

Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California

Sierra Club History Series

Peggy Wayburn

AUTHOR AND ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCATE

With an Introduction by  
Maxine McCloskey

Interviews Conducted by  
Ann Lage  
in 1990

Underwritten by  
the Sierra Club and  
the Sierra Club Foundation

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WAYBURN, Peggy (b. 1917)

Author, Environmentalist

Author and Environmental Advocate, 1992, xiv, 193 pp.

Family and education in New York City; San Francisco in 1940s; marriage to Edgar Wayburn, physician, environmentalist, Sierra Club leader; Sierra Club outings, 1940s-1950s; backpacking and camping with young children; Sierra Club Biennial Wilderness Conferences, 1961, 1963, 1965; campaigns for Redwoods National Park and Alaskan parks and wilderness; Sierra Club internal affairs, 1960s-1980s: David Brower, Edgar Wayburn, Ansel Adams, volunteer roles; travel and commentary on Alaska, 1960s-1980s: Alaskan Natives and the environment; career as author of environmental and outdoor adventure/travel books. Appended article on 1948 Sierra Club High Trip and "Bulletin Boards" from Sierra Club Bulletin.

Introduction by Maxine McCloskey, chair, Sierra Club History Committee.

Interviewed 1990 by Ann Lage for the Sierra Club History Series. The Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



TABLE OF CONTENTS--Peggy Wayburn

PREFACE	i
INTRODUCTION--by Maxine McCloskey	ix
INTERVIEW HISTORY	xii
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	xiv
I BEGINNINGS: THE ROUTE TO THE SIERRA CLUB	1
Background and Education in New York City	1
Family Patterns	4
Barnard College	6
Helping the War Effort: Engineer for Western Electric	7
Coming to San Francisco, 1945: Copywriter for J. Walter Thompson	8
Meeting Ed, 1947	11
V-J Day in San Francisco	12
First Hike with Ed, to Stinson Beach	13
Life in San Francisco in the Forties	15
II SIERRA CLUB OUTINGS, 1948-1950s	17
High Trip to Paradise Valley, 1948	17
Convert to the Outdoors: Hiking and High Trips with Four Children	21
More Outing Memories: Companions on the Trail	26
III ENVIRONMENTAL INVOLVEMENT, 1950s-1960s	32
Growing Consciousness of Issues: FWOC, Redwoods, "Bulletin Board"	32
Opposing Freeways through the Redwoods	35
Martin Litton as Pilot and Hike Leader	36
Friends and Fear in the Redwoods	40
Seeing the Big Picture	41
Helping Write the First Redwoods Advertisement	43
Planting the Idea for the Redwoods National Park with Stewart Udall	45
Newton Drury, John Carver, and the Redwood Park	50
IV COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT, 1950s-1960s	54
Alamo School, Florence Crittendon Home	54
Dorothy Erskine and Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks	56
Physician's Wife	57
Help with Home and Children	58
People for Open Space	59
"Marrying the Sierra Club": Ed's Role in the Club	60

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 to 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 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

May 1, 1977  
San Francisco  
(revised March, 1992, A.L.)

## The Sierra Club Oral History Program, 1978-1992

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. In 1980, with five ROHO interviews completed or underway and thirty-five volunteer-conducted interviews available for research, the History Committee sought and received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a major project focusing on the Sierra Club of the 1960s and 1970s. In a four-year period, NEH and matching Sierra Club funds made possible the completion of an additional seventeen major oral histories conducted by the Regional Oral History Office and forty-four volunteer-conducted interviews.

Oral histories produced during and following the NEH grant period have documented the leadership, programs, strategies, and ideals of the national Sierra Club as well as the club grassroots at the regional and chapter levels over the past thirty years. The work of the club is seen 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 Alaska, and on the international scene.

The Sierra Club oral history program, together with the extensive Sierra Club papers and photographic collection in The Bancroft Library--a collection of 1325 linear feet of archival records, more than 34,000 photographs, and films, tapes, and Sierra Club publications, all recently processed and catalogued--help celebrate the Sierra Club centennial in 1992 by making accessible to researchers one hundred years of Sierra Club history.

Special thanks for the oral history project's later phase are due Maxine McCloskey, chair of the Sierra Club History Committee 1988-1992; Ray Lage, cochair, History Committee, 1978-1986; Susan Schrepfer, codirector of the NEH Sierra Club Documentation Project; members of the History Committee; and most importantly, the interviewees and interviewers for their unfailing cooperation.

Ann Lage, Coordinator  
Sierra Club Oral History Program  
Cochair, History Committee  
1978-1986

Berkeley, California  
March 1992





March 1992

## SIERRA CLUB ORAL HISTORY SERIES

Interviews conducted by the Regional Oral History Office,  
University of California, Berkeley.

Single-Interview Volumes

- Adams, Ansel. Conversations with Ansel Adams. 1978, 768 pp. (On photography and conservation.)
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- Brower, David R. Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet. 1980, 320 pp.
- Colby, William E. Reminiscences. 1954, 145 pp. (An interview with Sierra Club secretary and director, 1900-1946.)
- Leonard, Richard M. Mountaineer, Lawyer, Environmentalist. 1975, 482 pp.
- Livermore, Norman B. Jr., Man in the Middle: High Sierra Packer, Timberman, Conservationist, and California Resources Secretary. 1983, 285 pp.
- McCloskey, Michael. Sierra Club Executive Director: The Evolving Club and the Environmental Movement. 1983, 279 pp.
- Siri, William E. Reflections on the Sierra Club, the Environment, and Mountaineering, 1950s-1970s. 1979, 296 pp.
- Stegner, Wallace. The Artist as Environmental Advocate. 1983, 49 pp.
- Wayburn, Edgar. Sierra Club Statesman and Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands. 1985, 525 pp.
- Wayburn, Peggy. Author and Environmental Advocate. 1992, 193 pp.
- Zierold, John. Environmental Lobbyist in California's Capital, 1965-1984. 1988, 202 pp.
- In Process: Douglas Scott, Sierra Club staff member and wilderness advocate.

Multi-Interview Volumes

Building the Sierra Club's National Lobbying Program, 1967-1981. 1985,  
374 pp.

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Sierra Club Leaders I, 1950s-1970s. 1982, 433 pp.

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

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

Sierra Club Leaders II, 1960s-1970s. 1985, 296 pp.

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

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

SIERRA CLUB HISTORY COMMITTEE ORAL HISTORY SERIES

Interviews conducted by volunteers for the Sierra Club History Committee.

Single-Interview Volumes

- Avery, Abigail. Nurturing the Earth: North Cascades, Alaska, New England, and Issues of War and Peace. 1990, 37 pp.
- Clark, Nathan. Sierra Club Leader, Outdoorsman, and Engineer. 1977, 147 pp.
- Fontaine, Joe. Conservation Activist, Consensus Builder, and Sierra Club President, 1980-1982. 1990, 70 pp.
- Robinson, Gordon. Forestry Consultant to the Sierra Club. 1979, 277 pp.

Multi-Interview Volumes

The Sierra Club Nationwide I. 1983, 257 pp.

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McConnell, Grant. "Conservation and Politics in the North Cascades."  
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Van Tyne, Anne. "Sierra Club Stalwart: Conservationist, Hiker, Chapter and Council Leader."

The Sierra Club Nationwide II. 1984, 253 pp.

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

The Sierra Club Nationwide III. 1989, 310 pp.

- Alderson, George. "Environmental Campaigner in Washington, D.C., 1960s-1970s."  
Duvneck, Frank. "Loma Prieta Chapter Founder, Protector of Environmental and Human Rights."  
Steele, Dwight. "Controversies over the San Francisco Bay and Waterfront, 1960s-1970s."  
Walker, Diane. "The Sierra Club in New Jersey: Focus on Toxic Waste Management."

Sierra Club Reminiscences I, 1900s-1960s. 1974, 212 pp.

- Farquhar, Francis. "Sierra Club Mountaineer and Editor."  
Hildebrand, Joel. "Sierra Club Leader and Ski Mountaineer."  
Robinson, Bestor. "Thoughts on Conservation and the Sierra Club."  
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Sierra Club Reminiscences II, 1900s-1960s. 1975, 177 pp.

- Bernays, Philip S. "Founding the Southern California Chapter."  
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 Hackett, C. Nelson. "Lasting Impressions of the Early Sierra Club."

Sierra Club Reminiscences III, 1920s-1970s. 1984, 264 pp.

- Clark, Lewis. "Perdurable and Peripatetic Sierran: Club Officer and Outings Leader, 1928-1984."  
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 Eloesser, Nina. "Tales of High Trips in the Twenties."  
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 LeConte, Joseph. "Recalling LeConte Family Pack Trips and the Early Sierra Club, 1912-1926."

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- Burke, Helen. "Women's Issues in the Environmental Movement."  
 Colgan, Patrick. "'Just One of the Kids Myself.'"  
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The Sierra Club and the Urban Environment II: Labor and the Environment in the San Francisco Bay Area. 1983, 167 pp.

- Jenkins, David. "Environmental Controversies and the Labor Movement in the Bay Area."  
 Meyer, Amy. "Preserving Bay Area Parklands."  
 Ramos, Anthony L. "A Labor Leader Concerned with the Environment."  
 Steele, Dwight C. "Environmentalism and Labor Ally."

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- Bade, Elizabeth Marston. "Recollections of William F. Bade and the Early Sierra Club."  
 Evans, Nora. "Sixty Years with the Sierra Club."  
 Praeger, Ruth E. "Remembering the High Trips."

Sierra Club Women II. 1977, 152 pp.

- Farquhar, Marjory Bridge. "Pioneer Woman Rock Climber and Sierra Club Director."  
 LeConte, Helen. "Reminiscences of LeConte Family Outings, the Sierra Club, and Ansel Adams."

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- Christy, Cicely M. "Contributions to the Sierra Club and the San Francisco Bay Chapter, 1938-1970s."  
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 Horsfall, Ethel Rose Taylor. "On the Trail with the Sierra Club, 1920s-1960s."  
 Parsons, Harriet T. "A Half-Century of Sierra Club Involvement."

Southern Sierran interviews conducted by students in the  
California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program.

Southern Sierrans I. 1976, 178 pp.

Chelew, J. Gordon. "Reflections of an Angeles Chapter Member, 1921-1975."

Jones, E. Stanley. "Sierra Club Officer and Angeles Chapter Leader, 1931-1975."

Jones, Marion. "Reminiscences of the Southern California Sierra Club, 1927-1975."

Pepper, Dorothy. "High Trip High Jinks."

Searle, Richard. "Grassroots Sierra Club Leader."

Southern Sierrans II. 1977, 207 pp.

Amneus, Thomas. "New Directions for the Angeles Chapter."

Charnock, Irene. "Portrait of a Sierra Club Volunteer."

Johnson, Arthur B. "Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra."

Marshall, Robert R. "Angeles Chapter Leader and Wilderness Spokesman, 1960s."

Southern Sierrans III. 1980, 250 pp.

Bear, Robert. "Desert Conservation and Exploration with the Sierra Club."

Johnson, Arthur B. "Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra."

Poland, Roscoe and Wilma. "Desert Conservation: Voices from the Sierra Club's San Diego Chapter."

Sierra Club History Committee interviews in process:

Kent Gill, former club president.

Robin and Lori Ives, Angeles Chapter leaders.

James Moorman, first director of Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund.



## INTRODUCTION--by Maxine McCloskey

Peggy Wayburn is one of the great figures of the Sierra Club, and it is most appropriate that her inspiring story be told. She is also one of the great women figures of the club. Her life demonstrates that women can be major achievers in the conservation field. Peggy did this while also providing a nurturing environment for husband and family. Her record of accomplishments is an example for all women who aspire to find their own ways to make meaningful and lasting contributions to the natural world.

The narrative reveals that Peggy received early training in skills that would later serve her well in conservation. The skills were writing and publishing, even working as an engineer for Western Electric during World War II. These early experiences (while not preparing her for strenuous hikes, river trips, and other outings) certainly helped prepare her for a future as a writer, publicist, and policy analyst of significant conservation issues. The most notable issues were the establishment and enlargement of Redwood National Park, and the national parks of Alaska. There are many other areas as well.

Peggy wrote many articles for the Sierra Club Bulletin (forerunner of Sierra magazine), and contributed her own photographs as well. Since those early days, she has published four books, a series of educational filmstrips about nature, and numerous articles. Her book Adventuring in Alaska, published by Sierra Club Books, is a strong seller, and it inaugurated the "Adventuring in . . ." series.

Of particular interest to me is that Peggy acted for the environment in her own right, as well as being half of a team with her husband, Dr. Edgar Wayburn. Their married relationship always struck me as the best way to combine a regular life of marriage, family, social, and civic responsibilities, but with a big dose of work for the public interest--the conservation work they both did and continue to do.

The challenge of being married to a Sierra Club leader of great energy is how to arrange a life so that the spouse is not left out of the loop of interesting events and problem solving. The conservation work is so vital and elevating. When both partners share this commitment, the rewards include their strengthened relationship. Each partner understands the distractions, the heavy demands on time and energy that the other partner undergoes in advancing the mutual goals.

There are a number of husband and wife teams in Sierra Club work. Certainly the Wayburns are the premier example. Others include Dick and Doris Leonard, Phil Berry and Michele Perrault, Sally and Les Reid, Denny and Kim Shaffer. I recommend this approach.

The story of Peggy's first date with Ed in 1947 tells of a proper Barnard College graduate, employed as a copywriter in the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in San Francisco, who encounters the great outdoors for the first time. The event was a hike from Pan Toll on Mt. Tamalpais down to swim at Stinson Beach, and then hike back up. It is a miracle that a marriage came out of that first encounter. But Peggy quickly learned to love the hikes and the outdoors as much as Ed does. As the children came, they were included in all the outings and club High Trips.

Out of that first hiking adventure (or disaster, as she tells it), has come a lifetime of fabulous outings to wildernesses and parks, including canoeing, kayaking, and rafting down thirty of Alaska's wild rivers. These recreation trips served as field trips: they personally explored every area that they advocated for protection. When they wrote and spoke about specific places, they knew what they were talking about and were convincing. Although still maintaining an active interest in the fate of Alaska, their conservation focus has broadened to include wilderness and parks elsewhere in the world. They carry the message of wilderness protection to people of far corners.

The Wayburns held large and small dinner parties for Sierra Club activists, government agents, local, state, and national politicians. These gatherings in their beautiful San Francisco home provided a congenial environment for promoting the Wayburns' visions for new or enlarged national parks, for the idea of wilderness, and for establishment of a national wilderness system. They became close friends with many significant politicians. They became close friends with many significant politicians, and converted them into effective advocates for wilderness and parks. This gracious hostess had not even been taught to cook while growing up.

One of the incidents described caught my attention. She told about sitting next to Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall at the banquet of the 1961 Wilderness Conference. During the dinner conversation she urged him to designate a redwood national park, and that was the first time he had heard of the idea. And of course subsequently, after intense lobbying and public education, the park was established in 1968 during the Johnson administration.

Back in 1967 when I was working with James Gilligan to plan the Wilderness Conference of that year, he remarked to me about a newspaper article that included mention of Peggy Wayburn. He was dismayed that the



article described her as "a mother of four," while the men mentioned were described by their work or professional roles. At that time, a woman was recognized by her contributions to the home--a mother of four. But Peggy's life demonstrates that there is another vision beyond hearth and family, all compatible, all rewarding, that allowed her to rise to heights of accomplishment in the conservation field. In essence, she has it all.

The Wayburns did rear a remarkable family. But today Peggy should also be described as "writer and conservation advocate."

Maxine McCloskey, Chair  
Sierra Club History Committee

February 1, 1992  
Bethesda, Maryland



## INTERVIEW HISTORY--Peggy Wayburn

Since the completion of the lengthy oral history with Edgar Wayburn some eight years ago, the Sierra Club History Committee has looked forward to recording the reminiscences of the other half of this remarkable Sierra Club team. Peggy and Ed Wayburn are often spoken of in one breath, even though each has also worked independently as conservation advocates in the club. So it was with great pleasure that we were able in 1991 to sit down with Peggy Wayburn and record her own story.

The story is revealing and enlightening in many ways. First, it is apparent that the home and family have been a major commitment for this energetic and independent woman. From 1949 until the early seventies, Mrs. Wayburn was bearing and raising four children. Like many women, she dates incidents by her pregnancies and milestones in her children's lives. Unlike most of the men interviewed for this project, she can tell us the details of taking babies and young children into the wilderness--handling cloth diapers and devising children's sleeping bags and makeshift backpacks, long before such items were commercially available for active outdoor families. Her sense of accomplishment derived from passing on to her children a love for wilderness exploration and a commitment to environmental activism is readily apparent.

During these twenty years of childrearing, however, Peggy Wayburn was also making significant contributions to the Sierra Club and launching her career as writer of environmental and travel literature. In the 1960s she was general secretary for three of the Sierra Club Biennial Wilderness Conferences and can be credited with helping to broaden the scope of these conferences to include discussion of pesticides, pollution, overpopulation, the rights of wilderness, and other non-traditional concerns. Her account of the conferences, together with the proceedings published by the Sierra Club, show the importance of these biennial meetings in moving the club into the era of more broadly defined environmental concerns and enlarging its audience and sphere of influence.

One of Peggy Wayburn's major contributions to the Sierra Club has been as editor and writer. In the 1950s and '60s, she wrote and edited articles for the Sierra Club Bulletin and prepared a monthly "Bulletin Board" reporting on legislation in Washington. In the 1970s, she produced three beautifully illustrated books, on the Redwoods, Alaska, and estuaries. In the 1980s and '90s, she has written travel literature focusing on outdoor adventure and wilderness appreciation, both for the

Sierra Club and other publishers.

In addition to recording the career path of this exceptional woman, her oral history is valuable for its delightful stories of her conversion to the rigors of mountaineering on early High Trips, her perceptive accounts of trips to the Sierra, the Redwood country, and Alaska which were the foundation of later conservation campaigns, and her insider's view of the politics and personalities of the Sierra Club. She comes across in these pages as she has in her roles as wilderness conference organizer, Washington lobbyist, physician's wife, speaker and author--a woman of many accomplishments who has successfully balanced the myriad demands of her life, always with grace and commitment.

Five interviews, from February to April of 1990, were recorded with Peggy Wayburn at her home in San Francisco. She reviewed the transcripts, making only minor changes in the interests of clarity and accuracy. Interview tapes are available in The Bancroft Library. Researchers will also want to refer to Edgar Wayburn's oral history, Sierra Club Statesman and Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands (1985), which records many of Peggy and Ed Wayburn's joint efforts on behalf of the Sierra Club and the environmental movement.

Ann Lage  
Interviewer/Editor  
Coordinator, Sierra Club Oral  
History Program

Berkeley, California  
March 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Cornelia Elliott (Peggy) Wayburn  
Date of birth 9/2/17 Birthplace New York City  
Father's full name Thomas Ketchin Elliott, Jr.  
Occupation Electrical Engineer Birthplace Windsboro, So. CAR.  
Mother's full name Cornelia Ligon Elliott  
Occupation Parent, Amateur Theatricals Birthplace Jackson, Miss.  
Your spouse Edgar Wayburn  
Your children Cynthia Ann (2/21/49), William Elliott (11/13/50),  
Diana Gail (11/14/52), Laurie Andrea (9/27/54).  
Where did you grow up? New York City, Long Island  
Present community San Francisco  
Education B.A. Barnard College (Cum Laude,  
Phi Beta Kappa); Emma Willard School  
Occupation(s) Author, Advertising Copywriter,  
Parent, Community & Environmental Volunteer  
Areas of expertise Natural History, Travel  
  
  
Other interests or activities Photography, Music (Piano)  
  
  
Organizations in which you are active Sierra Club



## I BEGINNINGS: THE ROUTE TO THE SIERRA CLUB

[Interview 1: February 27, 1990]##<sup>1</sup>

Background and Education in New York City

Lage: I want to start with something about your early life. Family. We want to get some background--where you came from, what kind of things in your youth may or may not have led to the interests that you developed.

Wayburn: I was born in New York City and I was reared on Long Island and in New York. I went away to school for my high school days and I was never particularly interested, specifically, in the out of doors. Of course, the world at that time was quite different and there were a lot of woods. We had a summer home on Long Island, and the back of our back yard ran right into a very pleasant woods that was actually subdivided during the time that we had that home. But for many years when I was growing up, we could walk through the woods without seeing anyone, and we had the beaches. The beaches at that time were so much less populated that we really had perhaps a closer exposure to the natural world than I realized. But certainly this was not part of my organized baggage when I moved to California--the conservation idea, or the idea even of exploring the out of doors.

Lage: Tell a little bit about your family. What kind of work your father did, and your mother.

Wayburn: Both my mother and father were renegade Southerners, both of them from the Deep South. My father from South Carolina, where his family had settled in pre-revolutionary days, and my mother from Mississippi where her family had settled generations ago.

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<sup>1</sup>This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 181.

Lage: What took them up to New York?

Wayburn: Themselves. Both of them were unwilling, I think, to fit into the pattern of the deep southern living. Actually, my mother's family had suffered seriously after the Civil War and had lost everything they owned. Having had a large working plantation, they were penniless. My mother was the youngest girl of eight children. She had a younger brother, but she was the youngest girl, so was not really, I think, ever into the plantation life so much. But she wanted very much to go on the stage. She was a very beautiful woman, and she had ambitions to be an actress. She married very young, had a child--

Lage: Let's place her in time. When would she have married?

Wayburn: My mother and father were married in 1911, so that was the second marriage for her. She had a son by her first marriage. Her first husband died, and I think she had enough money to come to New York, and came to further her own ambitions. My father was an electrical engineer and actually set up the Outside Plant, or the exterior workings, of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company during the twenties. Neither my mother nor my father had any connections, really, with the out-of-doors, although they both liked to take walks and used to walk, I think, quite a bit as part of their lives. My mother did not succeed in getting on to the professional stage, but she kept amateur theatricals as a great interest all of her life and performed locally many, many times.

Lage: Did she pursue any other career?

Wayburn: No, she didn't. She was actually one of the early--she was a suffragette. She was very much in favor of women being independent, and actually raised me so that I didn't know how to cook when I married Ed.

Lage: This was purposeful--

Wayburn: This was purposeful. We had help, and the only thing I was able to do in the kitchen was to scramble eggs. [laughter] Which I had learned to do after dances, when everybody would come to the house and we'd have scrambled eggs. This was the extent of my culinary artistry when Ed and I were married, strictly because my mother had felt that this was not a necessary talent to develop.

Lage: Did you have brothers and sisters?

Wayburn: I just had the one half-brother who was my mother's son by her first marriage.



