear that accusation out. He certainly would make liberal interpretations of board policy and directives and so on, but he never tried to hide any of those decisions. It was amazing. He never does anything that he won't stand by publicly. Had he done some of those things, then judging by the shenanigans in Washington, his automatic reaction would have been to cover it up. I can't think of a single thing.

Schrepfer: I don't think that anyone was thinking of a parallel with Watergate! [laughs]

Turner: No, it just sort of crept out!

Schrepfer: But wouldn't he be willing to bend the rules if he felt it was necessary?

Turner: Yes, but on the other hand I think that when you say the ends justify the means, you imply that the person who is doing the justifying would agree that there is something wrong with the means being employed, and that's not the case with Dave. He would go ahead and publish the Earth National Park ad without direct authority from the board to go ahead and do it, but he would argue right then, and to the last, that publishing the Earth National Park ad was the right thing to do. Viewed one way, the resolution of the board which gave him the authority to go out and seek support for the international series, or the wild places book, gave him the right to place the ad.

If bending the rules like that is using the ends to justify the means, then maybe he did. I don't know, I think that's sort of a loaded issue.

Schrepfer: Okay, maybe "bend the means." [laughs]

Turner: Okay.

Schrepfer: It does seem that at times the opposition [on the Sierra Club board] was slower, and much more conscious of rules of conduct. For example, when they argued that question of the international series, they said that you have to change the bylaws first. I think there might well have been a majority in there who didn't really believe that, [and thought] that it was just an excuse. But I [also] think that there were some who really believed that you had to take a couple of meetings and six months to actually change the bylaws, so that you were strictly legal.

Turner: Perhaps. I don't know why they haven't bothered to do that since--

Schrepfer: Change the bylaws?

Turner: Yes.

Schrepfer: Haven't they changed them?

Turner: Maybe they have now that you mention it. I'm not sure.

Schrepfer: I thought they did.

Turner: I'm not sure, but either Dick Leonard or Phil Berry--I think it was probably Leonard--dredged out this old legal theory called the doctrine of ultra vires which, according to the lawyers who have commented on it, is just archaic. It is never brought up. But he claimed that any international activity on the part of the Sierra Club was against its own purposes. He carefully didn't notice or acknowledge that the Sierra Club had been running international trips for several years, and if he had been "Simon pure" in his motives, he would have tried to shut down those trips as well. But he wasn't. He was interested in getting Brower, and this was one other stone to throw in his way.

Schrepfer: But I guess the club did get in trouble in a San Francisco suit, which the court threw out, saying that the club bylaws did not include urban problems. They refused them standing to sue.

Turner: Is that true?

Schrepfer: Yes.

Turner: I'll be damned.

Schrepfer: Just within the last year or so, I believe.

Turner: Was that the Yerba Buena Center?

Schrepfer: Right.

Turner: Oh, don't get me wrong. There are serious problems with the Brower style.

Schrepfer: No, I just wondered how much of the anti-Brower controversy was an excuse and how much of it was an obsession with rules.

Turner: I think it was an excuse in this case. I mean, they did like to do things--be more tidy about it and follow Robert's Rules and all that--but there was a good deal of discretion involved about when to impose this rule and when not. Wayburn was a tyrant with a gavel in some of those meetings. He would bang down Martin Litton and not let him talk and then let the anti-Brower side go on and on and on. That is one of the things that made the Brower side very angry at Wayburn; he acted unfairly in those meetings, at least to our point of view, and gave the other side more air time. He stacked it in their favor by claiming that this was parliamentary, and by using rules when they served their purpose.

At one point he announced that Robert's Rules were no longer enforced because he, Wayburn, had said so, and he was the president. He used [the rules] to justify certain things and then threw them out when they weren't for his purpose anymore. It was really nasty. It was just awful.

I came to work starry-eyed. You know, my God, here I have got a chance to work for the Sierra Club. There was nobody in the world that could have offered me a job preferable to working for the club for two dollars an hour, or whatever the hell it was. But then I went to that first board meeting and I was just shocked. It was not what I always assumed; an idealistic organization with everybody pulling together, altruistic and noble. It was just some of the most plain, nasty bickering that you could ever find anywhere.

Schrepfer: Yes, even if you say that FOE and the Sierra Club worked well as separate organizations, it turned out in the end that it was a terrible, sad thing to have happened. It almost had an element of the Greek tragedy. You have a feeling that all of the--

Turner: Yes, there was a great deal of the Oedipal stuff. Of all those guys, Leonard and Berry were Dave's closest friends.

Schrepfer: In a sense the very traits that made him so great and endeared him to others were the very traits that ultimately they couldn't accept, the things that pointed out his genius. I have spent something like eighteen tapes interviewing Dick Leonard, which would be some twenty-seven hours of actual taping. And I really admire the man. He is one of the more honest people.

Turner: I have hardly spoken with him. I mean, the first time I ever heard him open his mouth he was attacking Dave, and I just sort of avoided him the whole time.

There was another way of looking at this that Joan McIntyre suggested, having been through almost the same thing at KPFA [listener-sponsored radio station in Berkeley] several years ago; it was that Brower helped take an organization that was not of great value to anybody except hikers--of course, it was a very well-established and beloved organization for that--and through outrageous gambles and risks and doing things that you wouldn't have any right to suspect you would be able to get away with and didn't have the money to pay for and so on, he succeeded enough times to turn the Sierra Club into a major national force and a very successful, relatively powerful organization. Then the cautious people stepped in and wanted to protect it: "It's come that far, let's don't blow it all now."

But Brower wouldn't change when it got to that point. He would just keep on doing what he had been doing well. Probably the same thing happened at KPFA. It started to get successful, so the cautious people took over and threw out the mavericks who made it what it was.

Schrepfer: This is a hard question to frame, but speaking for yourself how do you envision an ideal society? [laughs] At what point do you stop technology?

Turner: [pause] That would take a book or two to answer, I guess. I am not sure I could put together a coherent answer. I guess I would say that you stop technology when it gets to the point where it's out of control, where the results of it last beyond your own lifetime, such as generating radioactive wastes that go forever and using pesticides that go on for generations and that affect plant life and bird life and so on.



Turner: An ideal society would live on the earth's income rather than its capital; that is to say, any energy that was generated and consumed in the form of electricity or other sorts of power would come from the renewable resources of the earth such as sunlight, winds, tides.

[End of Interview]

Final Typist: J.E. McPherson

POSTSCRIPT -- June 24, 1982

The predicted resurgence in environmental enthusiasm came with the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan and his appointment of James Watt, Anne Gorsuch, and others. During the period from early 1981 until mid-1982, most environmental organizations (including FOE and the Sierra Club) saw their membership rolls surge by 50 percent and more. How permanent this membership growth will prove to be we await anxiously.

On the question of what will happen to FOE when Dave Brower leaves, we have a clue. Dave went into nominal retirement on FOE's tenth anniversary: July 11, 1979. As predicted in the interview, he named Edwin Matthews to succeed him as president. (This did not work out, however; Matthews was replaced less than a year later by Rafe Pomerance, who continues as president to the present time.)

Dave's retirement is not much of a retirement. Social Security now pays him, and he gets a modest pension from FOE Foundation. He still works full time (which is double time for anyone else), and he still has his office at FOE. He involves himself a bit less in day-to-day affairs of the organization, and as a consequence the executive committee and the staff are exerting their influence more.

Tom Turner

24 June 1982  
Berkeley, California

## INDEX -- Tom Turner

Adams, Ansel, 13, 16, 20

Berry, Phillip S., 11, 28, 30

Brower, David R.

administrative style, 7, 14, 21-22, 25, 26-27

conflict with Sierra Club, 5-14, 16-19, 20, 26-27, 30

family, 1, 8

personal qualities and vision, 2, 19, 20-21, 24, 30, 32

Chamberlain, Anne, 5

Clinch, Nicholas, 16-17

Clyde, Norman, 3-4

Diablo Canyon power plant, 9-13, 18

Earth Day (1970), 15, 25

Earth National Park ad, 8, 27

Eissler, Fred, 10

environmental protection

campaign tactics and strategies, 12-13

personal motivations for, 1-2, 15-16

philosophy, 26

Friends of the Earth (FOE), 15, 19, 22, 24-26, 32

Glen Canyon, 1-2

Golden, Robert, 5

Grand Canyon, dams in, 2

Leonard, Richard, 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 28, 30

Litton, Martin, 9, 11, 13, 29

McCloskey, J. Michael, 6, 18

Matthews, Edwin, 24-25, 32

Nash, Hugh, 5, 6, 12, 17  
Nipomo Dunes, 9-10, 12

Pacific Gas and Electric Company, 9, 10, 11, 12

Schweitzer, Martin, 3-4

Schanhaar, Jack, 5

Sierra Club

expansion, 13-14, 20, 32

internal affairs, 1960s, 5-14, 16-18, 26-30

internal affairs, 1970s, 22-23

international program, 14, 19, 28

outings, 1-2

publications program, 3-4, 28

staff, 3, 5-8

Sierra Club Bulletin, 11-12, 17

Sill, Richard, 20-21

Siri, William E., 10, 12

technology and the environment, 30-31

Wayburn, Edgar, 5, 16-17, 29