Lage: So did your parents' expectations for you include a very independent woman's role?

Wayburn: I think actually they did and they didn't, because both of them, having been reared in the South, really retained a lot of the idea of protecting the daughters; my brother was not that protected. My brother was sixteen years older than I, so there was quite a gap there. I know that I was sent away to boarding school during my teens, but when it came time for me to go to college my parents had moved to New York. My mother had always wanted to live in New York. My father's work had been in New Jersey. We had ended up in New York, and my mother was very anxious that I go to Barnard because then I could live at home. So I think that they rejoiced in the idea maybe more than in the actuality of my being an independent woman.

Lage: [laughs] Maybe not cooking was the extent of it.

Wayburn: This was just about it.

Lage: Where did you go when you went away to boarding school?

Wayburn: I went first to a boarding school in West Virginia called St. Hilda's Hall, which was an Episcopal school, and I stayed there for two years. And then that school was very much on its uppers. This was during the Depression. I then went to Emma Willard School in Troy, New York, which is a very fine girls' school--remains one of the best college preparatory schools that's in existence, I think. I graduated from Emma Willard and then went to Barnard, and graduated from Barnard in 1942. (I went to work for Sperry Gyroscope Co. in the late 1930s--I did personnel work. This meant a couple of years out of college.)

I graduated in January during World War II, so I got a job in a wartime defense factory, which of course was the thing that one did at that time. Very, very different feeling in the country during World War II than there is now, especially with regard to war, because the war became everybody's way of life and it made everybody's life very purposeful, which is very different from the way, of course, the way the world is now. But I went to work as an engineer in a factory. Actually, I commuted across the river to New Jersey and I worked there for a year and a half. I found during the course of this that there was really a lot of deceit involved. We were all on sixty-hour weeks, whether or not we had work to do.

Lage: Sixty hours?

Wayburn: Sixty-hour weeks. This meant we checked in--we worked six days a week, and we checked in at 7:30 in the morning and worked all day long. The reason for this tremendous effort was so that Western Electric, which was the factory, would earn a big "E," which was a big award the government gave the war contracts companies; if they did so much work, they would get this commendation. After doing this kind of thing, after my checking in and checking out with a time clock over a period of a year and a half and finding that I really was twiddling thumbs, I quit.

In order to quit, you could not take another defense job for six months; you had to take a non-defense job if you quit a defense job. So I went to work for--for more than six months, as it turned out--for Vogue magazine, which was a considerable change. But I was able to do writing, and it was not, I think, a bad experience, although it's one that I look back on with great amusement when I think of the fashion world and the way it was epitomized in Vogue magazine, with--

Lage: During the war.

Wayburn: During the war. But of course the copy was always keyed to wartime dress and events.

Lage: What kind of writing did you do?

Wayburn: It was captions, and it was short statements and so forth. One of the funniest things about that experience was the way the women dressed--the people at Vogue. The editors wore hats, and the larger and more elaborate the hat, the higher in the echelon was the editor. [laughter] Those of us who were lowly copywriters could only wear rather plain hats. But we did wear hats, and we wore them all day; I mean, this was part of the scene.

I found out during the course of my work at Vogue that J. Walter Thompson had an opening, and I went in and talked to them in their New York office. It turned out they could not place me in New York, but they said there was an opening in San Francisco. So I came to San Francisco.

### Family Patterns

Lage: I want to back up a little bit before we get you to San Francisco. There are so many interesting things we skipped over

about your family. Was politics a subject of discussion in the family, or of lively interest?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. There was a great deal of interest in politics. My father was a Republican at a time when-- . He became a Republican in the Deep South at a time when that was the liberal party, and he remained a Republican and became a rather conservative Republican until he died. And yes, there was a great deal of discussion about the whole thing.

Lage: So they weren't warm embracers of the New Deal, it sounds like.

Wayburn: Not at all. I mean, that was just something that had to be borne with. My father was extraordinarily anti-Roosevelt; he detested Harold Ickes, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was a target of tremendous criticism, of course. I always thought she was great, but when I first registered to vote, I registered as a Republican, largely because of the background of my family. Looking back on it, Wendell Willkie was a candidate who would have unified the one world, and he was a Republican. So I think perhaps the parties were not quite as-- . I don't think the Republican party was quite as conservative during the years that I grew up as it has become. And certainly it was not in the generations before me. I mean, starting with Lincoln, it was the liberal party.

Lage: Right. Particularly in the South. How about religion? Was that an important part of the family?

Wayburn: Both my mother and father had eschewed the Deep South religion. As a matter of fact, I think that may be one reason that they both had come north, because they did not subscribe to the fundamentalist beliefs. My mother considered herself quite enlightened, and as a matter of fact, she wanted to "expose me to various religions." In her mind, this was sending me to various Christian Sunday schools of different denominations, so I was exposed to Presbyterian, and to Episcopalian. I don't think she ever had me attending a Baptist Sunday school, but I know I did attend a Christian Science Sunday school. This was supposed to broaden my views of religion.

Lage: But she didn't send you to the Buddhist Temple, for instance.  
[laughter]

Wayburn: No, she did not. She did not send me to anything that was not quite orthodox, actually. But this was not something that she took too seriously, and as a consequence I did not go to Sunday school every Sunday. It was just periodically that I was taken. As a matter of fact, we had a home on Long Island, a year-round

home when I was quite young. My mother joined the local Episcopal church, and the minister was very interested in amateur theatrical performances. My mother used to take part in them, in the little theater which was connected with the Episcopal church. So that I think I was actually christened as an Episcopalian in that church.

Lage: It had a good theater.

Wayburn: It had a good theater. [laughter]

Lage: Your mother sounds like a really interesting person.

Wayburn: She was. She was quite a woman. I remember her with tremendous affection. As I mentioned, she did not believe in women cooking, and I remember in particular one dinner party that she gave when I was about ten. I was allowed on the scene for some reason, and my mother served a delicious pie for dessert. One of the women at the dinner party said, "Oh, Cornelia, did you make that wonderful pie?" Without batting eye, my mother said, "Oh, yes." I knew for a fact that she had not made this pie. Magically, I kept my mouth shut during the dinner, but afterward I took her aside and said, "Mommy, you didn't make that pie." And she said, "But I made it come out of the bakery."

Lage: [laughs] That's wonderful.

Wayburn: So she was a very--she was quite a gal.

### Barnard College

Lage: Now, we skipped over college completely. Almost. Was the experience there one that left its mark? Tell about your major.

Wayburn: I started out majoring in English composition. My mother, by the way, had always wanted me to be a writer, and I'm sure she helped shape my later interest in writing.

Lage: Do you think she saw a particular talent in your childhood things?

Wayburn: I guess. I don't know. Unless perhaps it was the fact that she would have liked to be a writer. She felt it was a good profession for women. So I started out in Barnard majoring in English composition. The head of the English department was really hipped on Middle English literature, and we spent a lot of

time on Beowulf and on things that I found more and more uninteresting. So I switched my major to philosophy because there was a wonderful head of the philosophy department at Barnard. I took my degree in philosophy.

Lage: Among the women in the college, were they planning careers? Were they planning marriage?

Wayburn: Barnard was always a more sophisticated college, in a way, being right in the middle of New York City and attracting a great many New York women. Many of my classmates went on and simply got married, but I think they were all interested in the world outside. I know there have been a number of Barnard graduates over the years who have taken their place in the world outside.

Lage: Were there expectations that you had from going there? Expectations that you developed for yourself?

Wayburn: You see, we were on the brink of war. This was a very interesting period in our own history. We were coming out of the Depression, and--. Incidentally, my family never suffered in the Depression. My father's job was completely secure, and my father made what was then a very adequate amount of money, enough for us to have an apartment in New York and a summer home on Long Island and to live very graciously. I never really suffered through the Depression, but this was a Depression period. My father's family in South Carolina was very hard hit. My grandfather was president of the Fairfield County Bank, and the bank went under, and he and his family were forced to sell most of their acreage. They'd had a very large, I guess you would call it a--it was a successor to a plantation, anyway. They had to sell off the land. They were badly hurt; the whole family in South Carolina was badly hurt. So I had some idea of what was going on.

#### Helping the War Effort: Engineer for Western Electric

Wayburn: But as far as expectations for someone going to college during those years, I think everyone assumed that they would take their place in the war effort. As I said, I majored first in English composition but switched to philosophy because the head of the philosophy department was outstanding. I could have stayed on as a teaching assistant and gotten my master's degree in philosophy, but instead I got a job as an engineer.

Lage: As an engineer?

Wayburn: Western Electric just let anyone with a degree assume this title. I mean, anyone who was a college graduate was, in their eyes, a potential engineer.

Lage: Did they train you in this field?

Wayburn: Yes, they did. I learned to take time and motion studies and to become aware of what it took to produce parts and to assemble the assembly line in the factory. Looking back on it, I'm not even sure exactly what it was we were producing, because this was not what was discussed that much. I mean, there was a lot of secrecy. It was obviously some kind of an electrically involved part that we were producing. Whether it was for radar or for what, I don't know.

Lage: It is an interesting time. I know when I try to explain to my own daughters about how that war was different in people's eyes, they can't understand.

Wayburn: They don't understand it at all.

Lage: They can't understand how anyone could embrace a war effort.

Wayburn: Well, I think it makes a big difference if part of your country has been attacked. Of course, this was what happened with Hawaii, and there was just no question. It was a very popular war, very popular, and part of it, I think, was Roosevelt, who was very charismatic and who more or less--I guess he embraced the whole idea of the war long before the country went into it.

Coming to San Francisco, 1945: Copywriter for J. Walter Thompson

Lage: Now we have you taking the job in San Francisco. That must have been quite a leap. What year would that have been?

Wayburn: I came to San Francisco in January of 1945. I went to work with J. Walter Thompson.

Lage: That was quite a move for someone who'd grown up in New York and was close to her family.

Wayburn: This is true, this is true. But you know, looking back on it, I had for some reason had a dream about San Francisco for a long time. It had always sounded very enchanting to me.

Lage: What had you read, or heard, that developed that?

Wayburn: I'm not sure, but I did a lot of reading. Of course, I grew up in a world without television, and incidentally, so did my children. We did not have a television when our children were young. As a matter of fact, we have only had a television a few years in our home, and it came about as a result of someone giving me a TV when I broke my ankle in 1982. That's jumping ahead.

Lage: [laughing] We still don't have one.

Wayburn: You don't. That's great.

Lage: But I know that that's pretty unusual.

Wayburn: Yes, well, we were considered very strange. I had done a lot of reading, and I did a lot of reading of contemporary authors, much more so then, I think, than I do now, with a change of interest in my life. But San Francisco had always seemed sort of enchanting.

Being a copywriter was a definite plum. I mean, women could do various things, but this was especially prestigious, you know, to be a copywriter for J. Walter Thompson, and to have your own typewriter, and to be involved in accounts and meeting people for whom you were doing the copy. And then you had the art department and you had sales. You were really plugged into the establishment if you were a copywriter.

Lage: Was it unusual for a woman, or was that a--

Wayburn: I think it was very unusual until World War II. I think at that time that many jobs opened up for women that had not been there before. Goodness knows I never would have been an engineer at Western Electric [laughter] if we hadn't been at war. Fresh out of college, an engineer. [laughs]

Lage: A philosophy major at that.

Wayburn: Yes, philosophy.

Lage: When you came to San Francisco, where did you settle and how did you enjoy the job?

Wayburn: Oh, I loved it. And I had an apartment on Powell Street between Bush and Pine. No, between Pine and California, just below the top of Nob Hill. I had a studio apartment which I loved, which was on the top floor and which had a wonderful bed that folded into the wall. And I had a very unique landlady. "Very unique"

is redundant; I had a unique landlady who collected fine things, and I had a beautiful Chinese rug on the floor. When the bed was properly back in its place, the two bottom feet of the bed formed shelves, and I had plants which sat on the shelves with draping leaves coming down. The bottom of the bed was a mirror, so this was really quite an elegant room.

Lage: And then you'd move your plants when you--

Wayburn: Then I'd move my plants every time I had to put the bed down.

Lage: It sounds like a wonderful contraption.

Wayburn: It was marvelous.

Lage: [laughing] If that's the word for it.

Wayburn: Contraption is the word for it.

Lage: But elegant.

Wayburn: And for this I paid-- Well, I had a little kitchen, and a bath, of course. This was a rather small apartment; I paid the magnificent amount of \$60 a month for this. As a copywriter, I made a very respectable amount of money. At that time, \$400 a month was a lot of money, especially when you considered that I paid \$60 rent. And it was a very exciting time in San Francisco; this was just before VE Day and VJ Day. The war was winding down but it was still very much on, and there were a lot of activities in the Bay Area which were tied into the war. I felt more on my own than I had ever been in my life, of course.

Lage: Did you know anybody out here?

Wayburn: I knew one family, and that was all.

Lage: So you just came out and found your own place.

Wayburn: I found my own way, and I will never forget the arrival in the Oakland Mole. Of course, I came by train, and it was a more or less gruesome trip. Very dirty trains in those days. Anyway, then I got on the ferry in the Oakland Mole and came across and saw the magic city in the fog--just a little fog and the sun out, and it was a very memorable day. So then San Francisco was to be my home, ad infinitum.

Lage: Was it difficult to get established? Did you meet people easily?



Wayburn: Met people very, very quickly. Looking back, I can't tell you how. I guess this one family that I did know, whose name was Marshall, the woman, Peggy Marshall, had been Peggy Cameron, and the Cameron family was longtime San Francisco and had a lot of connections. I think it was really through Peggy that I met most of the people that I did. And then, of course, through the people at work. I soon was very involved. I made two or three friends who also worked for J. Walter Thompson, with whom I was very close friends for many years.

Lage: Was this a high-pressure job that involved a lot of extra hours?

Wayburn: Oh, definitely. We would have assignments we would have to meet, and it was quite exciting. I think copywriting is as fine training for any kind of writing as any job can be, because you are forced to put as much as possible into as few words as you can and to come to the essence of the matter, and to know what you're talking about. All of these things are important to copywriting. So I both enjoyed my job and have been grateful for the fact that I had it, as time went on.

Lage: I can see it had quite an influence. You later did things that grew out of that ability.

Wayburn: Yes, I think very definitely. Also, when I was in college, I wrote for the Barnard newspaper. I wrote for it a lot, and I pursued the interest of writing. As I say, I'd started out as an English composition major.

Lage: Getting the job at J. Walter Thompson must have been very competitive. Here you came from being an engineer.

Wayburn: Oh, but I had also worked as a copywriter for Vogue.

Lage: That's right.

Wayburn: And that was the thing that stood me in good stead, when I came to the J. Walter Thompson job.

Meeting Ed. 1947##

Lage: Shall we talk about how you met Ed, and how life changed then?

Wayburn: I met Ed through one of my friendships at work. A good friend of mine, Dolores Shipp, had had her portrait painted by a local artist, a San Francisco artist, and I had been invited to the

unveiling of the portrait and had met the artist, Werner Philipp, and his wife. The artist had asked me to sit for him, which I subsequently did. So I became friends with the artist and his wife. He was having a fiftieth birthday party, and I was invited to that party, and so was Ed. As a matter of fact, it turned out that Elizabeth Philipp, the artist's wife, had invited three young unattached women to the party specifically to meet Ed.

Lage: [laughs] They wanted to give Ed a big choice.

Wayburn: This would have been in 1947, and Ed had only recently come back from being in the Air Force, where he had been a doctor and after the war had done a mass chest X-ray survey of Europe. This is doubtless in his history.

Lage: I think it is referred to.

Wayburn: So he was late getting home; he did not come back immediately after V-J Day.

#### V-J Day in San Francisco

Wayburn: You know, we didn't talk about V-J Day, but that was a very exciting moment in San Francisco. Market Street went crazy.

Lage: I'd like to hear your impressions of it. What did you do?

Wayburn: I was at some party, because everybody had a party, and before we had left the office we had thrown paper out the windows, and there was incredible jubilation. I can't begin to convey the feeling of the--that we had won, and this heady sense of victory which we don't have now. It's not part of life; I guess it's not part of life unless you have a big war. And win it.

Lage: The kind of clear-cut victory.

Wayburn: Yes, and just this marvelous feeling that right had prevailed and that you had been working for the right thing. And that God somehow was blessing the effort. [laughs] Anyway--

Lage: Was there a sense of relief that it was over, too? Aside from the sense of victory?

Wayburn: Well, yes and no. I think we had become so accustomed to it. You know, it was a four-year war, and it was part of our lives to such an extent that I don't know that--I don't remember feeling

relief as much as the feeling of enormous joy that we had won. I'm sure that had I had someone involved directly, I would have felt a tremendous sense of relief. But I was not engaged to someone in the front lines; you know, I was not that closely involved. Although I lost good friends in the war.

Lage: Immediately after the war, did you ever have a sense that your job might be taken over by one of the returning men? Any of that sense of insecurity?

Wayburn: You know, it didn't cross my mind. It really didn't cross my mind. There were several of us young women working for J. Walter Thompson, and I think we felt quite secure.

#### First Hike with Ed, to Stinson Beach

Wayburn: Anyway, I met Ed at this party, and during the course of the conversation we talked, and he asked me if I liked to hike. I should preface this with the fact that Long Island, where I'd had most of my outdoor experiences, is quite flat. The highest elevation is maybe 150 feet. My idea of a hike was a walk along the beach or a stroll on the railroad tracks, which were nice and level; the only problem was you had to figure out how to step between the ties. This was exactly what I had in mind when I said I loved to hike. So Ed invited me to go on a hike with him and another couple.

So I went down to the City of Paris, which was one of San Francisco's landmark stores at that point--you may remember it, with a miniature Eiffel Tower on top of it--and I bought a pair of white shorts and a sleeveless shirt, and I bought myself a pair of white sneakers and cotton socks. When the appointed hour came a couple of Sundays later, I was ready, and Ed came by to pick me up. He came by my apartment with this other couple. They all came lumbering into my elegant little studio [laughter] in hiking boots and blue jeans and long-sleeved shirts, and my heart sank and I thought, "Who are these rough people?" [laughter]

Lage: You'd never met people like that.

Wayburn: I'd never been up against this before. So we drove to Pan Toll, which is at about 1600 feet elevation. We went down the Steep Ravine trail to Stinson Beach. I made it down, although that is a very steep trail in places and has ladders over the rocks. And this was all a totally new experience for me. We went swimming

in Stinson Beach, and at that time in the world you rented a bathing suit. I had a gray wool tank suit and a towel; I rented them for fifty cents. There was a women's side and a men's side for changing, and you had little stalls. Did you ever--

Lage: No, I never saw this place.

Wayburn: Wooden stalls, and they had a little bench on them, and they had pegs in the wall for you to hang your clothes.

Lage: And you left your clothes there, on that--

Wayburn: And you left your clothes in this changing-place, and you had a --. Actually, you could put your clothes in a locker, as I recall. You would change, and then you took your clothes and put them in a locker. You had the key to the locker and you took that with you to the beach with your towel.

Lage: Now, was that new to you, too, or had there been things in the East like that?

Wayburn: No, I had done this. I had done this and I may even have been swimming at Stinson Beach before that; I don't remember. But there was nothing novel about this. This part of the experience was very reassuring to me.

So we went swimming, and then of course we changed back, and then we had to walk up the hill. That was where the ordeal began. At that time I smoked. Smoking was kind of part of the liberated woman idea in the world then, and it was very much part of the role of a copywriter, because you sat over the typewriter with a cigarette in your mouth and you had these brilliant ideas. [laughs] So I would--. The other couple, the man in the other couple was Bob Schallenberger--which may be a name that's in Ed's history too--who was a longtime Sierra Club member. Bob also smoked, so it gave me a great excuse to stop and have a cigarette while I could huff and puff. The hike back up took me a long time, and it was exceedingly unpleasant.

Lage: Was Ed considerate of the fact that you weren't used to this kind of exertion?

Wayburn: Not at all. Not at all. [laughs] He just kept me going. I mean, he just assumed I was going to keep going. When I finally got to the top, I thought I never wanted to see him again. I was so sore the next day that I didn't go to work.

Lage: What an introduction.

Wayburn: It was quite an introduction. And then he called me and asked me if I would like to go dancing at the Mark [Mark Hopkins Hotel]. This was my idea of a date, and I thought, well, I'll go dancing, anyway. From then on, of course, things took hold, and we were married six months later.

Lage: That was a fast courtship.

Wayburn: Yes, it was a fast courtship.

Lage: It's interesting that he had the same Southern ties, Southern background that your family had.

Wayburn: Yes. Although he also had ties to San Francisco which I did not have and had been coming to San Francisco from the time he was a child.

#### Life in San Francisco in the Forties

Wayburn: What a wonderful place San Francisco was in those days. I look back on it and think of how absolutely idyllic it was.

Lage: What in particular do you think of as--

Wayburn: I think part of it was the clarity of the air. There were no pollution problems at all; it was so beautiful, and there was so much open space around the Bay. There were the ferries. The food was always good, and we used to go to dinner in North Beach for 50 cents apiece. There would be these family settings at the tables; they were Basque restaurants, and you would have an enormous meal and wine for 50 cents. There were other restaurants where you could eat for 35 cents, and then it was 50 cents if you had wine. But when you had the wine, it wasn't just a glass; they'd bring out a carafe, and you could have all you wanted. Or a bottle. Everybody was very friendly, and I had noticed this when I first came and I'd written home about it.

Lage: That was something you noticed that was different from the East Coast?

Wayburn: Very different from New York. Very different from New York. There was a warmth and a genuine friendliness that was really marvelous.

Lage: Now, do you see that disappearing or having had disappeared by this point in time?

Wayburn: I think things have become so pressured. There isn't the same sense of relaxation, if you will, or taking life as it came. Everybody's in a hurry now. I think we've lost a tremendous amount of that. Of course, I don't go into situations where people meet me with friendliness or not, because I've lived here so long that the community is just part of the way it is. But I don't feel the same feeling that I had then at all. I guess that's what happens as you grow older, that you always look back on the earlier times and think how wonderful it was. But there is no question; you know, there were--what?--a million and a half, or two million people at the most in the Bay Area at that time, in the whole Bay Area, and now we're over five million people. Open space is at a premium and being fought over, and the Bay has been filled. The environmental changes have been profound, and the city itself, which was much more gemütlich, I guess is the word--

Lage: What was the word?

Wayburn: Gemütlich. A German word meaning nice, genial, comfortable. The buildings were not jammed together and they were not that high. There was a sense almost of European style about much of the city--white buildings and the tile roofs. It was a very, very, different place.

Lage: How did you transport yourself to work at that time?

Wayburn: By the cable car, which went right down California. Or I could walk. But being on Powell, and between California and Pine, it was extremely convenient since the building that I was first in was the Russ Building downtown. After that J. Walter Thompson had an office on California Street itself. It was a new office that we moved into. So that was ideal.

Lage: Did the open space strike you at the time?

Wayburn: Yes, and of course even before I met Ed, I had been going out "into the country." We would drive out--one of my friends was married, and she and her husband had a car. We used to go on picnics, and we would drive up into Marin County and even as far as to Mendocino. We had lovely, lovely times out of doors. While we didn't go to hike, we did go to enjoy the countryside.

Lage: So this was something you enjoyed and responded to at the time.

Wayburn: Yes.

## II SIERRA CLUB OUTINGS, 1948-1950S

High Trip to Paradise Valley, 1948

Lage: Let's get the date when you were married.

Wayburn: We were married on September 12, 1947, and that's coming up on forty-three years ago.

Lage: How did your life change then?

Wayburn: Well, it changed profoundly. I'm just trying to sort out the sequence of things. When we were married we lived on Taylor Street, and Ed had a Chinese man who worked for him. I was given an allowance--this was the way it was in the world.

Lage: Did you continue working?

Wayburn: I continued working for a while. But I had this man who came in and did all the work for me, but I did start exploring how to cook and had great pleasure in that, and every weekend we went hiking. This, of course, was a whole new part of my life.

Lage: Did you do this with enthusiasm? Did you get over that first date?

Wayburn: I got over the first date. Actually, I think Ed must have recognized what had happened because we didn't do anything quite as much as that for a while. But in the summer of 1948 I was newly pregnant, and we went on a High Trip. There is an article which I wrote about this in the [Sierra Club] Bulletin.

Lage: I reread that, and I think it was so delightful. I'd like to put it in the appendix [see page 183]. But if you can expound on it here--. We don't need to tell the whole story here. For instance, that article doesn't tell that you were newly pregnant.

Wayburn: Oh, it doesn't?

Lage: I don't believe so.

Wayburn: I guess I didn't put that in. But I was newly pregnant, and I had morning sickness. I can remember so well; in the article I described my stylish hiking boots--I wish I had them; they were so comfortable.

Lage: [laughs] Not only stylish but comfortable. Well, that's fine.

Wayburn: Very comfortable. They were Bass boots. Bass used to make wonderful boots. I wore them for years. As a matter of fact, I still have a pair of Bass boots that I wear. Anyway. That dates back, you know, into the days of yore.

The High Trip was in--we went into Paradise Valley, and I remember so well the trail going up into Paradise Valley, with the switchbacks and the clinking, rocky trail that was absolutely murder on the feet. I think Ed called it the "Bastard Trail," [laughter] or something.

Lage: At least he acknowledged it.

Wayburn: Yes, he acknowledged it. But the trip was notable on several counts: the fact that I did have morning sickness, and the fact that I was absolutely overwhelmed with the mountains, and also that I made one of my dearest friends on that trip. It was Vivian Breckenfeld. I remember distinctly on that trip--which was led, as I remember, by Dave Brower--he kept going up and up and up and up. Every day we climbed at least three thousand feet, in my memory.

Lage: [laughing] Right. I can imagine.

Wayburn: One of the days when I was coming into camp after this enormous climb, Vivian Breckenfeld gave me a cup of hot bouillon. I don't know if I put that in the story or not. Anyway, it cemented a great friendship.

Lage: Was she in your age group?

Wayburn: No. Vivian was old enough to be my mother. She's still alive. Does the name ring any bells with you?

Lage: No, I don't remember.

Wayburn: She did children's books. Actually books for teenagers, and wrote as Vivian Breck, and was a wonderful woman. I say "was." Whether she has Alzheimer's or what it is, she's no longer aware



of who's around her or where she is or anything, which is so sad. She's in her nineties now, in Carmel Valley Manor, which has a nursing wing. But that's just an aside. Anyway, I--

Lage: Was she a regular participant in those trips?

Wayburn: I don't know. She and Breck, her husband, who was absolutely delightful--we called him Breck; his name was Elmer--they had been on other High Trips. Subsequently, we went on trips with them several times. But we not only were with them in the mountains, we formed a friendship where we met year-round. At the time that Ed was on the Conservation Committee--the club was so small then, it had only one Conservation Committee; this was it. Ed later became chairman. The meetings were in Berkeley, particularly at Harold Bradley's house. The Breckenfelds lived in Berkeley. We used to go early and have dinner with the Brecks, and then go from there to the Conservation Committee meetings. That took us over quite frequently. So the friendship was one that lasted, and still exists.

Lage: Were there other people that you remember meeting at the time? Women in particular. Weren't there a group of women that were--

Wayburn: There were marvelous women. There was a wonderful group of women on those first trips. Ollo Baldauf--that may be a familiar name --

Lage: Yes, it is.

Wayburn: --was on those, and Ted Ginno, and Madi Bacon. The three of them used to hike together, and they were marvelous hikers. Madi and Ted Ginno were great climbers. This was the first time that I was exposed to climbing, and became quite infected, and used to always want to get to the top of the mountain. And climbed many peaks.

Lage: Did you really get into what we call rock-climbing?

Wayburn: I did a little. A little later on I got into the ropework, and a couple of the mountains that I climbed required ropes. But I was not a great technical climber; I didn't get into the Francis Farquhar-Marge Farquhar class at all. Marge was another one of the women that I remember. And Doris Leonard. But Ollo Baldauf stands out particularly in my memory because she had a wonderful voice, and of course we always sang around the campfire. The whole ritual of the campfire, which is now gone, a tremendous blaze always in the mountains. We would all gather wood and bring it in. There was lots and lots of wood. Now, of course, everything is bare.

Lage: You didn't think at all. You didn't have to think about using too much wood.

Wayburn: We didn't think anything of it. Although we were a large group on the High Trip, sometimes as many as two hundred people, counting all the packers and the commissary crew and 120 guests, I guess it was. We were a tremendous party moving through the mountains, but we met no one. The mountains were ours; if there was another party anywhere near us, we were horrified.

Lage: [laughs] They were probably horrified, too.

Wayburn: [laughing] I'm sure they were, much more than we were.

Lage: Was there discussion of, or concern about, conservation on those trips? On the High Trips?

Wayburn: It was not a hot topic for conversation, I would say. Ed was interested and had been since 1946. I think his eyes were open more in the Bay Area, with the enormous kind of subdivision development that took place just after the war. We saw open space just being gobbled up. And I think certainly before we stopped going on the High Trips there had become a lot of concern. My first High Trip was in 1948, and I would say that this was not something on our minds. We were still exploring the mountains; you know, there were still unclimbed peaks.

As a matter of fact, in 1954, when I was pregnant with Laurie, the last child, having been pregnant off and on for six years and never having stopped doing what I wanted to do--going on High Trips or climbing or anything else--. But in the summer of 1954 in August--and Laurie was born in September--we climbed an unclimbed peak, which was nothing major, but I think it was about an 11,000-foot peak. We were with Arthur Breed, who was a state senator, and when we got to the top we christened the mountain Mount Breedburn for Arthur and for the unknown Wayburn.

Lage: How wonderful. Did that name stick, by chance?

Wayburn: No, I don't think it did. I would have a hard time finding the peak. But when we climbed then, the first thing you did when you got to the top of the mountain was to go to the register, see how many people had climbed it and what they'd said, and you'd sign the register. Of course, this is gone.

Lage: Now the registers are in the Bancroft Library. Or a lot of them are.

Wayburn: Oh, wonderful.

Lage: It's wonderful they're saved but kind of sad that they're not out where they belong.

Wayburn: Yes, it is sad, but then someone would take them.

Lage: That's right.

Wayburn: They would be a major souvenir, I'm sure, at this point.

Lage: So when you get to an unclimbed peak, that's how you knew it? Because there was no register?

Wayburn: You knew if it was unclimbed there would be no register on it, and it would be a little out of the way; it would not be one that would be easily accessible. On those earlier High Trips in the late 1940s we would be two days from the roadhead, and this is no longer possible in many places. But it was then, and you were really out of the way. It was a surprise when you saw another party, unless it was trailworkers or something of the sort, because it took a fair amount of physical endurance to get there despite the fact that you had your luggage carried. We covered a lot of mileage, and we did a lot of ups and downs, as I mentioned.

#### Convert to the Outdoors: Hiking and High Trips with Four Children

Lage: Did it take you long to actually get to enjoy this physical exertion? The first trip was sort of a difficult experience, it seems from your Bulletin article. The first High Trip.

Wayburn: Well, the first trip was definitely a breaking-in, but by the time that that trip was over, I was converted. I loved to hike, and as I said, I loved to get to the tops of places. On all those trips, even including that first trip, I started climbing, and thereafter that was one of the great pleasures to me of going into the Sierra--being able to climb mountains. When our children were small, I would--I'm getting ahead of things, but I'll go ahead and get ahead of things--. I have two memories about climbing that are very special to me. One was the summer when Cynthia was seventeen months old. That would have been 1950. I was pregnant with Bill, our son, and we wanted to go on a High Trip but we wanted to take Cynthia. This, I'm sure is in Ed's history.

Lage: No, no, it's not.

Wayburn: Anyway, Ed had been the doctor--was the doctor on these trips routinely. We had been in 1948, and Cynthia was born in 1949, we'd been in 1949; this would have been 1950. Dave Brower again was the leader of the High Trip, and he wouldn't let Ed bring Cynthia. We had it all set; I was going to take the diapers and I was going to take care of Cynthia on the High Trip.

Lage: There were not paper diapers, were there?

Wayburn: There were no paper diapers then. We got the thumbs-down; we could not go. So we went up to Tuolumne Meadows where the club had property and where there was a most delightful camp, most delightful camp. We set up camp, and we did day hikes. At one point we went up to Vogelsang, and we spent the night at Vogelsang; we had a burro to carry the diapers. [laughter] Ed carried Cynthia in the marvelous pack arrangement that we invented. First the pack arrangement was a proper Nelson packboard with a carseat hooked on it. I think, as a matter of fact, that's what we had Cynthia in on that particular trip. Later we went to the Marine bedding roll one that was very, very efficient.

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Lage: Tell about your arrangements for taking children.

Wayburn: Well, we carried diapers, and the washing was very primitive. We had big buckets, and of course on the High Trip there were buckets that were used entirely for washing clothes. We really kept ourselves so clean I can't imagine, looking back on it. We were quite aware of cleanliness, and we always took two pairs of jeans--maybe three pairs of jeans so that we would have clean jeans to wear. And we washed our jeans on those High Trips. I can remember so well the wash lines that would be strung.

Lage: You'd have layover days when you could do that.

Wayburn: We'd have layover days and everybody would do their washing. We also had what we called pine tree chiffoniers, which were canvas arrangements with canvas pockets in them so that we could carry our toilet articles. We would have a little canvas pocket for our comb and our brush and for various toilet articles that we would carry, and then we'd put our socks in those. When we made camp, it was a little home. [laughter] It really was. And of course the wonderful thing about the Sierra was that you didn't have to have a tent. We would rig a tarp over us if it rained, and that was--

Lage: And no tent.

Wayburn: And no tent. So it was quite charming.

Lage: Where did you get these little chiffoniers? Did you--

Wayburn: Oh, we got those at army surplus stores. I think they were left over from World War II. We got wonderful things at army surplus stores after the war. I still have what was a huge chopping bowl, which I use as a salad bowl, and it's still good, you know, and that's forty-odd years later. But you could get all sorts of camping equipment from the army surplus stores. As a matter of fact, my first sleeping bag was the outside shell of a double sleeping bag, and I froze to death in it. Ed got the down.

Lage: Oh, he got the inner down bag.

Wayburn: He got the down, because he slept colder than I did, and I got the feather one. [laughter]

Lage: And then you used army surplus for the second child's backpack? The second edition.

Wayburn: Oh, yes, the Marine bedding roll, which was a cross, a heavy canvas cross. We cut off the top flap and we laid the baby down on it face forward, and then the bottom part of the cross came up between the legs, and the two sides crossed over. There were places where you could lace it through--

Lage: No Velcro.

Wayburn: No Velcro. You actually strapped the baby into this, and then there were the shoulder parts. We got shoulder pads.

Lage: So the bedroll had shoulder straps.

Wayburn: Shoulder straps, and we got the shoulder pads. So you just carried this on your back as you would have carried the bedding roll. If the bedding had been in it, you would have used the top flap as well as the others.

Lage: And the baby faced toward you?

Wayburn: The baby faced toward us. It was the forerunner of the jerry pack, and if I had been smart I would have done something with it, patented it.

Lage: It sounds almost like the forerunner of the soft pack, which you can use on the front or on the back. It's soft, with no frame.

Wayburn: That's right. This was soft, with no frame. It was very satisfactory.

But the summer that we took Cynthia, when she was about seventeen months old and when I was about six months pregnant, we climbed Mount Hoffman, being where we were, right in the middle of those wonderful mountains. And when we got to the top of Mount Hoffman there was a register. Of course, Ed had carried Cynthia, and she had been in her carseat, so we registered her as Cynthia Wayburn, the first person to climb Mount Hoffman backwards. And then, since I was pregnant, we registered Question Mark Wayburn, the first person to climb Mount Hoffman upside down. [laughter] So somewhere, that's in the register.

Lage: You really kept up your activities through all this.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. I did. I'm very glad that I did, too. Because some of my best memories are of those times. And then after the four children were born--

Lage: Do you want to give their names and birthdates, so we have it down?

Wayburn: Cynthia was born on February 21, 1949, and William Elliott Wayburn was born on November 13, 1950. Diana was born on November 14, 1952, just a day apart from her brother. And then Laurie was born on September 27, in 1954.

Starting in the late fifties, I used to take the children to the Tuolumne Meadows camp and get them up in the early morning [laughs] to climb mountains. I don't know how they ever did it. But our friends the Schallenbergers would often be up at the same time and I would be able to leave Laurie with them, because she would be too young to go off on these great jaunts. But Diana was a very enthusiastic hiker, and we used to go on these long, long hikes. For example, I took these little people and climbed Cloud's Rest, which is like a nine-mile hike, and here they were ages like six, eight, and ten.

Lage: That's very amazing.

Wayburn: But I was so gung-ho, I would get them there.

Lage: You were a convert.

Wayburn: [laughter] I was a real convert. Or like a reformed--

Lage: Right.

Wayburn: I should put in that I had stopped smoking as my wedding present to my husband, so I was never burdened with that.

Lage: Was this a health concern of his?

Wayburn: It was both a health concern of his and the fact that he was allergic to cigarette smoke.

Lage: I see.

Wayburn: The combination was such that when I would smoke before we were married, he would be on the other side of the room and practically holding his nose. So it was no pleasure, and he convinced me, I think healthwise too, that I should give it up. I've been so very grateful ever since.

Lage: I don't think people were that aware of the health hazards at that time.

Wayburn: No, there was not the concern there is now at all. There had not been any studies done of lung cancer or any of the terrible side effects of smoking. That came later.

Lage: Was it hard for you to give it up?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. For about a year. It was very hard, but I was determined, and I'm so glad I was. I gained a lot of weight because I discovered I loved sweets. But I lost that, so it never mattered.

Lage: Other hikes, early trips that you want to mention?

Wayburn: Those, I guess. We took Cynthia on a Base Camp when she was four. After the summer when we were not allowed on a High Trip--

Lage: Was this a point of contention?

Wayburn: I think we were just more disappointed than anything. But once the children were four, we would start taking them either--. We took Cynthia on the Base Camp trip when she was four and left the other children with my parents. Cynthia would have been just as happy in Golden Gate Park. I think the thing that she remembers, if she remembers any of the trip, was the fact that she was able to ride a horse. Because in those days we would take a certain number of horses along for people who might give out or become ill, or who wanted to ride. Some people rode on High Trips.

Lage: I hadn't heard that.

More Outing Memories: Companions on the Trail

Wayburn: The whole trip. Oh, yes. That was how Bob Cutter first started. Do you know the story of Bob Cutter and the knap-suckers?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: Oh, my goodness. Do you want me to tell it? On one of those early High Trips--it might even have been that very first trip Bob Cutter was along--. He was the head of Cutter Laboratories in Berkeley, and he was a great horseman. And he rode a horse on that trip. He took the horse because he planned to ride for the entire trip. Fritz Baldauf, Ollo's husband, always rode. He couldn't hike, or he didn't like to hike. He would ride a horse and Ollo would hike. There were perhaps a half a dozen horses that were taken along. I remember, for example, why they were there. In 1950, the summer after the Mount Hoffman climb, I climbed Mount Darwin on the High Trip, and coming down through the talus, a big boulder rolled on my foot and I had a broken ankle, and had to be gotten down--well, I sat my way down the mountain. That was interesting because Peter Farquhar--Marge Farquhar was in the party, and her son, Peter, was in the party; he was just a kid. Peter was the one who went back and sounded the alarm and got the horse. I inched my way down off the mountain, which wore out the seat of my jeans, but I had another pair. [laughs]

Lage: That's right. You had several pairs.

Wayburn: And then I got on the horse, and for the rest of that trip I was on horseback.

Lage: But you stayed with the trip.

Wayburn: Well, we stayed a couple of days and then when the ankle didn't get better, why, we came out early. But we went over Muir Pass on horseback, which is something I remember. I was absolutely scared pea-green. It's a terrible pass, and very poor footing, and the height of the horse above--. I remember very well there were three or four people riding on the trip, and when we got close to Muir Pass they all silently dismounted and [laughing] walked their horses over this thing. There was no way--I was sitting up there all by myself looking down at this precipitous drop.



At any rate, I took the children once they were old enough to camp comfortably. I would take them into the mountains frequently, and we took--

Lage: On your own?

Wayburn: On my own, because Ed would not have the time off. We would go up, say, on a Monday, and he would come up on the following Saturday or possibly Friday night, and we worked it that way. And then he would go back and I would stay on up for the following week, and then he might come up again. We used to do this also at Clair Tappan Lodge. We took them skiing--we took Cynthia skiing when she was four, I think. We made it a point, once the children were a little older, to take them separately, so it would be a very special weekend when they would go without their siblings. They were exposed very, very early on to the outdoors and to the Sierra Nevada.

Then when they got a little older, they would be on commissary on the High Trip, and we would be along on the trip. They went on High Trips and on High-Light Trips. The High-Light Trip was, of course, the outgrowth of the High Trip when the club realized the extent of the damage that was being done by taking large crowds. The numbers were cut, we thought, drastically. As I recall, though, there would be sixty on a High-Light Trip.

Lage: But fewer mules.

Wayburn: Many fewer mules. Much lighter trips, much less commissary equipment. My goodness, on those early High Trips, we took along marvelous toilets, which rode on the backs of the mules. Did you ever see one of them?

Lage: No. I've heard about the toilets and the big iron stoves. I don't know how you managed taking those.

Wayburn: Oh, enormous, yes. And cauldrons. You know, someone I left out of my Sierra story on the 1948 High Trip was Paul Kauffman.

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Wayburn: Paul Kauffman was one of the commissary crew, and when I first met him, he was about fifteen and he was a digger and a pot boy. Of course, the pot boys were the ones who cleaned up the enormous utensils that we carried for the High Trip, and they were enormous. Huge tubs, must have been washtubs, that were carried along and used to serve salad or stew or any large dish.

Lage: Were they stainless steel?

Wayburn: There was such a thing as stainless steel buckets, that I remember, and in order to do our own washing--and we were dreadfully fastidious on these trips--we would go to commissary and borrow a bucket, and then we'd wash our socks. This was standard; there were all these socks hung out, always around the camps in the High Trip. Then the buckets were also used for other things. But I know there were stainless steel buckets; whether there were stainless steel tubs, I'm not sure. Galvanized iron, I guess, is what they were. Anyway--

Lage: Heavy.

Wayburn: They were heavy. They were carried on the mules along with the other equipment which was, as we mentioned, the portable toilets, the "burlaps." The diggers on commissary were the ones who dug the latrines and who erected the thrones, which looked like pyramids with the top cut off, so they had slanting sides. These were draped originally, I guess, in burlaps, whence the name "burlaps" came from.

Paul Kauffman was one of those who did the digging, and he was also one of those who washed up the pots and pans. He was a delightful kid and he had a great talent for drumming. After dinners and after he had washed these huge tubs, he used to turn them over, upside down, and use them as drums. So we would have this great accompaniment to anything that was going on. Everybody around the campfire would enjoy Paul's performances.

Lage: Did he have parents that were in the club? How did he join?

Wayburn: I don't know how Paul got into it. I imagine his parents were involved, but they were never on the scene. Paul was there on his own. He went on to become an M.D., and he had some kind of cancer--I should remember the kind--that was treated by radiation. This was when he was in his thirties, and he subsequently paid dearly by progressive loss of his strength and of his voice and so forth. But he did survive, and--. He had leukemia. I talked to him; he is a great kayaker and is known as "the old man of the Bay," of San Francisco Bay, because he was the first one who really started kayaking on San Francisco Bay. He has written a delightful book about it which is, I think, out of print, telling about his experiences getting up early in the morning and putting his kayak in and sailing out under the gate, and so forth. Very interesting person.

Lage: Was it a welcoming, friendly group on the High Trips? Did they bring in new people?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, there were new people, and you met people. The interesting thing was that you would think we might all be marching together like the very early High Trips, but we weren't. Because we would break camp at our own speed and take off, perhaps with friends down the trail. We would be told where to go, and usually there were no signs, although on some trips if there was a chance to get confused they would put up a Sierra Club arrow. But usually we hiked just on our own, and we might not encounter anyone else in the party all day long. If there was a really good place to swim, you might come upon a group of people swimming, because we used to swim.

Lage: So it was not a regimented--

Wayburn: There was nothing regimented at all about it, and the people were very friendly. There was a nice, warm feeling around the campfires. There used to be a group of us--I guess on all the trips there was a group that would carry spirits, and you would have a drink before dinner with this group. There would be very high spirits after the drink of spirits.

We had on the High Trip what was called a Pennyroyal Club. You know this.

Lage: I've heard of the Pennyroyal Club.

Wayburn: What was required for the pennyroyal drink was snow, and pennyroyal--the mint--and bourbon, and then you mused it all together. It was most delicious.

Lage: Actually, most people tell about the pennyroyal tea, and omit the bourbon. [laughs]

Wayburn: But they didn't belong to the Pennyroyal Club. The Pennyroyal Club required bourbon.

Lage: And this was after the hike?

Wayburn: This was after the hike. This was an elite group of about forty people. So it was fairly well recognized that some people would do this.

Lage: Was there any group that objected to this?

Wayburn: I don't know. I've thought about that since. If they did, there was nothing they could do.

Lage: I've heard about a group who--I forget who the woman was--who objected to skinny-dipping.

Wayburn: Well, I never encountered her. We skinny-dipped a few times. But there were people who skinny-dipped in groups, and I think that's probably what she objected to.

But there were some marvelous people on those early trips. Wonderful people on those early trips who had been coming, I guess, during the thirties and even the twenties on the High Trips. One of them was Ethel Rose Taylor [Horsfall], who--. I hope her history was taken.

Lage: It was. Not by myself, but I met her while we were editing it. She was a wonderful person.

Wayburn: Oh, she was just incredible. She had this enormous floppy hat--huge, broad-brimmed hat, and bath shoes. I don't know if you ever saw bath shoes. They were rubber, and then they had lacings across the front. Open laces up the front. You wore them on the beach. They were bathing shoes, and I guess they would date back to the twenties. Ethel Rose used to wear the bathing shoes on the granite, and they were excellent.

Lage: And held up okay?

Wayburn: Well, she would wear them after the hike. She would change into her bathing shoes.

Lage: She was quite a character when I met her. In her eighties, I'm sure she was.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. She was well on when I knew her on a High Trip. As a matter of fact, there were people whom we thought were very ancient, who went on the High Trips. I mean, we made it a point when people would wonder about how you could do something like this in the mountains. We would say, well, there have been people from seven to seventy on the trips. And this was quite true; there were people of every age.

Lage: Was there anything that distinguished them in terms of their background?

Wayburn: Love of the mountains. One of my very favorite climbing partners--and we climbed several mountains together--was a postman in the Los Angeles area. This was the way he wanted to spend his time off. So there were people of many walks of life who came on the High Trips. In general, they would be people who

were comfortably off. I don't think we had any people who were poor.

Lage: But they weren't necessarily wealthy.

Wayburn: They were not necessarily wealthy. It was a very interesting time.

Lage: I always feel very nostalgic when I hear about these High Trips.

Wayburn: They were special. They were very special.



### III ENVIRONMENTAL INVOLVEMENT, 1950s-1960s

#### Growing Consciousness of Issues: FWOC, Redwoods, "Bulletin Board"

Lage: Shall we turn now to your growing consciousness of environmental issues in the fifties?

Wayburn: We started early on in the fifties, and it was Ed who started this. Ed, who always, I think, saw. He saw certainly before I saw, and he saw before most people saw, what was happening and what needed to be done. We had become involved with the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs in 1951 when Ed had been sent as a delegate to one of the meetings, and as a result of that, we had gone on a trip with the Forest Service into the Three Sisters as early as 1952, because I was pregnant with Diana on that trip. [laughter]

Lage: I love the way you mark these times.

Wayburn: Actually, we had been involved in the Butano State Park in the early fifties, because I was pregnant when we went down the hill in the Butano, I remember.

Lage: So you more or less started here in the Bay Area.

Wayburn: We started in the Bay Area, although the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs was meeting in Oregon. That organization met in the Northwest and not so much in the Bay Area. It met in the Sierra one year, but I don't remember it ever meeting in the Bay Area.

Lage: Were its concerns primarily conservation concerns?

Wayburn: They were the old-type conservation, and Ed really leavened the group a great deal by bringing in the Muir type. I would call them more the Pinchot-type conservation groups. They were outdoor clubs, and they were mountaineers--the Seattle Mountaineers, the Mazamas, and others. The clubs were reflective

of people who enjoyed the out-of-doors, and they were not necessarily conservation-oriented groups.

Lage: Were they concerned with maintaining trails, that kind of thing?

Wayburn: They were concerned with maintaining trails. The Federation had worked closely with the Forest Service and not so much with the Park Service. It was that kind of an orientation. Ed was the first one who really began to leaven the group, and as soon as he began to voice his concerns, there were others who took it up. I remember various meetings of the group. At that point I always went to the meetings. I've stopped that, [laughter] having had enough meetings to last several people.

Lage: And these were summer gatherings?

Wayburn: These were summer gatherings. Through this we became very interested in the Three Sisters [Primitive Area] in Oregon; we went on this trip in 1952. As a result of the Federation, of Ed attending the meetings, he became president of the Federation. We went on to work very actively in the Bay Area on the expansion of Mount Tamalpais State Park. In the mid-fifties we started going into the redwoods. We also started going into the Mammoth Lakes area. I remember trips there in the fifties.

Lage: Were these family trips, where you were kind of exploring?

Wayburn: No, these are Ed and me going on conservation trips. The Mammoth country was a question of the Forest Service logging in certain--

Lage: The Jeffrey pine.

Wayburn: The Jeffrey pine type. And then I'm trying to remember the name of the--he will have this in his history, I expect--the particular forest that was involved there.

Lage: I think the area was called Deadman Summit in Inyo National Forest.

Wayburn: We began doing quite extensive exploring starting fairly locally, and then moving out into, say, into the Mammoth area and up into the redwoods. I began writing articles for the Bulletin about some of the issues that we were encountering. We also contributed every month to the Bulletin--and it was the Bulletin then, it was not Sierra; it was called the Bulletin, the Sierra Club Bulletin, and had a rather distinguished history, I think, particularly with regard to Francis Farquhar, who was its editor for years. The back page was called "The Bulletin Board," and for every issue we would take various issues that we were



concerned with and do a paragraph or two on these issues to keep people aware of what was going on conservation-wise [Sierra Club Bulletin, May 1956-October 1962. See Appendix B, pp 187-189.].

Lage: I looked at some of those, and it was striking. It sounded like it was more than just issues you were concerned with. It was almost like the "Washington Report" that came later, or the report from Sacramento.

Wayburn: This is true; we did take in other news.

Lage: Did you do most of that?

Wayburn: I did that, yes. I did that routinely.

Lage: That must have been quite a commitment. Even that one feature, aside from your other writing.

Wayburn: You know, I didn't think anything of it. I did it every month.

Lage: Was that an education for you also?

Wayburn: Tremendously. Tremendously. And so were the articles that I was doing, because we started, as I mentioned, in the redwoods after the big storm of 1955, when I wrote an article called "The Tragedy of Bull Creek" [Sierra Club Bulletin, January 1960]. I had already written about Deadman Creek in the Mammoth country in California [October 1956]. And then--I'm just remembering back--I did an article called "Where Should Management Stop?" in which Ed and I discussed a lot about the--in particular or specifically--the Forest Service idea of managing everything. All during the fifties we were exploring and I was writing about these things, and looking back on it, I really don't know how I did it with these four children.

Lage: I know, that's what I was about to ask you. And how did this motivation develop? Was this something you and Ed talked about, that you were going to devote time to this?

Wayburn: It was something that we talked about, and we both became deeply interested and both became deeply involved.

Lage: Was there someone in the club who was drawing you into it? Or was it your own initiative?

Wayburn: I think it was really Ed's initiative. Certainly it was Ed's initiative that got me going. Remember, the club was very small; the club had seven thousand members then, and we knew the leadership of the club because most of it was in the Bay Area.

Francis Farquhar, Bestor Robinson, Dick Leonard, Dave Brower were all here in the Bay Area. There was also Lewis Clark, Nate Clark, Harold Crowe, Harold Bradley. These were all our friends, and they were all interested and certainly made a major mark in the way I thought.

Lage: But some of the people you mentioned didn't broaden their vision of conservation issues as you and Ed did.

Wayburn: Oh, I think this is true. I think this is very true.

Lage: What do you attribute that to?

Wayburn: Oh, I think different people have different ways of looking at the world, and things that we thought were important didn't seem important to them. But that's the way it is. Even now in the world; that's very much the way it is in the world.

#### Opposing Freeways through the Redwoods

Lage: Shall we take the redwoods and try to trace how that went?

Wayburn: Yes, that was an interesting--

Lage: Was it Bull Creek that first involved you in the redwoods?

Wayburn: I think it must have been Bull Creek, and the loss of the trees in the Humboldt State Park.

Lage: Was that when you made your first trip?

Wayburn: It would have been at about this time, in the mid-fifties. There was also the question of routing a freeway through the redwood parks. Newton Drury was then the head of the State Department of Parks and had compromised on the freeway going through the Humboldt Redwood State Park. When we saw that, we were aghast because that went through some of the very fine parts of the park and really sliced the park in half.

Lage: So that you saw that after it had been--

Wayburn: We saw that as a fait accompli, and we were then involved in trying to keep the freeways out of Prairie Creek and in a way trying to stop this bludgeon of freeways. That was the great era of the freeway, you know, and it was supposed to be such a wonderful thing. We fought it on many different levels--locally

in San Francisco and West Marin, and then further away in the state parks, trying to stop this thing from happening. The redwoods became of paramount interest to us once we saw what was happening up there. And of course, in the fifties there were still magnificent areas of redwood growth and there was still a true chance to have a redwood national park. We began exploring in the fifties and on into the early sixties.

Lage: Did local people have a role in shaping your views at all? You got to know a group of local people in the redwoods.

Wayburn: We became very close friends with several people in the redwoods. We are still close friends, and they played a tremendous role in the whole effort for the redwoods. There was a woman named Kay Chaffee. Does that name ring any bells with you?

Lage: Just barely.

Wayburn: She had been a WAC during World War II and knew how to fly. We used to provide the airplane that Kay would fly us around in over the redwoods. This became part of the routine exploration of the redwoods. We would drive out and meet Kay, and we would take different people with us, and we would fly them over the redwoods to see what was happening. And then, of course, Martin Litton, who was travel editor of Sunset magazine, had a plane at his disposal and used to fly people over the redwoods, which were a love of his.

#### Martin Litton as Pilot and Hike Leader###

Lage: I've heard many stories about Martin Litton as a pilot.

Wayburn: This would have been in the early sixties, and Martin had flown me up. I can't remember the exact circumstance beyond the fact that Ed was not able to go and I was able to go. At any rate, I met Martin, and he had the Sunset plane. So we flew up and we met people in the redwoods, and we hiked in the Redwood Creek area. I remember distinctly coming down the hill. One of our standard hikes in the Redwood Creek was to start on the ridge which lies to the north of the stream, and then to drop down to the water, to the stream itself, to Redwood Creek, which was river sized, not really a creek. I don't know how it ever got the name Redwood Creek. And then we would make our way back up again, and I remember this particular day and the fantastic trees we went through, going down the slope.

We came back up, and Martin was flying me back that evening, and somewhere in the East Bay Martin suddenly realized that we were running out of gas. Of course as soon as he realized it, I realized it, and it was the heart-in-throat kind of situation. It was dusk and it was getting darker, and we landed in an airfield in the East Bay. I don't remember just what airfield it was. Anyway, we had to land to get gas, and we just barely made it onto the airstrip. It was quite an exciting--

Lage: You were glad to get home then.

Wayburn: I was very glad to get home.

Lage: In other respects, aside from his airplane skills or piloting techniques, how did Martin Litton affect you, or what impressions as a conservationist--

Wayburn: Martin is--. Oh, he's a wonderful conservationist. Martin is a character. Do you know Martin?

Lage: I did interview him. I enjoyed it tremendously. He seemed to really be on the cutting edge with his ideas. Did you have that impression?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Martin was very strong and was always--. He's a very colorful person. Did I tell you the story about the New Year's hike? This would have been in 1967. This was when the fight had been going on for quite a long time, January 1, the turn of the year between 1966 and '67. The park was not established until '68, so we were still fighting. The battle had by then been going on since the mid-fifties, really, although the battle had not warmed up until the sixties. The first forays had been with officials from Washington. I guess it was in 1963 that the Park Service came out with three alternatives for a national park. But that was the culmination of the late fifties and the early sixties and the explorations that we had done then.

You must realize that these explorations were totally illegal, because the land was owned by timber companies. They were very exciting expeditions because we were always aware that we might encounter someone from the different lumber companies who would not take too happily to the fact that we were wandering around through the forest. When we would hike, we would take every precaution we could if we had to go across open meadows, which we did. In many of our routes down from the ridge into Redwood Creek we went through meadows. The logging roads also crisscrossed back and forth across the areas that we went, and we knew that the loggers carried guns.

I remember one day in particular when there were half a dozen or more of us who were going down, crossing this particular meadow--or "bald," they called them; it varies--when we heard a logging truck in the distance, and we all flung ourselves into the ditch because we would have been seen and shot at.

Lage: Did you ever have a time when you were actually threatened?

Wayburn: We were never threatened. Other people were threatened, and we heard the stories on it. We talked to the lumber companies, and we would try to get permission, and we often had permission to go in certain areas. But there were other times when we could not get the permission, and we felt that we had to see what was going on, when we would strike out on foot.

What happened on this particular New Year's Eve that I'm telling about was that Ed and I flew up--no, we didn't. We sent our children up with Hugh Nash to Jean Hagood's house. Jean Hagood, of course, in Orick, was one of our dear friends--is one of our dear friends. Jean loved to have everybody come and eat in her kitchen; there would be twenty or twenty-five of us there and it wouldn't faze her in the slightest. She would serve chili and cornbread muffins, and we would have these wonderful get-togethers in Jean's kitchen. We had sent our children up with Hugh Nash the day before because we were not able to go, and they were staying with Jean. Ed and I drove up on, I think it was on New Year's Eve. We didn't get there until one in the afternoon, or something of the sort. At any rate, Martin was all gung-ho to take a hike, and he wanted to show us Skunk Cabbage Creek. Martin was the one who often went first on these illegal expeditions.

Lage: He scouted it out first?

Wayburn: He scouted it out first. Ed and I went on the hike with Martin; Joanne Hagood was along. There were about nine of us. There were more than that on the beginning of the hike. At about 3:30 the group divided. One half of the hike went back to Hagood's, and we went on with Martin because he wanted to show us Skunk Cabbage Creek. He said there was no problem about getting back before dark. So we followed Martin, and it got darker, and it got darker, and we got into this forest, and it got darker and it got darker. There were these enormous trees, and there were many trees that were down that we had to climb over. As it became darker, of course, it became--

Lage: There were no trails, I'm assuming.

Wayburn: There were no trails at all. We were on our own, and we were following Martin. [laughter] At a certain point it got too dark to go on, because our way would be barred and you would have to literally climb; you'd have to use your mountaineering techniques to get over these logs, they were so huge. If they were criss-crossed, you were really in trouble. The downed trees were enormous.

It became obvious that we were lost and that we were not going to get back to the Hagoods'. There was nowhere for us to go but where we were. It turned out that in this group, the party of seven or eight of us, there were only four matches. The wood was damp and the ground was damp, and it was getting colder and colder. We gathered what we could of dry wood or wood that would burn, and the first three matches went out. We were down to one match, I remember, and there was this moment of holding our breath, you know, at what was going to happen. The wood caught, so we had a fire. We stood around the fire all night; there was no way we could lie down and sleep because it was cold and damp. There was a mist that came through; it was a wonderful night. Everybody told all the jokes they'd ever heard, we sang all the songs we'd ever sung. Martin had this routine where he did a conversation of blacks talking together, two black men talking together. Did this come out in the interview?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: Oh, I wish it had. I wish you could hear this. This was a time --I'm sure Martin had picked this up from radio shows. Amos and Andy kind of thing. It was an Amos and Andy. Martin did this, and we all howled with laughter. As I say, we told all our jokes and everybody's joke was hysterically funny. Oh, we howled; we had a wonderful evening. The first signs of dawn finally emerged and we started on our way out because by then we--. Also during the night, we'd all been sure, each one of us in the party had been sure that we saw the lights of somebody approaching to find us. [laughter] It had been will-o'-the-wisps.

At any rate, we agreed before we left that we would tell no one but Jean Hagood about this adventure, because we had been on Arcata [Lumber Company] property all night. We climbed home. We really weren't that far from civilization; it was just that we were lost. We found our way finally onto a logging road, or an old ranch road, whatever it was. The Skunk Cabbage Creek forest was logged of its spruce during World War I, I believe, when they wanted the light wood for aircraft.

Lage: The Sitka spruce?

Wayburn: I don't think it's Sitka. It may be Sitka spruce. Anyway, it was some kind of spruce which grew with the redwoods. The spruce had been logged so the area was not entirely virgin. There was a road that was available into the area, and we took the road out and came out at a motel on the main highway. We went in to call Jean to get a ride home because it was still a fair distance from Orick. The first thing Martin did was to go up to the woman at the motel and say, "You won't believe what we've just done."

Lage: [laughing] He couldn't keep it quiet.

Wayburn: He couldn't keep his mouth shut at all. [laughter] He told her immediately. She was fortunately--and of course you never knew when you met someone up there whether they were your bitter enemy or your dearest friend, because of the stand on the redwoods--

#### Friends and Fear in the Redwoods

Lage: What characterized the local people? How did they make their choices? Did you figure that out?

Wayburn: I don't think we ever thought about that. We just knew that most of the local people--. Well, I guess we must have acknowledged the fact that those who were earning their living by cutting down the trees were not going to favor a national park. But Jean Hagood, for example, the Hagoods had a motel. Jean's father had had the local hardware store, Webster and Chaffee was the name. Kay Chaffee's husband's family had been involved. That hardware store, the Webster and Chaffee hardware store, had been supplying the logging companies. Once Jean came out in her stand for the park, Weyerhaeuser took its money away from the hardware store and put it elsewhere. They were subject to this kind of thing, so it was not easy to be in favor of the park.

Lage: No, even if you didn't work directly for the company?

Wayburn: Right. There was tremendous hostility. Did I mention Ru Flo Harper Lee to you? The other day when we talked?

Lage: I think you may have.

Wayburn: She lived in Eureka, and her father had the original Ford agency in Eureka, selling Fords, so it was a wealthy family. Ru Flo Harper Lee was another lady who was a character and was a tremendous conservationist. She used to attend board of supervisors' meetings and stand up and sound forth on her ideas,

and was known as the "sixth supervisor." There were five supervisors in Humboldt County.

Ru Flo was threatened. She lived alone; she was widowed, and her friends used to take her home from the supervisors' meetings and search her house to be sure there was no one hiding to do away with her.

Lage: So the atmosphere was one of fear.

Wayburn: The atmosphere was very heavy. This was true for us, of course, when we visited the redwoods by car, which we mostly did. We would park our car several blocks away from the house that we were visiting so that they would not be identified with us. I remember one time when we didn't drive in, we flew up, and the airlines lost our bags. We were sure it was on purpose.  
[laughter]

Lage: Did you take your children along on those?

Wayburn: We took our children with us frequently. Laurie in particular, we took. I remember several times taking Laurie. But we took the other children, too.

Lage: Did this kind of atmosphere disturb them? Or were they not aware of it?

Wayburn: I don't know. It didn't cross our minds somehow that it would affect them. It was a very real hostile situation that we encountered.

#### Seeing the Big Picture

Lage: I've asked just a little bit about Martin Litton. Did you see him as a person who influenced you in any way? I know Dave Brower sees him as somebody who influenced his thinking, to make him take kind of a more radical stand.

Wayburn: You know, we never thought of ourselves as being radical, and I don't think it's our style. Really. So I think we saw Martin more as someone who was radical, and that was wonderful, and we were all for it. But apropos the way you think, we were radical in certain ways.



- Lage: You would support the same kind of proposal that Martin supported--the large park versus the small park. Though maybe your manner was different. Is this correct?
- Wayburn: It wasn't even supporting it. We found some of those areas. I mean, we explored before the whole park thing got going. We were--
- Lage: But the concepts that you were endorsing, of a total watershed rather than just a little showplace--
- Wayburn: That was not Martin.
- Lage: No, but it was--I don't know if the word "radical" was right--but it was a bigger picture than many conservationists had.
- Wayburn: Right.
- Lage: Do you remember how that kind of thinking developed, whether or not Martin was an influence on it?
- Wayburn: You know, what started our thinking that way was what happened to the Humboldt redwoods, after the terrible flood in 1955. Because the reason that the groves on the flat were destroyed was that the upper watershed had been logged. That was the first time, I think, that we thought in terms of the watershed, but that would have been in the fifties. So I think that would be in the back of our minds all along, and we would not think of that as being radical. Because it was an obvious fact, you know, when you saw logging in the watershed, and we saw it.
- I remember driving up into the upper part of the Humboldt redwoods watershed there--the Bull Creek watershed--and just being aghast at the whole hillside slipping down, after the flooding. What a graphic demonstration. We did that trip with the logging companies. I can't remember whether that was Weyerhaeuser or not that was involved in that logging, but I remember one of the lumber company men saying, "Well, there are natural slides all the time up here," and of course, if nature does it, what's so awful about us doing it? When, of course, the obvious answer is, well, if you could see those things happening, you would realize that this was unstable soil. But that was the justification, that nature did it. I think that may have been the same party when one of the people from the lumber company in the redwood grove looked at one immense redwood and said, "It would make five hundred houses," or whatever it was.
- Lage: How do you argue with a person who has that different a point of view from yours? How do you relate?

Wayburn: You don't. [laughs] You don't relate.

Lage: You didn't find a way to--

Wayburn: Well, how can you possibly, when someone like that sees the tree strictly in terms of square footage, or whatever, or volume of wood, and you don't see the tree that way at all? It's very hard to find common ground. You find common ground in courtesy, is the only thing, and I don't think we ever changed the mind of any of those lumbermen, any more than they changed our minds. We tried to understand their point of view. I don't know that they even tried to understand ours. [laughter]

Lage: Well, I think the picture we're getting is that your views developed from seeing the areas.

Wayburn: I think so. I know mine did. And becoming aware of so much that I had never been aware of in my life earlier. I'm really very grateful. I'm very grateful I married Ed. [laughter] It was the best thing I ever did.

Lage: That's nice to be able to say forty-three years later.

Wayburn: Yes, it is.

Lage: I think we'll end on that note today. We've had a pretty long session.

Wayburn: Yes, we have.

Helping Write the First Redwoods Advertisement##

[Interview 2: March 6, 1990]

Lage: I realize that we didn't really get too much on the redwoods last time, particularly on the ads. I thought that was significant that you did have a role in the ads. Would you talk about that, what your role was with the ads?

Wayburn: Yes. As I had mentioned to you before, I had been a copywriter with J. Walter Thompson at the time that Ed and I were married. So I had a background in advertising, and I was always interested in the ads. At the time these were coming out, it was a big new effort on the part of the club. It was expensive, too; you know, the ads were in the New York Times as well as in Western papers.

- Lage: And were the redwoods the first ad, then? Maybe you could refresh my memory on that.
- Wayburn: No, the first ad was on the Grand Canyon, and Dave Brower was really the one who initiated the whole idea of the ads. We had Freeman & Gossage, copywriters. I remember that the one ad in particular--. Of course, when Ed was president, he signed the ads as president of the club and was very closely involved, and actually had an input into the ads. Freeman & Gossage was very nice to work with. They were interested in and approved of the whole endeavor and so forth. But the one ad that I remember in particular on the redwoods where I had the idea, was the open letter to the president: "Dear Mr. President," about the redwoods. That came to me, I do remember, on returning from a trip into the redwoods, when we were driving back. It was a very spontaneous thought, and I threw it out to Ed and he thought it was a good idea.
- Lage: Was this in '65? I found two redwood ads that addressed the president.
- Wayburn: The first one was my idea. But the first one--
- Lage: Okay. This was--. An open letter--
- Wayburn: An open letter to the president.
- Lage: "--to President Johnson on the last chance really to save the redwoods." [December 15, 1965]
- Wayburn: That's right. And then the second one was done as a follow-up.
- Lage: A couple of years later.
- Wayburn: Right.
- Lage: "There's one great forest of redwoods that's left on the earth, but the one you're trying to save isn't it."
- Wayburn: That's right.
- Lage: Were those successful?
- Wayburn: Oh, I think the ads played a significant role in what happened in our effort for the redwoods. They were unusual for that time, anyway. I mean, I don't know of any other conservation group that had done such a thing. So they were eye-catching. Whether they paid for themselves or not, I'm not sure.

Lage: I think most of them did, from what I've heard. Of those early ones.

Wayburn: Ed probably has this in his history, whether or not they paid for themselves. There was the same thing with the books, you know, that a tremendous amount went into the production of the books and they did not pay for themselves. That was one of the real major financial problems that the club faced.

Lage: You mentioned that you even thought for a time about going to work for Freeman & Gossage.

Wayburn: Oh, I just--the thought occurred to me when we were into the ads, and I knew Freeman & Gossage, and I had entertained the idea. But I had four young children, so it was no more than entertaining an idea. I didn't follow through on it.

Lage: But it was a little intriguing.

Wayburn: It was intriguing to me, yes.

Lage: Did you work with Jerry Mander [another member of the Freeman and Gossage firm] as well?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: It seems like a very creative outfit.

Wayburn: It was a very creative outfit. And of course the loss of Howard Gossage was very sad. He died, I think it may have been in the early seventies, but much too young. I know Ed went in and saw him in the hospital just before he died. Ed at that time was practicing medicine.

The ads were a very good endeavor, I think. And of course they did continue.

Lage: Right. I saw one just recently.

Planting the Idea for the Redwood National Park with Stewart Udall

Lage: The other thing I was thinking in connection with the redwoods--it seems that you had a lot of contact with public officials in an informal way and maybe more formal kind of lobbying.

Wayburn: Oh, we had a tremendous amount of conversation with and--. We became among the major players in the role of--well, we were part protagonists, but we knew the people who were in the redwood business, we knew the county supervisors in Humboldt County. And we knew the people in the area who were directly involved, and as I mentioned, there were some people who really went out on a limb for the redwood park. And then we knew the people in Washington. So, yes, we were very, very close.

Now, I don't know; do we want to anticipate the 1961 Wilderness Conference when I talked to [Secretary of Interior] Stewart Udall, or do you want to take that later?

Lage: I think we should talk about that now.

Wayburn: All right. Well, what happened at that time was that--and I will answer some of the questions you have here--Doris Leonard had asked me to co-chair with her the wilderness conference in 1961. She had been the guiding spirit of the wilderness conferences during the fifties. It was as a co-chair that I agreed that I would do this, because of the work involved and the fact, as I say, that I did have a young family. Well, then Doris dropped out, and I can remember this feeling of abandonment, because I'd had no idea that she was going to drop out or I would never have taken it on. So I was it.

Lage: Dorothy Varian is listed as your co-secretary general. Was she--

Wayburn: She didn't do a great deal.

Lage: She wasn't active?

Wayburn: No. In 1961 she wasn't that much involved.

Lage: It's in the wilderness conference book, I believe.

Wayburn: Well, she may be, because--. I just know that she was not deeply involved. I don't remember her taking much part in planning sessions or anything.

Lage: So it fell on you.

Wayburn: It was on me, and this turned out to be, I think, a real milestone. It was a very exciting conference to put on. We had planning sessions with a lot of ideas sparking around, and we had I guess the most glittering array of stars at that conference that we ever had in any event. I mean, we had the secretary of the Interior, we had the governor of the state, we had William O.

Douglas from the Supreme Court, we had outstanding people in the fields of literature and conservation, and we had other local scholars. We had other conservationists with us, we had writers, Forest Service, we had Park Service--I mean, we were really right in there. At the banquet, which was a marvelous occasion, I hope, although I think it's probably a dim hope, that someone recorded it, because of the extemporaneous speeches that were made. Bill Douglas made this marvelous speech about Lady Chatterley's Lover. I don't know if you read that or not--

Lage: No.

Wayburn: Well, he was talking about the art of gamesmanship and so forth, and he read this excerpt from some book review of Lady Chatterley's Lover which said that you could really learn about the art of gamesmanship and sports and so forth from this book, but there was a lot of extraneous matter. [laughter]

So that evening was glittering. I sat next to Stewart Udall by design, and during our dinner conversation, I--. He had come out with this great endorsement of the national park idea and all that Kennedy was going to do, and he was going to be a great conservation president even as Teddy Roosevelt had been. So I was sitting next to him and I said, "I think your first park should be a redwood national park." He said, "What are you talking about?"

Lage: It was a new idea?

Wayburn: It was a whole new idea to him. He didn't even know what a redwood tree was. After the conference was over, he was interested in the idea, and I said, "I'll send you a book to tell you what a redwood is." After the conference, Bill Douglas was around and I gave him--I don't know if you know those little University of California books on the flora and the fauna of the Bay Area?

Lage: Yes.

Wayburn: So I sent back one on the forests, on the trees of the Bay Area, via Bill Douglas to Stewart Udall, and that was his introduction to the redwoods.

Lage: That's an amazing story, that he was completely--

Wayburn: He was not aware of what redwoods were.

Lage: He was thinking along the lines of a canyonlands park [Utah], most likely.

Wayburn: I guess. Yes. Well, I mean, the part of the world that he came from and that he had traveled in was not exposed to the redwoods. After all, the redwoods are more or less a California--or were a California phenomenon.

Lage: That's true, and I think we forget, probably, now that they're so well known and the redwood tree has been taken to Washington on display.

Wayburn: It's quite true. I think we used to--. I don't think I knew anything about redwoods when I was growing up. And you thought about the forests of the Northwest, but that was it; you didn't know what kind of forests you were thinking about. Logging was a fairly romantic endeavor at that point.

Lage: And forests are so different in the East.

Wayburn: Totally different, and of course were all second growth. They were all cut right off as soon as the Europeans started landing on the East Coast. There was this wonderful line, I think it was in one of the wilderness conferences, where the Pilgrims fell upon their knees as soon as they landed, and then they fell upon the forest.

Lage: So that was Udall's introduction.

Wayburn: That was Udall's introduction to the redwoods.

Lage: Did you have a continuing relationship with him?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. And I'm sure that this will be in Ed's history, because I know we would go to Washington, and we would always meet with Udall. I can remember meeting in the Secretary of the Interior's office. One of the things that sticks in my mind was that he had a lot of Indian art that was on display as you went in, including a howling coyote, which was a particular style of work. I have one in Bolinas; it's done in wood. He had a high one like that. I have one about six inches high and he had one about two and a half feet high, which disappeared when Udall disappeared. I mean, the touches that I remember, going into the office, you'd walk down a long corridor with all these Indian art pieces, which was very nice.

Incidentally, the coyote was an Eastern--a Southern Indian art form from the East Coast, not from the West, which was interesting.

Lage: Not from the Southwest originally?

Wayburn: No. But he had Indian works from all over. If I remember, I'll pick that up and bring it in, just to show it to you; it's kind of fun.

Lage: When you would approach Udall and [John] Carver and others, did you and Ed have a planned-out way of working at all; how you would divide the roles of the two of you?

Wayburn: No, we went in, and Ed was definitely the leader in this kind of thing. He was the one who always knew exactly what we were talking about, much more than I did. I mean, he would have a mental map of the area going, and I can remember going in to see Udall and spreading out maps on the floor, and kneeling around to look at the various areas. But Ed was the one who would be able to go to the map and say, "And this and this and this," and he would remember the names of the streams that bounded the area.

Lage: Did Udall get absorbed in this kind of presentation?

Wayburn: Oh, I think he was extremely interested. But he also discovered soon on that it was a mare's nest, because of the power of the logging interests that were involved in the redwoods. And specifically in Weyerhaeuser, which was the parent company of the operator who had Redwood Creek. Those were and are very powerful people in the United States, and particularly at that time. This was one of the very first challenges that ever had arisen. I guess it was the first one as far as a major forest was concerned. I mean, now they're screaming because there's hardly anything left, and we're trying to save that. But then, this would have been the very first assault on the whole idea of their controlling the timber.

Lage: And the idea of purchasing private lands for national parks was new. [Cape Cod National Seashore, authorized in 1961, was the first that required purchase of private lands.]

Wayburn: It was very new. Actually, I think Point Reyes was the first one, or one of the first [where private lands were purchased]. Point Reyes was authorized in '62 and this was '68, actually, when the redwoods bill finally went through. The wilderness conference when I spoke to Udall was '61, so there had not even been the actual passage of the Point Reyes and Cape Cod legislation.

I can remember on Point Reyes--just a little aside on this--that when we were in the fight for Point Reyes, there was a hunting club, you may know, which was located in the area that's in the park. It was called the Bolema Club. A man named Douglas



Hertz was the man in charge. This club was--the members included a lot of very wealthy local people and members of the establishment, and Douglas Hertz was outraged at the idea of this being purchased. I mean, it was--after all, it was his livelihood and it was a way of life that he subscribed to completely, that the wealthier people would have their hunting club. I can remember him saying in great outrage: "Why, there's never been, in the history of the United States, there's never been the sale of private land back to the public for a park." He didn't put it in those words, but the whole idea of the government acquiring land for a park was so foreign to the time and particularly to this man I just happen to remember his real outrage, and his face got very red.

Lage: Well, that helps put us back in the time. We've become accustomed to the idea of purchasing private lands, but it was something new at the time.

Wayburn: Yes, it was entirely new.

Lage: Ed does describe in his interview that Udall was a tremendous disappointment to him. Did you have that same--

Wayburn: Well, I think Ed had more of the feeling than I did. I may have been forgiving him because political pressures were pretty major on him. But he had--I'm sure he was genuinely enthusiastic when he started out, and of course, as I said, this particular wilderness conference came at a moment when I think many ideas were forming or were being formulated or had been formulated about trying to save what we have left in the way of wilderness and potential parklands. It sparked a lot of interest in a broad segment of the community, so I think Udall was quite serious and was interested. But then I think he went up against the realities of life in Washington. After all, in 1961 he was a pretty new player on the political scene.

Lage: That's right. So there were a lot of pressures.

Wayburn: Yes.

#### Newton Drury, John Carver, and the Redwood Park

Lage: And did it seem to you it was more the lumber interests that had the power rather than the circle of conservationists that Save-the-Redwoods League represents?

Wayburn: Definitely. And I have always felt, and I--. Newton Drury, you know, was--he remained on very friendly terms with the logging interests. Of course, that was one of the major disappointments, was the failure of the Save-the-Redwoods League to go along with the big park that we wanted. They wanted the Mill Creek drainage protected, and we wanted Redwood Creek and Mill Creek.

I can remember a luncheon with Newton Drury. I didn't tell you this before?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: During the fight for the redwoods, Newton, of course, was very senior. He was older and he had a distinguished record in the field of parks. And he, incidentally, was short-sighted in many ways, as we came to know as we became better acquainted with him. I don't know if you know that the whole Stinson Beach area, for example, had been offered by the Kents when they felt they were land-poor. (This was in the 1930s.) They had owned the Stinson Beach area, which is now Seadrift. They had offered it again to the state in the early 1950s on the basis of matching funds, and they would make the donation of the land and the state would pay half. And Newton Drury turned it down because it was not "first class."

Lage: So he had this--

Wayburn: So this was the kind of thing he did. I remember this particular luncheon, which was downtown in San Francisco, and as I remember, it was at one of the older restaurants which are no longer surviving now. We were talking, and he was talking in favor of Mill Creek, and we were coming down hard on Redwood Creek, and I said to him, "Well, why don't we just go for both?" I said, "Then we could both endorse the others." He kind of smiled at me in a benign way as though he were sort of patting me on the head, you know. But he was unwilling to accept that idea at all.

Lage: Did he give a reason?

Wayburn: No. He just acted as though I were being out of order. [laughter] But looking back on it, I don't know; I think there had been an agreement between the Save-the-Redwoods League and the timber industry, and I think that Newton was honoring it. I can see no other reason why he should have been so weak-kneed about the whole idea. He never embraced the national park idea [in the redwoods] that fully. And when you read the history of the Save-the-Redwoods League and realize that they had actually --. I would feel this might have been an agreement that was made in the twenties or in the thirties when Newton Drury was head of

the Save-the-Redwoods League. Then they were acquiring land from the timber companies on the terms of the timber companies, not on the terms of the national park idea at all. State parks were okay, but national parks were out.

And then, of course, it was with Newton Drury that the freeway was allowed to go through Humboldt Redwoods. And that was an accommodation again, where the bigger picture was not taken into account. It was just supposed to be one little narrow freeway. Well, you know what this does when you're standing in the Humboldt groves and you hear the sound of cars going by. It didn't have to be. what was lost didn't have to be.

Lage: You don't have any--. The idea of Newton Drury having an agreement with the lumber companies--

Wayburn: --is strictly in my head.

Lage: It's a way of trying to explain the way he behaved.

Wayburn: Yes. Otherwise, I cannot figure out--. I'm sure it was a gentleman's agreement, and Newton was a great gentleman, you know. I don't mean to deprecate what he did do, because he did a lot of awfully good things, but he didn't do a lot of good things that we were fighting for.

Lage: It seems almost a generational thing, in a way.

Wayburn: Yes. Yes, it does.

Lage: Although maybe that's not a good explanation for it.

Wayburn: And then there was Emanuel Fritz, you know, with Save-the-Redwoods League. I remember one of his great remarks. On some trip up to the redwoods, he was shown an area that had recently been logged, and the timber company was saying they had so much problem with the elk and the deer grazing on their potential trees and so forth. When Emanuel Fritz was shown this cutover area he said, "My, mighty big elk, weren't they?" [laughter] Funny little things that come into your mind. I remember another remark that Emanuel Fritz--or some other wag--made: you know that when redwoods were first named, they were almost called "bastard cedars"? Well, imagine a Save-the-Bastard-Cedar League and how far that would have gotten! Or imagine Bastard Cedar National Park!

Lage: There's so much on the redwoods, that I hate to even ask you, is there anything else we should say?

Wayburn: Well, there's a lot. I could say more about the redwoods. I mean, when we took Carver up, Martin Litton would fly us up. Martin was wonderful, you know, with all of this. And whenever there was someone that we felt was important to show the redwoods to, Martin would make a way to fly the person up.

Lage: Let's talk about Carver, and getting Carver involved.

Wayburn: There was an area known as Blue Creek which we were very interested in at that time. It's all cut now; it's all gone. We went to Blue Creek and we thought even then--this would have been in the early sixties--even then there was a fading chance for a national park. There were many areas in the redwoods that were known historically to have been fantastic. There was a drainage called the Ahpah, which is supposed to have been one of the most beautiful of all. But by the time we came on the scene, the Ahpah had been logged.

Lage: Were they local people who told you about these?

Wayburn: Yes. The Ahpah drainage, for example, was supposed to have been very sacred to the Indians.

Anyway, we took Carver up and showed him around, and we took many people up. Trying to remember some of the others, but at the moment I'm not.

Lage: Did Carver show an understanding of having a larger park?

Wayburn: Carver was interested. There were others we took up in particular, from Washington, who were also interested. Carver showed an interest, but he didn't fight for what we wanted the way we were fighting for what we wanted. He was not a strong ally for us. As a matter of fact, he took credit in an article in the forests magazine, or--do you know the magazine?

Lage: American Forests?

Wayburn: I believe that was it. He took credit for having initiated the idea of a Redwood National Park, and I should, at the time, have written in and said, "I beg to differ." I was busy, and something came up and it went out of my mind. I never did correct that, but he was not the first to talk to the administration about Redwood National Park. I was. [laughter]

## IV COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT, 1950s-1960s

Alamo School, Florence Crittendon Home

Lage: I want to cover a few more things that we overlooked and then get more into the wilderness conferences, because they really are a very exciting part of history that I don't think has been talked about enough. But let's go on to--we never covered kind of the non-Sierra Club things. What else was happening in your life?

Wayburn: I was very much involved. I was president of the Mothers' Club at Alamo School. Alamo is the elementary school, the local public elementary school. The Mothers' Club was very active. We had "adopted" the John Swett School, and we used to have fundraising for the John Swett. We all made it a point to have--when you are tired of a dress or something and you give it to the thrift shop and the shop sells it for profit-making as the Junior League Shop does, as the Symphony Shop does, and so forth--we would have what we called the I. Magnin Room and we would all take in our clothes. The mothers at John Swett would come and pick out what they wanted. And you know, looking back on it, apropos of maternalism or whatever divisions in the society at that time, that was the kind of thing that happened. The John Swett mothers were very grateful. It could never happen now, ever.

At any rate, at the Mothers' Club we would have a fair every year, and an auction, and we were very active; we met frequently. I worked closely with the teachers of my children. All through elementary school I was very friendly with the teachers at Alamo and with the principal. I remember a couple of things in particular that were important to me at the time. First of all, we did not have a television, and the fifties was a big era of TV. I can even remember ads for TV that said, "Don't deprive your children of this." We deprived our children of television. When Cynthia went into, I think it was into second grade, they had an IQ test which was based on TV characters, and Cynthia did terribly in this--Cynthia, who's one of our brightest children

and who's turned out to be an extremely bright woman. The principal called me up and said, "I hate to tell you, Mrs. Wayburn, but I'm afraid your daughter is retarded." [laughs]

Lage: Oh, you are kidding.

Wayburn: I am not kidding.

Lage: Was the principal kidding?

Wayburn: Well, Cynthia didn't know who Captain Kangaroo was, you know. [laughter] I mean, it was that kind of thing.

Our daughter Laurie had asthma very badly when she was a child, and because of that I worked especially with Laurie's teachers because she was absent a lot from school and I didn't want her to get behind. So I learned the "new math," which at that time, that was the name of it--the "new math." This would have been in the sixties, in the early sixties. It was a new way of approaching mathematics and was quite different, and involved sets and involved all sorts of different ways of doing things from what I had learned. But I learned the whole thing, and it was supposed to be a very wonderful way to learn math. And of course it's long since been discredited. But I used to work with Laurie's teachers, so being involved in the school was a big part of my life. We had a big house, and I can remember entertaining for the Mothers' Club, and the principal would be there and the various teachers would come. So that was part of what I was doing.

I was also on the board for the Florence Crittendon Home, which again was a mark of that particular society, or times, when any girl who had a baby who was not married was considered someone whom you really had to help because she was outside the social mores, and this was not done. Florence Crittendon Home had been established by a wealthy benefactor who had left his money for this particular circumstance in memory of his daughter Florence, who had not had a baby as far as I know. Anyway, this was the idea, and I was active in that. I did writing for them, I did a pamphlet for them. This meant meetings and activities and--

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Wayburn: I can remember being in several fashion shows where the children were involved: we would have these fashion shows in places like the Fairmont or the St. Francis, and we'd have a big luncheon and we'd have a big fundraising. It was, in a way, a social thing to do because our pictures would be in the paper and we would be

written up, and so forth. It was more of a social outfit than the Mothers' Club, which was really a community or neighborhood kind of thing.

Dorothy Erskine and Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks

Wayburn: And then I was on the Point Reyes foundation board, and I was on Audubon Canyon Ranch board, when it was first established. And then, of course, there was always the Sierra Club.

Lage: Yes, always. And the other one we don't want to forget is the Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks. Talk a little bit about that and Dorothy Erskine's role.

Wayburn: Yes, well, early on we became acquainted with Dorothy Erskine, and we were very, very good friends. She and I were quite close together for many, many years. Dorothy was a wonderful mover and shaker in the community. Her scope was the Bay Area. We were working on things in the Bay Area as well as outside the Bay Area on a broader scope, really, than Dorothy was. But I don't know --I think Dorothy has made a tremendous difference in the way the Bay Area is now, because she was thinking regionally at a time when regional planning was unknown, and it was through her--.

She used to have these soirees; she would have a dinner party in her house. She had this wonderful place which was on Chestnut Street overlooking the Bay. Two thirty-three Chestnut. She would get all the people involved; she would get the people from the different counties, and she would get local people who were interested in conservation, and officials, and--she knew everybody, and she would get them into her house and then we would have a meeting and we would discuss the ideas that Dorothy had brought forward.

Lage: Was this on an informal basis or was this the--

Wayburn: Informal. I mean, this was the way she did things. She knew everybody, and she loved to call up early in the morning. I can remember so many times the phone would ring at a quarter to eight, and I would be trying desperately to get my day underway. It would be Dorothy. [laughter] It was one of her hallmarks. She was one of these people to whom it was very difficult to say no, because she had such great ideas and she was so obviously selfless. I've never known a more selfless person. She was working for a bigger good, and she was wonderful.

At any rate, she conceived the idea of this Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks and asked me to help her draw up the by-laws. I can remember sitting in her home--actually, I think it was two flats, possibly three flats. Anyway, it was a building that she and her husband had put up, I believe in the thirties, and they had bought this lot. Think about it now; the place is probably worth several million dollars. I can remember her saying that I think they paid something like thirty thousand dollars to get the building done and what an enormous sum of money that had been.

### Physician's Wife

Wayburn: I also helped a woman named Carolyn Charles to draw up bylaws for another organization. I don't know why people picked on me to draw up the bylaws.

Lage: Yes, I was wondering that. Is this a legal background we don't know about?

Wayburn: This is something I have no idea about. In both cases it was older women, and I think maybe they were thinking of me as a protégé. Looking back on it, I can't think of any other reason.

But Carolyn Charles was very active in the community. She was another woman who was very selfless. But her volunteer work was more on the social ills and on the medical side. Her husband was a well-known lawyer, by the way. Carolyn and I drew up the bylaws for the women's auxiliary at the Pacific Presbyterian Medical Center. The medical center, you know, was a continuation of the Stanford Medical School, and the Presbyterian church took over as a totally non-denominational, of course. But at any rate, the plant had been acquired when Stanford moved its medical school down to Palo Alto in the late fifties. I worked with Carolyn on that, and I was also involved in the women's auxiliary.

Lage: And then you stayed on working with them.

Wayburn: I stayed on, and I was also involved in the women's auxiliary of the San Francisco County Medical Association.

Lage: So these are things that went along with being a physician's wife?

Wayburn: Yes, particularly the auxiliary to the medical society. I did quite a lot there, too.



Help with Home and Children

Wayburn: As I say, looking back on it, I have no idea how I managed it. I did have wonderful help; I had a woman who worked for me. She just died last year. She worked for me for thirty-six years.

Lage: Is she the woman I met when I was interviewing Ed?

Wayburn: Yes, Mary Watson.

Lage: Right. She seemed wonderful.

Wayburn: She was wonderful. Mary used to come--. I was ahead of my time when I hired Mary, because that would have been in 1952. Yes, 1952, and she died in 1989. Mary, when I hired her, I hired her to work five days a week to come in the morning and to feed the children and leave at five in the afternoon, and not to work on weekends unless I paid her extra. And of course that was not the way most people had people working for them as maids or as--

Lage: Now, what was the usual?

Wayburn: Full time, and Thursday afternoon off.

Lage: Oh, and they worked on the weekends also.

Wayburn: And they worked on weekends, too. Possibly Sunday off. But the five-day week was not the ordinary way to have domestic help. When I grew up, the help that my mother had was full time.

Lage: Now, why did you do it this way?

Wayburn: I thought it was a good idea. [laughter] It worked out very well. Mary would feed the children, because Ed was late getting home. As a doctor, as a practicing physician, he would often not get home until quite late, and then he and I would have dinner. Mary would have fixed it, and we would have dinner, and then if the children were still up they would all have dessert with us so that they were with their father. But in the meantime they would have been playing or doing homework or whatever. It was a system that worked reasonably well. And then we had the children to ourselves on the weekends. Mary would come--she did not live in, you see--but she would come and live in when we went away.

Lage: So she could look after the children.

Wayburn: So she could take care of the children. But also, my parents were around, and they would, when we just had Cynthia and even after we had Cynthia, Bill, and Diana, my parents would take them. They had a place in Carmel. Then we had a wonderful German woman who worked for us named Hattie Kruger who came for two weeks when Cynthia was born and stayed for the rest of her life. She would come in and cook, and even when I had Mary, Hattie would come twice a week and cook. Hattie was sixty-nine when she came to work for us, and she died when she was eighty-two. She had moved over to the Oakland Old People's Home--German Old People's Home in Oakland; she'd bought herself in over there. She would get dressed up in a suit and fur piece--her pride!--and come across the Bay and cook for me.  
[laughs]

Lage: It's amazing.

Wayburn: It was wonderful.

Lage: Well, that does help, but it still must have taken a lot of organization to get all these things in.

Wayburn: As I say, now that I conserve my energy as much as I can and figure out how I'm going to fit things into a day that is far less pressured, I wonder how I did it. But youth is a wonderful thing.

Lage: [laughter] That's right.

Wayburn: And I thought nothing of it, you know. It was just the way it was.

#### People for Open Space

Lage: Let's just mention that Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks became--

Wayburn: --later became People for Open Space.

Lage: And were you involved in that change?

Wayburn: Yes, I was involved in that change. What happened was that there was a group known as People for Open Space, and they went out of business, so to speak. It was another volunteer group, I

believe. We were offered the name, and of course it's a much better name than Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks.

Lage: With a broader concept, too, it seems.

Wayburn: Yes. Although Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks was very important in getting--. Actually, ABAG [Association of Bay Area Governments] and then the regional planning, and BCDC [Bay Conservation and Development Commission]--all those things were influenced, I'm sure, by the work that the Citizens' group did. And then People for Open Space continued the effort, and I'm kind of sorry now that the name has been changed to the Greenbelt Alliance. People for Open Space, I felt, was a pretty good name. I was on the board of that for many, many, years. There were two representatives from each Bay Area county, and I was one of the representatives for San Francisco for many years. We had a meeting of the board when the name possibility came up--the possibility of People for Open Space--and I was one of the people who was in on the decision.

Lage: Was there a staff with that organization?

Wayburn: You know, I'm trying to remember. It seems to me that we did have a part-time staff. There was an office in the building next to Gump's, on Post Street, and we used to meet there. We also, of course, had met at Dorothy's home in the beginning. But that was a very good group. I think it still is. I stayed on the advisory board for many years after that.

"Marrying the Sierra Club": Ed's Role in the Club

Lage: You said earlier, "And then there was always the Sierra Club." We haven't talked about the Bay Chapter and the Conservation Committee. Was that something that took your time as well as Ed's?

Wayburn: Conservation Committee was a big part of my life. The Bay Chapter was not so much. That was in the late forties that Ed was on the executive committee of the Bay Chapter. I remember--just because it's history, I'll repeat it--but I remember one night he--. I guess I was pregnant with Cynthia. He came in from an executive committee meeting, and he had this funny look on his face, and he said, "Well, I'm not chairman any more; Chuck Apple is going to be the chairman." Chuck Apple, I don't know what ever happened to him.

Lage: Never heard his name.

Wayburn: Never heard his name since, but apparently he was very anxious to be chairman. From the Bay Chapter, Ed went into the national, on the Conservation Committee, in the early fifties, and that was a big deal, the Conservation Committee chair.

Lage: There was only one Conservation--

Wayburn: There was only one Conservation Committee, and of course the club was, what, seven to ten thousand members. But it had a big job because it was nationwide; I mean, we were considering things outside of California even then. The whole move to go national was underway in the club, and Ed played a major role in that. Ed played a major role in almost all the things that happened during this period with the Sierra Club.

Lage: During the fifties and on.

Wayburn: During the fifties and the sixties, and of course, he's continued in the seventies and the eighties. But he was one of the people who made a lot of decisions that changed the character of the club from the more or less local group, although it had never been entirely local, to become national. And now, of course, he's very concerned that we become international in the efforts of the club.

Lage: Now we look at him as an old-timer in the club, but in those early fifties he was sort of a newcomer.

Wayburn: He was a newcomer.

Lage: And there were many real old-timers.

Wayburn: Yes, there were.

Lage: Was that a problem? Did he have problems kind of making his way then?

Wayburn: Oh, I don't think so. Ed is a very--he's an extraordinary person because he doesn't let anything stop him. He doesn't. If he sees something and he's convinced that that's the way things should go, things go that way. He is tenacious. And he's also very diplomatic, and he is able to talk on a one-on-one basis with almost anyone, courteously and without losing his temper in an attempt to see what the other person wants to say. But there were strong characters involved in what was then the old-timers. Francis Farquhar, Bestor Robinson, Dick Leonard, Dave Brower. Of course, Dave was not quite as old, but Dave was, even then, he

had been in on many things with the club earlier on. In climbing and--

Lage: --Sierra Club Bulletin activities.

Wayburn: Yes. So while he was not that old, he was an old-timer as far as the club went. No, the old guard had a lot of different ideas. In particular, Bestor Robinson, who was the devil's advocate quite often, although I'm not sure he intended to be the devil's advocate. I think he intended to be the advocate. [laughter] But Ed always said he found him very useful, because he would bring up things that they could anticipate would be brought up [by opponents] in many of the areas.

Lage: Probably helps having someone like that around.

Wayburn: It's not a bad idea. We used to go to Harold Bradley's house to the Conservation Committee meeting once a month, and when we went we would nearly always have dinner first with the Breckenfelds, I think I mentioned having met them on the High Trip. So it was always a very pleasant outing from the city. Mary would stay with the children.

Lage: In an earlier meeting you told me that you married the Sierra Club.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Were you also on the Conservation Committee?

Wayburn: No, I was not. No, I would just come in and--

Lage: Did other wives get involved in this way?

Wayburn: Not really. But I worked with Ed all during the period of the fifties and the sixties.

Lage: And you were doing the "Bulletin Board," too, which must have come out of the Conservation Committee activities.

Wayburn: Oh, yes, it did. Very definitely. I was doing that, and I was also doing other articles for the Bulletin. So I was participating in the fact that I was writing, and I used to work with Ed in editing what would go out from him. So that I was involved in that, too. So I was busy. Plus having children's activities. There was a time there where I would be driving children here and there. We had dancing school when my children were young, and I can remember having to take them to dancing school.

Lage: Was this ballet, or was this--

Wayburn: No, this was social dancing. Apropos of the way the world has changed.

The other thing I did, and I'm glad I did, looking back on it, was to initiate--and this was through the Mothers' Club at Alamo--to initiate after-school classes in French and Spanish. I had learned French when I was a little girl, and I had been always so grateful because it's made French very easy for me my whole life. I wanted my children to have it and thought it was a good idea to have it for all the kids. The Mothers' Club had scholarships--that was the other thing we did--for children who could not afford it. They could come in and take the class. We had a very nice program going, teaching both French and Spanish after school, so our children were exposed also, early on.

## V THE WILDERNESS CONFERENCES

Dorothy and Russell Varian

- Lage: Let's get into the wilderness conferences now. We could never relate all the activities you were involved in in those years, but I think we have a pretty good picture. We talked a little about the 1961 Wilderness Conference; I want to ask you more specifically--
- Wayburn: Well, you know, I'm trying to remember more about Dorothy Varian. This is amazing to me that I have no recollection of her taking part. She must have taken part. She was a good friend--
- Lage: Maybe she stepped in when Doris dropped out.
- Wayburn: I really just don't remember. I'm going to have to ask Ed if he remembers what Dorothy did on this. She must have come to the planning sessions. She must have been involved, but I don't think of her at all in connection with the wilderness conferences. She was a good friend, and she and Russell Varian were friends of ours.

I don't know if you knew that the place they had in Cupertino had been carefully selected by Russell. And it was a large place, over an acre. I don't remember if it was two acres, but it was a big piece of land well outside of Cupertino at that time. Russell wanted to have a garden, a year-round garden, so that there would always be something fresh on the table from the garden. He had peaches, and he had avocados, and he had all kinds of things that would come into season at different times of the year. They had a wonderful swimming pool, and they used to lend me the house and the swimming pool to take the children to during the summer. I used to drive down, and we would stay a few days at the place when Dorothy was not there and wasn't using it.

So we had a nice friendship, and I think a lot of Dorothy; she's a very fine woman.

Lage: Were they strongly involved in the club? What would their role have been?

Wayburn: I think probably through the Leonards. Dick Leonard was very close to Russell Varian and actually, at the time that Russell died, they were on a trip with the Leonards. I guess they had either rented or had somehow been in a boat, and landing at Juneau, Russell stepped off of the boat and just collapsed on the pier and died. So it was very sudden, and a real tough one. But Dorothy, you know, worked with Doris Leonard. I'm sure you know this.

Lage: Right. And George Collins.

Wayburn: Yes, and George Collins, in the Conservation Associates. I do remember. But I surely don't remember her at the wilderness conference. Anyway, our first wilderness conference [1961] was very exciting.

"America's Living Heritage," 1961

Lage: How was the theme [America's Living Heritage] developed? I know you had a planning committee--

Wayburn: We early on, the planning committee, got together, and we were trying to find some arena that would broaden the scope of the idea of wilderness. Whose idea this was, whose particular idea--Wilderness and the American Heritage--I really don't know who had the idea.

Lage: It was a beautifully put together thing. I looked over the book<sup>1</sup> again, and the balance and, as you say, the--

Wayburn: It was exciting. We had such an interesting group of people.

Lage: Was there a concerted effort to not just broaden the idea of wilderness, but to make the wilderness conference a broader affair? With more important figures?

Wayburn: Definitely. We wanted to launch it as a bigger event. That was deliberately done.

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<sup>1</sup>Wilderness: America's Living Heritage, ed. David Brower (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1961).



Lage: Who were the interested people in that? Was that you and Ed, mainly, or were there a whole group of people?

Wayburn: Everyone, I think, became interested in that. We had John B. de C. M. Saunders as chairman.

Lage: He was the chancellor at UC San Francisco Medical School.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: How did he become involved?

Wayburn: Ed got him into this. He was a very distinguished man, a great scholar, absolutely delightful man.

Lage: Was he someone who'd had an interest in the environment?

Wayburn: No, Ed definitely roped him into this, and--

Lage: He had a big role.

Wayburn: He had a big role. He was excellent on the planning, and he had a very broad scholastic outlook on the world and was brilliant. Is brilliant. I haven't seen John in a long time, but--

Lage: Did he have connections with any of the people that you invited?

Wayburn: I expect he must have, although looking at the list, they were pretty much outside of the medical field. People like Joseph Wood Krutch and Hans Huth. But Saunders would write letters, you know, and sign them Chancellor and so forth and so on, and he was just great. So we had a good planning committee. Dave [Brower] took part in this, and Dave, I can remember, put the finger on such people as Joe Penfold of the Izaak Walton League and other conservationists who were involved.

#### Broadening the Scope and the Audience

Lage: How about [Supreme Court Justice] William O. Douglas? Who had brought him into the club? [He was a member of the club board of directors, 1960-1962.]

Wayburn: I don't know. It may have been Dave. I can remember going on a trip [in 1959] with William O. Douglas and Mercedes, his wife number two. We had to come out early because it was Laurie's

first day in school. But this was a trip in the Sierra, and under Banner and Ritter Peak. I remember distinctly that it was a very interesting outing, and Bill Douglas was delightful and Mercedes was delightful. Even then Bill Douglas was marrying younger women. [laughter].

You know, of course, that he was a director of the club because of his interest in the club, but he was a big part of this first wilderness conference. He was very funny. Interesting thing about him, he would give speeches, and he would write them and he would read them and be totally uninteresting. You'd just hear this voice reading. But when he extemporized, he was marvelous and very witty, so it was always fun when he--and he always did this. So what he said was important, but he wasn't nearly as interesting when he read from a prepared speech.

Lage: I noticed one thing he said--this was recorded in the book on the conference--he said, "We have the wrong audience, we're talking to the wrong people. We should be like the Salvation Army out on the street with a band."

Wayburn: Isn't that great? That was his idea.

Lage: I've heard it said that one of the reasons the wilderness conferences stopped was that people thought you were talking to yourselves. Did you have that sense?

Wayburn: Oh, you know, that's always said. I mean, that's been said so long and so often: that the conservationists are talking to themselves. I think, actually, that we were in a way reaching far beyond that when we did this conference.

Lage: It seems that way.

Wayburn: We had over seven hundred people at this conference, and that was a lot of people at that time. The Sierra Club, remember, was a much smaller organization.

Lage: Now, who came? Was it mainly Sierra Club members that came?

Wayburn: I think many other people came. That's an interesting question because I don't really know. I just remember that we had this gratifyingly large audience.

Lage: How did you publicize the conferences?

Wayburn: Well, we did regular PR on this, and I was involved in that too. We worked with the newspapers, and Ed was very good. He was a big help on this, because he had been a spokesman for the medical

society many times, and this was just about the time when Ed was president of the San Francisco Medical Society. So he was familiar with a number of people in the press and was able to involve them in the wilderness conference, and did. So we had good press coverage.

We deliberately attempted to broaden the scope, as I said. The wilderness conferences before that had been much more self-contained and much more talking to ourselves. Smaller groups, and--

Lage: And sort of user-oriented.

Wayburn: Yes, there was a lot more of that.

Lage: The agencies and the people.

Wayburn: Exactly. I think that the Leonards have always been more or less keyed into that kind of way of approaching conservation, which is fine, but we deliberately went much further and involved as broad a field as we could under this particular subject.

Lage: How about the 1963 Wilderness Conference? Shall we go into that? That's Tomorrow's Wilderness.

Wayburn: Yes, and '65 was Wilderness in a Changing World. I can't find my books on those two, which is ridiculous. I have several copies, and they are--

Lage: Were you involved at all in editing those books?'

Wayburn: Not really. No. I don't think I was that involved. Dave did the first one. Maxine McCloskey, I don't know if she came in on the last one or not; she may have. But no, I was not involved in that. I was involved later with the redwoods book, but that's another story.

Just trying to remember which conference was which, after the first one, is difficult. We addressed the problem of overpopulation. Was it '63 or '65?

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<sup>1</sup>Tomorrow's Wilderness, ed. François Leydet (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1963).

Wilderness in a Changing World, ed. Bruce M. Kilgore (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1966).

Addressing the Problem of Overpopulation, 1965:##

- Lage: It looks like in '65, in "Wilderness in Crisis," Lincoln Day spoke about population.
- Wayburn: Yes. That was front-page news when we had Lincoln Day.
- Lage: And what was Lincoln Day's background, do you remember?
- Wayburn: I think he was from Harvard. He was one of the earlier people on the whole population issue, one of the spokesmen, one of the foremost people in the country, on the population issue.
- Lage: Was it controversial within the club that he was asked to speak?
- Wayburn: No, I don't think so. I think the whole idea was accepted as far as the club was concerned. You know, the club was much more involved with the population problem at that point than it was for some time afterward. That was part of the viewpoint of the club.

One of the things that I remember most was that I was the mistress of ceremonies at the luncheon. We always had a big luncheon at the wilderness conference. We had a banquet one night and then we had a big luncheon the next day. I was introducing George Hartzog, who was then director of the National Park Service. At this particular luncheon we had hundreds of people; this was a big gathering for the wilderness conference. I was sitting next to George during lunch and I had asked him during lunch how many children he had, because this became the great thing. Lincoln Day had stood up and said, "Two children only, per couple." He said that he had had a vasectomy after his second child; I mean, that was the kind of thing that was being said.

So I asked George how many children he had, and he said he had three. And then he said to me, "It's all right because one is a set of twins. So I'm okay." So when it came time for me to introduce George-- We had carried on a conversation about children and so forth. We had four, of course, and Ed had already explained away the fact that we were from another generation; we could be forgiven. I guess our oldest child was then sixteen. We were getting to be another generation.

At any rate, when I introduced George Hartzog, I related our conversation at lunch and how he had said to me that he was okay because he had twins--two out of the three were twins--and I said, "Well, he's not okay because the twins were born first."

- Lage: [laughs] Did he appreciate that?
- Wayburn: He roared, and of course everybody roared, because everybody who spoke had sort of said, "Well, I only had one," or, you know. There was much more humor about the population problem at that particular meeting.
- Lage: But also it did get kind of personalized.
- Wayburn: Everybody was talking about it, you know, and it was, I think, a very novel thing the way--
- Lage: Now, how did the press respond? Was population control a controversial discussion outside the club?
- Wayburn: It was news. We made the front page of the San Francisco Chronicle. The fact that we were considering population in terms of conservation. So it was all part of the--
- Lage: Why do you think the club backed away from that?
- Wayburn: I think it was money, definitely, because it--. There was a Population Committee, but I think it's just been a matter of so much to do and limited funds, that--
- Lage: You don't think it's the controversy surrounding--
- Wayburn: No, I don't.
- Lage: First there was some controversy about population control and elitism, telling the Third World what to do, or Third World people in our own country.
- Wayburn: Right.
- Lage: And then there's controversy surrounding birth control and abortion. You don't think that's it?
- Wayburn: I really don't think that's why the club has pulled back. As you know, Ed is very much interested in this; he feels that it's the crux of the matter, that there are just too many of us. I think that's becoming ever and ever more clear, certainly in the Bay Area and in the state of California. Do you realize that as many people came into California last year as the city of San Francisco in numbers? Over 700,000 new Californians in one year. There would be a city of them. Have you read the Bill McKibbin book called The End of Nature?

Lage: No, I haven't read that.

Wayburn: Have you heard of it?

Lage: Yes, I have heard of it.

Wayburn: You must read it. It's very provocative. He describes the fact that people, or mankind, is taking over the role of creator. He calls it God; I mean, he lays it out in a more or less religious way. But stepping in, in place of the natural order of things.

Lage: That's very true.

Wayburn: He assumes that this is going to work. I don't think it's going to work.

Lage: Oh, he does assume it's going to work?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. He foresees a world that is totally unnatural, that is entirely manmade, an entirely manmade world.

Lage: But it works.

Wayburn: Yes, he seems to think so. He doesn't say it in so many words, but that's the inference, because he sees--. I think his line is something like, "Can we be God's creatures instead of trying to be gods ourselves?" This is toward the end. Or "instead of being gods ourselves." But he more or less leaves you with the idea that this is all going to work. But I don't see how it can. I really don't. Unless we're all eating krill, and there are no whales left, and, you know.

Establishing Friendships: John Saylor, William O. Douglas

Lage: Do you have any other recollections of incidents at the wilderness conferences? Contacts made, or memorable--

Wayburn: Oh, yes. We always had a big party Saturday night after the conference was over. At our house at 30 Sea View Terrace. We had great fun at those parties. I remember it was the party after the 1961 Wilderness Conference when [Congressman] John Saylor was on the program. He was a delightful character. Stewart Udall was a neat guy, too. I remember that Stewart Udall surprised me greatly because he took a drink, and I knew that Mormons did not. He was a Jack Mormon.

Anyway, at the house at 30 Sea View Terrace with John Saylor, John had gone out in the kitchen, and Mary, and Mary's mother, and Mary's aunt were working there. And he had a wonderful time with them, and they just thought he was marvelous; they knew a congressman and so forth. I guess John Saylor insisted upon sitting in the breakfast room, which was just off of the kitchen. I remember he tied the--we had cloth napkins--he tied the napkin around his neck, sat at the table eating, and he was laughing and joking with the ones in the kitchen. And in the middle of dinner, somebody dropped a crucial dish, and the meat went on the floor. So John Saylor said, "Oh, just pick it up and put it back; nobody will know the difference." [laughter]

Lage: A really human guy.

Wayburn: Very. We had great fun at those parties.

Lage: It sounds as if the speakers stayed for the whole event, not just for their talk.

Wayburn: They did. Almost everybody on the program would come to the parties; as I said, it was a big house and it was great for entertaining. So that was a big part of it. And looking back on it, too, I don't know how I could have put on the conference and then have organized a dinner for--well, forty-odd, anyway, by the time everyone was there.

Lage: But those kinds of things do draw people together.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Yes.

Another person who was involved in the planning was Eric Reynolds. T. Eric Reynolds, do you know the name?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: He was a doctor, and his wife made motion pictures--movies. Laurel Reynolds.

Lage: Did she make the Point Reyes film?

Wayburn: Yes. Rick was very helpful on the planning committee of the wilderness conference. I happen to remember that because I just heard from his daughter that Laurel had died. She had been in a nursing home for quite a while. Anyway, I remember Laurel Reynolds at one of the dinner parties after the wilderness conference saying, "You have so much food here, Peggy, how do you expect us to eat all of this?" Of course, what I had done was to turn over the dinner to Mary, Mary's mother Arrie, and to Mary's

aunt, Obelia. Obelia Tobin, who was a great woman. Wonderful cook; took charge of the kitchen. Small incident, not noteworthy.

At any rate, in the course of the conferences, of course we became well acquainted with the people who were involved and established friendships. We were quite good friends with Bill Douglas. He mentions us in one of his books, I guess in regard to having been on the trip in the Sierra with him. I had quite a correspondence with him over botanical things. He was an amateur botanist and he sent me his collection at one point for me to see if I could identify a local--I guess it was a vaccinium in the Sierra. We corresponded back and forth on that. He was quite a character. We saw him in Washington, D.C., several times after the conferences were over, so we kept up. And then Cynthia read one of his books for him, a book for children on John Muir. Cynthia was supposed to be the reader; I had a little to do with it, I must confess.

Lage: [laughs] To give him a critique?

Wayburn: To give him a critique. Anyway, he was quite a person. Did you know that he almost became president? At the Democratic convention, when Truman was nominated for vice-president, it was over the wishes of Roosevelt. Roosevelt had wanted Bill Douglas to be the vice-president.

Lage: I think I have heard that.

Wayburn: The machine put in Truman. It would have been a different world.

Lage: It would have been very different.

Wayburn: I think. Anyway, he was quite somebody.

There were a number of people who stand out in my mind. Joseph Wood Krutch, Hans Huth, Albert Burke. Now, Burke was not at the first wilderness conference.

Lage: Albert Burke. I have him in '65. The luncheon speaker. He had an international outlook.

Wayburn: Yes. Very good, and had done a book called All Good Men, I think was the name of it, which was quite big at the moment. When he spoke, he was very much in the eyes of people who read and so forth.

Lage: It seems like you did continue to invite agency people.



Wayburn: We always did. We always had--

Lage: Here's one in '65. You had [Edward P.] Ed Cliff [chief, U.S. Forest Service], [Edward C.] Ed Crafts [director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation], George Hartzog [director, National Park Service], and Stoddard. I don't know who Stoddard is.

Wayburn: [Charles H.] Stoddard was BLM [director, Bureau of Land Management]. We always invited the heads of all the agencies because they were very involved with public land.

Lage: Did they participate for the whole conference also?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. And they were usually on the program. The idea was to involve them, apropos speaking to yourselves. We felt, actually, in all these conferences, that by inviting the people that we did, we would be exposing them to our ideas as well as profiting from their ideas.

Lage: Did you get any feedback on whether their views were enlarged?

Wayburn: Oh, I'm sure they were. They couldn't help but be. And the fact that the agencies would send their top people would indicate that they were taking seriously what we were doing. Because we did have the top people. And we had always had--tried to have--people from government. I mean, elected.

Lage: Like Saylor.

Wayburn: Like Saylor. I'm trying to think, did we have [Representative John] Dingell one year? We may or may not--we may have--. I think we invited Dingell; I'm not sure he came. But he certainly has changed his direction since that time, because he was supposed to be the good guy. Interesting.

Lage: Lee Metcalf.

Wayburn: And Lee Metcalf, yes. So many of the good people died too early, you know? I was thinking of [Richard] Neuberger from Oregon, and Saylor died young. And of course later on Phil Burton died much too young.

Nuts and Bolts of Planning and Arrangements

- Lage: What about the nuts and bolts of arranging this kind of a conference? Did you have a lot of help? You had kind of the nuts and bolts job.
- Wayburn: I had the nuts and bolts job. For the first two, I did the nuts and bolts.
- Lage: Which involved what?
- Wayburn: Oh, it involved the mechanics of getting letters out and answering letters, keeping up with correspondence, making the hotel arrangements, selecting the menus for the meals, trying to be sure the people who came had places to stay, and recommending hotels for them and so forth. Then, as you may know, Ed and I would move down into the hotel during the conference and be right on hand. I would be there always if anything went wrong with the arrangements. But there would be things--I mean, the small things like setting up the public address systems and being sure that the acoustics were good in the room; were there enough chairs for the number of people who were coming? And then there were all the registrations to handle.
- Lage: And did you get volunteers to help with this, or did you have club staff?
- Wayburn: No, I did not have club staff; I had volunteers. And then I had a small budget; I must have, because there was a woman named Ada Schwartz who--. Quite a grand gal; she lived on 40th Avenue, may still. Ada would come by, and she was a typist. She would take stuff and type it up and bring back the completed work. She did a lot of work for Ed, too. She worked for me. And then the last conference, Genny Schumacher (now Genny Smith) took over all the basics, as staff, and Janet Sherwin, Ray Sherwin's wife, volunteered, and she helped, too. But the conference itself was always--yes, I would sit there always praying that everything was going to go all right, that the P.A. system wouldn't break down, and that people in the back of the room could hear. They were very well received; audiences were good. I mean, it was a very good experience.
- Lage: It sounds very rewarding.
- Wayburn: It was very rewarding, and it certainly enlarged my scope, or my feelings. My viewpoint of the world was greatly enlarged.

One of the interesting things about the planning sessions was that we would talk about an idea and then we would talk about the people who were involved in that particular idea. For example, with Lincoln Day, population. Or Bill Douglas, wilderness and the rights of wilderness. The idea would be something that might be entirely new to me, and I would find myself getting interested and looking further into it. And then, of course, when we had the conference, why, there would be many people who would be talking about those things. So I think I got a very liberal education, as well as, hopefully, others.

Paul Brooks and Tom Jukes

Wayburn: I haven't mentioned that during the redwood effort--actually, it would have been in the late sixties--I wanted to do an article on redwoods for Harper's. Oh, we haven't mentioned Paul Brooks, who was a wonderful friend and who came to us from the wilderness conference.

Lage: Is that the way he became involved in the Sierra Club [member of board of directors, 1966-1973]?

Wayburn: Yes, that's the way he became involved. He was editor-in-chief of Houghton Mifflin, and he gave a very fine paper which I'll never forget. I'm sure Ed has this in his history. When [Sierra Club member] Tom Jukes wrote Paul Brooks this dreadful letter just before he was to speak and had it delivered in the Palace Hotel? Paul Brooks's tie-in, of course, was Rachel Carson. He had published Rachel Carson--Silent Spring--and the paper he gave was on the whole subject of chemicals in the biosphere, if you will. Tom Jukes, of course, who had been very much involved with DDT, wrote him this scathing letter about how terrible it was and what a fool Rachel Carson was, and on and on and on, which was delivered to him just before he was to give his speech. He was staying at the Palace that night; he was more or less taken aback. As a matter of fact, I think he was rather shaken, because Tom Jukes is a very articulate person. Do you know Tom?<sup>1</sup>

Lage: I've met him, yes.

Wayburn: He's articulate and he's very opinionated and sharp. Very sharp.

Lage: And also a longtime Sierra Club member. So maybe that--

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<sup>1</sup>An oral history with Tom Jukes is on deposit in The Bancroft Library.

- Wayburn: Well, we've been on trips with Tom and Marguerite. I can remember climbing with Tom; he's a good climber.
- Lage: How did Paul Brooks react to this? Did it affect his presentation?
- Wayburn: I think Ed reassured him. In fact, I know Ed reassured him, and he went ahead, and of course he gave this talk. He is a very thoughtful and also an articulate person. Happily. So I think he was one of the pluses in our lives because he became more involved with the club after that and I think was a very, very generous giver of his time and thought to the club and made a real contribution.
- Lage: And then later he was on the Sierra Club Foundation board also, wasn't he?
- Wayburn: Yes. He's given a lot of himself. And he's a charming man, along with everything else.
- Lage: [laughs] That always helps.
- Wayburn: Many of the people who were involved were charming. Burke was another one who was very charming. And of course Bill Douglas I mentioned. Extremely charming.
- I began to tell you about this article on the redwoods for Harper's magazine. I sent the article back to Paul Brooks to read, and he, bless his heart, apropos of giving of himself, had made some very cogent changes and had done some rewriting and editing the article, and had sent it on to Harper's for me, and Harper's rejected it. I always remember Paul wrote me a note and said, "Here's a sock in the head." [laughter]
- Lage: Even coming from him.
- Wayburn: Even coming from him. And Harper's rejected it. So--I cannot remember how it came about, but I got keyed into the Saturday Evening Post--I guess maybe Paul got the article to them, or whatever, and I had this big assignment from the Saturday Evening Post to do an article on the redwoods.
- Lage: But not the original article that you had written?
- Wayburn: No. There are two very different slants between the Harper's magazine and the Saturday Evening Post.

So I spent a lot of time interviewing people up in the redwoods, which is the kind of thing I did in Alaska later on, which proved to be so very valuable in knowing the players on both sides of the picture. I had a photographer named Ed Monroe; I don't know if you know the name. He was a local, pretty well-known photographer who took pictures for me for the Saturday Evening Post article. I spent a lot of time on it. One reason that I remember it must have been in '67 is because at that time we used to go up to Clair Tappaan Lodge to ski, and I can remember talking to someone in the dining room at Clair Tappaan about the fact that I was doing this article and was not doing the wilderness conference again. She said, "I can't see how you could possibly not do another wilderness conference; it's much more important than an article." [laughter] Because I had done three wilderness conferences at that point, and I was, I think, kind of up to my ears in it.

At any rate, I did a lot of interviewing of the industry people and of the local supervisors and local conservationists in the redwoods, put together my article, and sent it back, and it was rejected. They paid me, I think, \$200, and the article would have been \$2,000. They gave me \$200.

Lage: And what was their reasoning?

Wayburn: You know, I have to read the article now to see why it was they dinged it. I think probably the point of view was too heavy on conservation. I really do. I don't think I got a "balanced" view.

Lage: It would have been hard for you to do that, I think.

Wayburn: Yes, I think it would have been very hard for me to do it. At any rate, that was a learning experience.

Lage: You had published in the Bulletin but not outside, at that point?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, I had published outside. Off and on, something would come up. I once had a piece in the Sunday Chronicle, and I did articles for the California Teachers' Association publication. Things here and there that were outside of the club, but my principal writing had been for the club. And then, of course, it was in 1969 that I did my book, started my book on estuaries.

Lage: I was going to save a whole session on the writing and how it developed.

Okay, very good.

More on the First Redwoods Ad##

[Interview 3: March 21, 1990]

- Lage: I have one thing I want to clarify. I was looking at the David Brower interview, and then again at this book, which has a history of Sierra Club ads in the appendix.<sup>1</sup> Brower says that the first ad that the club put out was this redwoods ad.
- Wayburn: I thought the first ad the club put out was the Grand Canyon ad.
- Lage: No, it was this redwoods ad.
- Wayburn: The "Dear Mr. President"?
- Lage: There were two ads that spoke to the president. One was in '65 and one was in '67. The 1965 ad was "An Open Letter to President Johnson on the last chance really to save the redwoods."
- Wayburn: Yes. That was the one that I had the idea for.
- Lage: That was December 15, 1965. That apparently was the club's first ad.
- Wayburn: Really? Well, I think we should note the fact. But I know that Dave was into the ad on the Grand Canyon, I'm sure, at that time, even if this came out first. Because that was the "Shall we flood the Sistine Chapel to see the murals on the ceiling?"
- Lage: That was the following June.
- Wayburn: I think that was probably in the mill.
- Lage: Perhaps. Perhaps it was. There were four ads on the Grand Canyon between June 9, '66, and April 16, '67. But this redwood ad was December 1965. I just wondered, do you have any recollection whether--? The idea of a full-page ad was not one that you and Ed cooked up?
- Wayburn: No, I'm sure that was Dave's idea. The full-page ad. I say that, but--

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<sup>1</sup>Grand Canyon of the Living Colorado, ed. Roderick Nash (Sierra Club: Ballantine Books, 1970), p. 130.

Lage: Well, maybe there had been talk about the full-page ad, and you came up with the--

Wayburn: This could be. But I do remember distinctly--. It's interesting how certain moments stand out, but I remember being in the car and having this little thought as Ed and I were driving back from a trip to the redwoods. Of course, we spent a lot of time in the redwoods during the sixties, and the fight for the national park.

Lage: I just wanted to bring that out.

Wayburn: Well, good, I'm glad you brought that out. That makes me feel good.

Sierra Club Women Board Members and Climbers

Lage: Good. Now, we were going to talk about women in the Sierra Club. A remark you made earlier I thought was interesting, when you said Jim Gilligan chaired the wilderness conference in '67, but Maxine McCloskey did the work.

Wayburn: That's right.

Lage: And you just kind of tossed that out. It struck me as maybe a pattern.

Wayburn: Well, you know, I'm not sure. You suggested several names [of Sierra Club women] to me, and I knew them all. That's Cicely Christy, [Marjory] Marj Farquhar, [Pauline] Polly Dyer, Doris Leonard, Maxine McCloskey. Cicely Christy, of course--. You should realize that when I married into the Sierra Club, which I did, there was a definite establishment. Cicely was one of the establishment. So was Marj Farquhar, and Polly Dyer, and Doris Leonard; they were all involved.

Lage: Was Polly in the Bay Area then?

Wayburn: Yes, Polly was in the Bay Area then.

Lage: Now, what do you mean by "establishment"?

Wayburn: Well, I was thinking of it with a capital "E." You know the way we talk about our present Establishment. In the club these were the people who were the leaders and who were the arbiters, so to speak, of the club.

Thinking about it, these women were very much independent souls, and they were recognized on their own as well as for what they did behind the scenes. I think of Polly Dyer; I don't think of John Dyer nearly as much as I do Polly, because Polly was the one who was more or less in the spotlight. Marj Farquhar is a very strong personality, and Francis [her husband] was also, as you know. But Marj stood on her own, and of course Cicely was not married so she was herself anyway; she did not have a counterpart. And Doris Leonard. Doris Leonard had been the chair of the earlier wilderness conferences--I don't know whether she was the chair or the secretary. I think I mentioned that she had asked me to go on with her for the 1961 Wilderness Conference and then had withdrawn totally, and that I had been a little bit up in the air about it.

Anyway, I think all of these people--I think Charlotte Mauk in particular--were very much in the forefront of things that were happening. Charlotte, as you may know, was very heavy, and was amazing. She would go on the High Trips and she kept up with everybody, and she was carrying a much heavier pack than most of us.

Lage: Didn't she sort of organize the commissary?

Wayburn: She was very much involved in the commissary. I remember her describing a morning on the High Trip when there would be the wake-up call and then after that you would hear a loud Sssssssssssssssssss, which was everybody letting the air out of their air mattresses. [laughter]

Lage: Now, she was the woman who was on the board for the longest time.

Wayburn: Yes, she was on the board of directors and a very active member. I think for her, as for many people now--I think fewer people then--the Sierra Club was a major part of their lives, and I think it was for Charlotte, perhaps more than for the others--well, maybe for Polly, but particularly for Charlotte, who was a single woman. She devoted a tremendous amount of time and energy to the club and was very interested in all that was happening.

Lage: Did you ever observe relationships on the board? Was she given full respect?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. You know, I don't think, really, looking back on it, that women were considered as lesser than men in the club. I mean, remember there was a woman president in the twenties.

Lage: But she was the last one until Michele Perrault just recently.



Wayburn: This is quite true, and I don't--. There just may not have been anybody around who really wanted to do it or who was capable of doing it. I think the "really wanted to do it" is a major part of it, because it's a very time-consuming thing and has become increasingly so, obviously.

Lage: I don't want to put today's judgment on the past by any means, but there weren't many women on the board in those early years. Charlotte was one of the few, or only, for a long time.

Wayburn: I think Harriet Parsons had been on, Marj Farquhar was on--

Lage: Harriet was on during the war.

Wayburn: And Marj Farquhar was on the board.

Lage: Yes, Marj Farquhar did come on when her husband went off.

Wayburn: That's right. Was Cicely Christy ever on? I don't think so.

Lage: No.

Wayburn: I don't remember her being on. I don't think Polly was, although Polly ran.

Lage: Polly came on in '60 to '67. Charlotte Mauk from 1943 until 1968.

Wayburn: She died not long after she went off, I believe, didn't she?

Lage: Several years after. I think she left the board when all the trouble occurred and controversy over Diablo Canyon and Dave Brower.

Wayburn: I don't think she was that much involved. Really, looking back on it, she doesn't stand out as one of the principal players [in the controversies].

Lage: I think she left before it came to a head [1969].

Wayburn: Ed would know that, too. But I just don't--. He's awfully good on remembering names and places and when people did certain things. He's very good at that.

While we are talking about the sixties, I wanted to get in one reminiscence that I thought was kind of charming. As I had mentioned, both Ed and I were very involved on multiple conservation fronts during the fifties and the sixties--and the

seventies, too, although we began to concentrate on Alaska in the seventies. But Ed led a High Light Trip in Colorado in the Maroon Bells in 1966. One of the reasons for the trip there was to propose wilderness areas for the Forest Service. After the trip was over, Ed wrote a letter to the Forest Service making certain suggestions about the size of a particular wilderness area which the Forest Service was considering on a much smaller scale, and Ed expanded the boundaries considerably, as was his wont. He didn't hear back until nine years later, when he got a letter saying, "You will be interested to know that your recommendations for the wilderness in the Maroon Bells have finally been implemented."

Lage: Oh, my goodness.

Wayburn: It was just a kind of a charming little aside.

Lage: And no answer until--?

Wayburn: No. Nine years later. But he made his point.

Lage: Well, it would be interesting to know what happened in those nine years behind the scenes in the Forest Service.

Wayburn: Yes, I'm sure.

Lage: Do you want to say any more about the women in the club?

Wayburn: Well, I was just thinking, you know, both Marj Farquhar and Doris Leonard were very good climbers. Marj was, in particular, a very good mountaineer and took her place with the groups that made many of the first ascents in the Sierra. I don't think about them as having been equated less than the men, really, in my recollection of those days. They were very much a part of the scene. Now, the fact that there weren't more, I don't know that there were that many women going into the mountains, or into conservation, or doing the kind of thing that the club was doing. You know, there weren't that many women mountaineers, really, at that time.

Lage: That's right. But there is a collection of wonderfully strong Sierra Club women, I think.

Wayburn: Yes, I think so, too.

Lage: And sometimes when I read some of the feminist viewpoints, they sort of ignore this older generation that produced a lot of really independent women.

Wayburn: Yes, this is very true. Who had major achievements, and did a lot. Certainly--. Well, of course, Doris Leonard was very interested in carrying forward in conservation with her Conservation Associates. I don't see Dorothy Varian's name here, but I think of her in connection with that particular period, although she was not an active mountaineer. She was with the Conservation Associates, with George Collins and Doris.

Lage: Doris seems like a person who worked sort of behind the scenes. Preferred to not to put herself forward.

Wayburn: Doris? Oh, I would never think that. And I would never say that.

Lage: You wouldn't say that? Well, tell me your reaction.

Wayburn: No, I always thought of Doris as being quite a strong person, and I would never have thought of her as hiding her light under a bushel at all. She took a different tack than I would have taken--with Conservation Associates. I mean, I think they performed an important function, but it would not have been one that I would have chosen.

Lage: Would you expand on that a little bit so we can--

Wayburn: Well, they worked very closely with the business establishment, and I think that was something that should have been done. Should have been done before they did it, actually. And certainly now we are beginning to see this kind of thing pay off. You look at any annual report of almost any big company now, and you will see them coming down very heavy on all their wonderful environmental achievements. But at the time that I remember, there were big controversies with PG&E, and I think Doris was on the board of PG&E. This is what I meant when I said she took a course that I probably would not have been as comfortable in. But I think it was fine she did it. I always admired her. Maxine McCloskey, of course, came on the scene later and was a tremendous addition to all the things that needed doing. She's a very effective worker.

Lage: Did Maxine work--I always think of her with the Whale Center. Was she involved before the Whale Center more closely with the Sierra Club?

Wayburn: She was involved with the Sierra Club because she sat next to Mike one night at a political meeting in Oregon, and the two of them were interested in each other, and she subsequently married him. As far as I know, that was her first introduction to the Sierra Club. My original memory of Maxine, I have one memory of

the fact that she and Mike took a Grand Canyon trip on their honeymoon and she was swept overboard. What a great sport she was. It was reported back that her shorts had been stripped off of her [laughter] and that she had been just great. Gotten back on board and everything.

Lage: It was a good initiation.

Wayburn: But she was very active in the wilderness conference, as you know, and I believe that preceded her interest in whales.

Lage: It was sort of Doris, to you, to Maxine, in the wilderness conference.

Wayburn: Really. Yes. She was very good in the wilderness conference.

Lage: Do you think women bring something to environmental issues that men might not?

Wayburn: I don't really know. I think women--. You know, I can't say that I would see it as anything in particular. I think women have a point of view--we have to have a point of view that is different from that of men, particularly women of my generation who were reared to accept a place in the home as the way to live. I think women make a great contribution in their view of the environment. I'm not sure that it's something that I could define or single out or say that women have done this where men haven't done that. But certainly they make a contribution.

Lage: In an argument or discussion, have you seen women express a viewpoint that brings up perhaps a more traditional female concern with protecting future generations?

Wayburn: I really haven't. I have not, I have to say.

Lage: I'm asking that because a woman that I met through the oral history office is doing a project on women and the national parks. She interviewed Abigail Avery for us.

Wayburn: Oh, wonderful.

Lage: She's particularly concerned about what women bring to the environmental movement.

Wayburn: I'll be interested in seeing what she comes up with, because it's honestly not something that I have thought that much about. Incidentally, I hope she interviews [Margaret] Mardy Murie. That's another woman who's been deeply involved. Mardy comes to mind also in remembering people, and Olaus. Both of them visited

us and we became friends early on, actually during the wilderness conferences in '61 through '65. Of course Mardy's book, Two in the Far North, is one that I always loved. And apropos of the roles that men and women play, I think together perhaps is the way they would impress me more, because I think of Marj and Francis Farquhar together. Both of them were very strong, and both contributed a great deal, but I wouldn't be able to isolate what was different in what Marj brought, from Francis. Another woman I also remember is Kathy Jackson--we met her on a High Trip--a very interesting woman. Ed appointed her first chairman of the Sierra Club Council.

Lage: Although Abby Avery does seem to bring a woman's view. She's very involved in childbirth and this sort of all melds into an overall view of life.

Wayburn: Yes. She's a wonderful gal.

Lage: In the seventies when the club got many more active women who were on the board, in the visible leadership roles on the board, did you notice a difference there in women's points of views?

Wayburn: I think part of this was the fact that the club itself was becoming better known and was growing so much, and was attracting women more than it had perhaps in the past. Remember, when I joined the club, I think there were just a handful, really, of people involved. I think in 1952 there were only seven thousand members, and in 1948--or '47, when I became a member, I don't know how many there were, but there were---. It was a small group, and this was not a major part of society as it grew to be during the sixties and into the seventies. The whole surge of environmental thinking involved more women, I think without any question, and it coincided with the emergence of women's rights.

Certainly we have our share of women leaders now, in the club. I mean on the local levels, many of the chapter chairs are women, and group chairs are women, and they're involved in the Sierra Club Council. And certainly women run for the board every time. I think there are only two on the ballot this year, but I'm sure that's not for want of trying to interest people. I think that the board has become such a major effort for anyone to involve themselves in that probably a lot of women just don't feel they have the time. Or the resources.

Lage: They're holding down jobs also.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: I also wanted to mention that you were given the special achievement award by the Sierra Club in '67.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. So I was.

Lage: That was one of the very early special achievement awards.

Wayburn: Was it? Oh, that's interesting. Yes, I was given that after my time as chairman of the wilderness conference, first as secretary and finally as chairman. At the time I was given that the award consisted of a number of Sierra Club books. The awardee received the books as a gift in honor of the award. I remember we already had all the books, so I asked if I could have an Ansel Adams photograph instead. We tried to equate the cost of the books, and it came out about the same. So I have a wonderful photograph of Mount McKinley, done by Ansel Adams. The one I particularly wanted of Ansel's on Mount McKinley, the negative was in poor shape and Ansel was unable to print it. But he did print the other one, with Wonder Lake, and it's one of the nice parts of my life. I've enjoyed it ever since.

Lage: I think you made a good trade.

Wayburn: I think I did, too. [tape interruption]

## VI INTERNAL CLUB CONTROVERSIES OF THE SIXTIES

Dave Brower as High Trip Leader

Lage: Okay, now we're going to turn to the 1960s and the internal club controversies, which you have your own perspective on. I thought we could start, if it's all right with you, with giving some background about your earlier contacts with Dave Brower.

Wayburn: Well, of course, my first contacts, and I guess Ed's too, were on the High Trips when Dave was the leader.

Lage: And what kind of a leader was he on the High Trips?

Wayburn: Dynamic, and ruthless. [laughter] He hauled us up over--. I remember in particular one day when we were traveling out of King's Canyon and I'm trying to remember the name of the pass that we had to cross to get back. In getting to the pass, we had done a major climb to begin with; I mean, we'd come up something like three or four thousand feet. Dave led us on all day after that over moraine after moraine, and each moraine, we figured, was at least five hundred feet high. By the end of the day, we figured we had done six thousand feet in climbing.

Lage: Did people grouse?

Wayburn: Oh, everybody, everybody. We were just exhausted, and we sort of fell into camp. It was at that time that we cemented an enduring friendship with the Breckenfelds. I mentioned them. Vivian Breckenfeld was one of my cherished friends. We met on that trip, and you know, that kind of an experience does either cement or destroy friendships.

Lage: Right. [laughter]

Wayburn: So we got to talking in terms of Brower miles and Brower altitudes and so forth.

Lage: I guess in earlier years it was Colby miles.

Wayburn: Yes. This was Brower miles.

Lage: Did Brower enjoy that role?

Wayburn: Oh, I think enormously. I think he has always enjoyed being a star. I think that's part of Dave, definitely.

We met Dave first there, and then of course he became executive director when Ed was already very interested in the club. Ed worked with Dave, and all through the fifties we knew the Browsers socially as well as in the conservation arena. I remember Anne. I remember Anne coming in to a High Trip looking fresh and clean and wonderful, meeting us at the end of the High Trip when we were all bedraggled and exhausted. [laughter]

Lage: She went on a lot of them, though, didn't she?

Wayburn: Yes, she did. This particular one she didn't go on; I don't remember which one it was. She was on the scene, too, apropos of women, but not as involved because she had a family, even as I did, of four children.

#### Brower's Tremendous Vision, Difficult Personal Qualities

Wayburn: Dave was always a dynamic personality and of course remained so, and has a real quality of the messiah, I think, and is a very eloquent spokesperson for the environment. Now, I will be happy to reminisce about what I remember about Dave, but I hope he doesn't sue me. He seems to like to sue people. [laughter] He has sued every organization that I know of that he has worked for in the past! You know that.

Lage: I guess so. There was some suit over the history, wasn't there? The Michael Cohen history. [The History of the Sierra Club, 1892-1970 (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988)]

Wayburn: Yes, well, he threatened to sue over the history.

Lage: But he didn't go through with it.

Wayburn: Well, I think they changed the history. I don't know whether Dave is going to go through with the suit or not, but he was still dissatisfied with it.



Now, you want me to remember.

Lage: Right, remember.

Wayburn: The thing was that Dave became the staff of the Sierra Club, and Dave has always had ambitions along with tremendous vision, I think. I would never fault Dave on his vision, because he's imaginative and he has the right instincts. But he's an extremely difficult person to work with.

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Wayburn: He always wants to call the shots. This was the thing that happened in the sixties, that Dave saw things a certain way, and he was determined to do the things the way he saw them. The board of directors of the club, being financially responsible for the outfit, saw things a different way. They saw where the club could and could not function and hold together financially.

Dave, I don't know how he is now, but as far as I can tell, he has remained the same. Money is not an object with him. I've always thought it would be wonderful if there could have been some very wealthy angel who would have come into Dave's life and just financed him and let him do what he wanted to do without having to worry about money.

Lage: One of those MacArthur fellowships would have been perfect.

Wayburn: Exactly. Would have been perfect for Dave. Except he would have run through it immediately.

The thing about Dave was that he would do these things, and he wouldn't tell the board. He wouldn't tell Ed when Ed was president. Ed was pressed into service, as you know. He was president for a total of five years during the sixties.

Lage: The first was '61-'64.

Wayburn: And then '67-'69. He served three terms in one of those, which was unprecedented since the early days of the club, and then went back in. The reason for this was that Ed has this wonderful steady quality. He's able to listen to both sides of a question and to pull people together, and I think he was essential to the survival of the Sierra Club actually during that particular period, because Dave was off on his own track. He was committing the club, and I think probably this is what was in the history that he objected to. He was financially irresponsible. He was not doing this to feather his own nest, he was doing this to carry forward what he felt should be done. But he did it without

any consultation, and he knew that there were objections. It was that time when all the ex-presidents wrote the letter condemning the actions that he was taking. So it wasn't as though he were unaware. He was testing, testing, testing, I think.

Lage: Do you think he just thought they wouldn't bring him up short?

Wayburn: I think he thought he could get away with it. He wanted to pack the board and had gone about it earlier on with suggesting, and I think it was a very good idea, actually, to involve people of national prestige like John [B.] Oakes, William O. Douglas, and Paul Brooks. People who brought a real stature to the board. Eliot Porter. But Dave made a particular attempt in the 1969 election to take over the board, in which case he would have prevailed in what he was doing and the club would have---. The club was already on its knees financially.

I remember particularly with Dave that---. I remember one instance in the wilderness conference that has stayed in my mind, where we were sending out postcards. We didn't refer to this, but the club went into the publication of postcards about that time, in the early sixties. We were mailing postcards as a come-on for the wilderness conference, and we had as a speaker Joe Penfold, who was with the Izaak Walton League. And Joe had a particular thing that he was interested in and he had coined a word for it. I don't remember what the word was, but it meant something to Joe, and it was typical of his thinking, and Dave wanted to mention this as part of the program of the wilderness conference.

I said, "Nobody will know what we're talking about. Let's not do this. Let's leave this off. Let's say Joe Penfold and give his background, but let this other idiosyncrasy, really, come out as the conference proceeds." I went in to Dave's office in Mills Tower, I remember, and we talked about this, and I was running the show, supposedly. I left the office feeling that I had made my point and that Dave had understood that I didn't want this to go on the postcard and so forth. When I next saw the postcard, there it was, exactly the way Dave wanted it. This was the kind of thing that he did. It was typical of the way Dave simply did what he chose to do.

Lage: Did you have other instances like that which you can recall? Anything to do with the Bulletin?

Wayburn: Oh, I remember on the half-Bulletin [February 1967], you know, which was outrageous and which was deliberate, without any question, where Dave published his side of the Diablo Canyon controversy and deliberately left out--with the excuse that it

would have been too late and so forth and so on--left out the opposing views. He was determined to do things his way. I remember also a remark that Dave made at one of the board meetings where he was called on the carpet for the amount of money that was going out of the club. He said, "It's more important to save redwoods than it is to pay the phone bill." Well, you know, on the face of it, it's a total non sequitur. You need the phone to save the redwoods if you're going to stay in touch with people. It was the way Dave thought, and I guess has continued to think.

#### Ed's Role as President during the Brower Conflict

Wayburn: But Ed put up with this with a remarkably equable response. He didn't get excited, I mean, he didn't go overboard on it. He saw exactly what was happening and he was hoping that he could work with Dave and keep Dave in line. It was for this reason that Dave stayed on as long as he did, because Ed refused to fire him. He felt that it was possible to work with Dave and to keep him, and he wanted to.

Lage: Was Ed kind of a swing vote in that respect, on the board?

Wayburn: I think he was. Remember, Ed was given certain powers as president which were unprecedented too.

Lage: I hadn't realized that.

Wayburn: I think. Now, I shouldn't say that so flatly, but it seems to me that the board--yes, I think the board gave him special say-so's. Anyway, Ed went to great lengths to accommodate himself to Dave's vagaries. Ed saw the genius in Dave--and there is genius in Dave--and wanted him for the Sierra Club, and thought that he would be able to control the situation. It became obvious that this was not the case, that Dave was determined to do at any cost--. And as I said, it seemed to me that it was a kind of dishonesty in this in that he committed club money without any authority, really, and without the board knowing it. This was the thing that was so very difficult, because Ed would be presented with a fait accompli. I remember the pictures for the redwood book were done this way. Dave had the separations made, and he had--. Well, he did things like he rented an apartment in New York, and you know, the club didn't have any money. He always flew first class because he said he could get more work done that way. But there wasn't the money for first class!

- Lage: It wasn't nearly as big an organization.
- Wayburn: It was nothing like it is now. I think in 1967 we had, what was it, sixty thousand members or something like that? We thought it was an enormous growth. I'll always remember, [William E.] Will Siri, when he was president about that time--. He was president in the sixties, I think.
- Lage: Right. Just before Ed's second term.
- Wayburn: Just before Ed's second term. At one of the banquets--he was always a very delightful speaker--he gave the growth rate of the club and the doubling time and so forth, and projected it in the future. He said by the year 2010, everyone in the world will be a member of the Sierra Club, [laughter] if we continue our growth rate.
- Lage: It hasn't happened quite that fast.
- Wayburn: Anyway, it was very cute. But it was a time of great tensions and a very difficult time. As I say, Ed took it, I think, in a sense a lot better than I did. I tend to get more emotionally involved in this kind of thing.
- Lage: But you felt that Ed really, aside from presenting the picture of being calm and patient, this was actually his outlook?
- Wayburn: Oh, I think so. I mean, he is amazing. After forty-three years, I still don't know--. I know he's very deeply involved, and I know that he felt a sense of betrayal with Dave, because Dave would give him to understand, even as he had given me to understand on the postcard incident, that what I said was the way it was going to be. And then he would go into exactly what he chose. I think in a sense it was the testing, testing--
- Lage: Do you see ideological issues as being a factor in this? I mean, when you try to weigh what were the reasons for the break, you've mentioned financial irresponsibility and not taking authority. Dave would say it was ideological, I think.
- Wayburn: I think that's ridiculous.
- Lage: For instance, Diablo Canyon would be the--
- Wayburn: I think that is not the way it was. Dave might have been a jump ahead on some of the things, but I know as far as we went, that we embraced the same ideas that Dave was embracing. I mean, there was no ideological difference there. Dave does this, and he's doing this now. When he doesn't get his way and when he

doesn't prevail, then he finds a way to criticize the other side and make it seem as though it were an ideological matter.

Now, he's doing that with the Sierra Club right now. I don't know if you're aware of this, but he did not get his way on the board several times recently, so he resigned from the board. And then he has attacked the club and has written letters that are really quite shocking in attacking the club as being cowardly or--I don't know if the word "cowardly" is right, but not taking the strong position that it should take, and so forth. This is one of the mechanisms that Dave uses, and I think he's a spoilsport, if I may say so. He's a very interesting character, but he is an extremely difficult person. I don't know how Anne has done it all these years. [laughs]

We were very close to Ansel Adams, and during the fight over Dave, when the club split, Ansel left us. I mean, the friendship was for a time suspended, and then later on we became close friends again.

Lage: What was the reason for this?

Wayburn: Because Ed would not fire Dave when Ansel wanted Dave fired.

#### Behind-the-Scenes Politicking after the 1969 Election

Wayburn: But then, of course, there was the rejection of Ed after this split and after the vote.

Lage: I wondered about that. The rejection by--

Wayburn: The rejection by the new majority, and the dumping of Ed. Because Ed really wanted to stay on another year and heal wounds.

Lage: Another year as president?

Wayburn: Yes. Dick Leonard was one of the ones who said, "We're not going to have another president that stays on forever." But I think there was something of a--I know there was a power play there, because Dick had been one of the people most anxious to get rid of Dave. See, Ed had really been in the center on this and he was the swing vote on the board. There were seven people that were in Dave's camp, and several of them ran on the ABC ticket.

Lage: In '69.

Wayburn: Which was supposed to be--what was the acronym?

Lage: I remember Aggressive, Bold Conservationists.

Wayburn: And we always said, Anything Brower Commands.

Lage: I haven't heard that.

Wayburn: And then opposing the ABC group was the CMC, Concerned Members for Conservation [headed by Dick Leonard, Ansel Adams, and others]. When the CMC was victorious, I think that having won, they were determined to take over. I think that was part of the ploy.

And then there were Volunteers for Wayburn.

Lage: Right. I want to ask about that, but to go back to that incident after the election, the rejection of Ed as president for another year. I looked at Dick Leonard's oral history before I came over, and he very much saw [Phillip] Phil Berry's presidency as "not one of us," not one of CMC, but putting in somebody who wasn't closely connected with CMC to take the heat. And that the CMC would control the executive committee, but the president would be somebody who could take all the heat. He knew there was going to be a lot of trouble in the club, and wounds to heal.

Wayburn: It certainly didn't appear that way then. Let's see, it was Ray Sherwin and Will Siri and Dick Leonard, and [Richard C.] Dick Sill, I guess was involved.

Lage: Yes. And Ansel.

Wayburn: And Ansel. And--

Lage: Maynard Munger.

Wayburn: Maynard Munger, right. Nice man. I don't know whatever happened to him.

Lage: And then Raffi Bedayn seems to be a figure behind the scenes.

Wayburn: He was behind the scenes, definitely.

Lage: What role did he play?

Wayburn: You know, I'm not really sure, but he was definitely involved. Raffi, of course, being an old climbing partner of the club establishment. I don't know that Raffi was ever on the board, though, was he?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: I don't think so, but he was in there and he was in the background. I can remember feeling that he was on the side against Ed. As I said, I take things much more personally and I was very upset about what happened with this whole thing. I do think it was the power thing. Phil Berry had, of course, grown up in the club and was someone who--well, everybody knew him, and he wasn't on the slate for the--or he was on the slate in 1969?

Lage: No, he wasn't running in 1969. He was already on the board.

Wayburn: He was already on the board. Okay. I remember when he ran for the board, his statement on the ballot had said that anybody who wanted to fire Dave was crazy, or something of the sort. He ended up taking over at that time.

Lage: Kind of ironic.

Wayburn: It was ironic. The whole thing. It was a difficult time. And having been with Ed throughout it, and having seen how he was bearing the brunt in both directions. He had the challenge of Dave on one side, and wanting to keep Dave for what Dave could do and for what Dave's vision was and for Dave's creative genius; and on the other side, the reaction from the more established members of the board wanting him to fire Dave. So he was definitely a polar figure--or not a polar figure, but he was in between the two poles.

Lage: Right. The man in the middle.

Wayburn: The man in the middle.

Lage: And both had animosity towards him.

Wayburn: Yes. This was the thing, and yet both respected what he was doing and wanted to keep him there, up until the denouement when,

of course, Ed did fire Dave. That was over, as you know, the Earth National Park ad that came out in the New York Times when Ed had specifically asked Dave not to run the ad. He said the club could not pay for it.

Volunteers for Wayburn, 1969

Lage: You were going to tell about Volunteers for Wayburn, which is something we didn't get much information on from Ed himself. He mentioned it, but not who ran it.

Wayburn: Claudia Doerr was the one. She was then Claudia Owen. Very good friend. I guess that was more or less my idea when these groups started to form and I felt that Ed was being left out. The interesting thing was that Dave said afterward that they very seriously considered putting him on their slate, and of course the CMC did put Ed on their slate before the thing was over. You know, I have all those papers somewhere, on Volunteers for Wayburn, because Claudia kept everything.

You should talk to Claudia; somebody should get her history. She has played an interesting role in the club during the sixties in particular. She was the moving spirit--well, I don't know if she was exactly the moving spirit, but she organized a great deal of the 1967 club's--

Lage: The Diamond Jubilee?

Wayburn: The Diamond Jubilee. She had a lot to do with that. She's been very interested in the older people in the club and has a lot of information about a lot of people.

So somebody should interview Claudia. She and I put together Volunteers for Wayburn, and we had a very good group. We had a very good group.

Lage: Was it mailings, primarily?

Wayburn: Yes, it was mailings primarily, and that was the way I think all of those outfits worked. Of course with a smaller club, why, it was less of an undertaking than it would be now. When I think of all the campaigning that went on in that particular election--we would be bombarded by both ABC and the CMC, and I'm sure other people had those too, and Volunteers for Wayburn also coming in. I'm sure that resulted in the rules that the club now has that



you can't electioneer when you're running for office, because it was pretty blatant.

Lage: It was only that year and the year before that they ever had electioneering, I think.

Wayburn: I think so. But that was such that it became a no-no.

Lage: Do you remember if there were also, aside from the mailings, any networking with council people and chapter leaders? Was that part of Volunteers for Wayburn?

Wayburn: You know, not really. Not really. I don't know whether that was true with the other groups or not, but--

Lage: I think CMC was pretty involved in that because a lot of the opposition probably came out of the council.

Wayburn: Yes. Well, you know, Ed was the one who was behind the council when it was formed. Kathy Jackson was the first chair of the council and a very good friend of ours too, whom I haven't seen in a long time. I would like to.

Lage: We did record her oral history.

Wayburn: Oh, good. Good.

#### Issues, Strong Personalities, and Ill Feeling

Lage: She reminds me of Diablo Canyon. Did you get at all involved in the controversy over that [the building of a nuclear power plant at Diablo Canyon on the California Coast]?

Wayburn: Not really. I didn't, personally. Ed, of course, was again a key figure in his position in the club and on the executive committee. Even when he wasn't president, he was on the executive committee all through the sixties.

Lage: There do seem to be a set of issues that Diablo brought to mind that were involved, that weren't really ideological or financial. And they had to do with the proper way to conduct campaigns. Way back in '59 there was the resolution forbidding anybody to make personal comments about agency leaders, which was a way of reigning Dave in. They didn't like his methods of attack. And then on Diablo there was the issue of keeping our word.

- Wayburn: Did you realize that Dave had originally embraced the Diablo Canyon side and then had switched?
- Lage: Did he really embrace it, or just--
- Wayburn: Oh, yes. As I recall it, he had then--he hadn't been gung-ho on it, but he had not fought the idea at all, to begin with.
- Lage: I guess I did know that, and then Martin Litton and others had--
- Wayburn: And he changed his mind. I was not that aware of the restriction on how you attacked and so forth people outside of the club. Leaders outside of the club--government leaders, and so forth. I don't think of that issue as involving that much. I think of that issue as a power struggle between Dave and the board, very frankly. Because he was determined to do his thing, and the half-Bulletin was just symptomatic of that.
- Lage: And the board had a lot of strong personalities also.
- Wayburn: Definitely. And they loved to call Ed up and talk to him.
- Lage: It must have been hard being the wife of the president during that time.
- Wayburn: Oh, it was really something. I can remember Dick Sill, and he would hold forth on the phone, and Ed would sit there with this look on his face and listen to him, and Dick would go on and on and on and on and on. And Lewis Clark would call. And Tom Jukes was another one, you know.
- Lage: Are there any other recollections about those turbulent times?
- Wayburn: Oh, I don't know. I'll think some more about it.
- Lage: We kind of cut our discussion off at '69 and Ed's not continuing as president. Do you have a sense of how things resolved themselves in terms of a healing again among these top leaders? In your own case, say, with Ansel, or with Dave himself?
- Wayburn: Dave has gone his way. I've been peripherally involved, having been one of the board of directors of the John Muir Institute when Dave was involved with that. After Dave was involved with that. I said Dave sued outfits that he parted with, and he also sued the John Muir Institute.
- Lage: Now, that was an institute that he joined at the same time as Friends of the Earth?

Wayburn: No, the John Muir Institute was quite separate. Friends of the Earth was Dave's reaction to the challenge and to the fact he realized he was going down. Or I think it may even have sprung into being after the election. I do remember one comment; you know, Ed led the ticket. He had the greatest number of votes on the return, which said a lot, I think, about his role in being at the center of the club. The heart of the club, almost. Dick Leonard said, "Oh, he didn't lead the ticket; he just tied Ansel." Anyway, small recollections.

Lage: What was the John Muir Institute?

Wayburn: The John Muir Institute was Max Linn. Max Linn had worked at Los Alamos. We had been to Albuquerque; Ed had given a talk. This would have been in '67 or '68. We'd met Max Linn and his family --his wife and four children, very nice. Lived in a house that they had built themselves. Max was active in the club, and a supporter of Dave.

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Wayburn: Anyhow, Max left his wife. Quit his job and left his wife. I guess he had formed the John Muir Institute before that. The institute really was--you know, I couldn't really tell you how it was such a different organization. I mean, I really couldn't tell you the *raison d'etre*. Well, it was principally to raise funds. I mean, it was a tax-exempt institute, and then it did have programs. It worked with education, things of this sort.

Lage: Not as activist? More education and research?

Wayburn: Yes, more education and research, and funding research and funding educational projects, and so forth. I don't know what's become of it.

Lage: But you were on the board for a while?

Wayburn: I was on the board for a while, and then when the state of California made it clear that directors were responsible for the finances of any outfit they were on--. I had always felt it was a little shaky, and I resigned. Max Linn was very angry at me. But anyway, Max came out to this part of the world thereafter.

But remembering the turbulent times, I remember going to a dinner party at--it would have been at the Jukes's house, after the 1969 election, when Ed was made the vice president. I remember Phil Berry was there, and it was Phil Berry's idea to have a lot of vice presidents. That stands out in my mind. That

was the first time that came up, and I think that was our agenda. The numerous vice presidents that the club has.

Lage: In charge of different areas.

Wayburn: In charge of different areas. But Ed, of course, was vice president of the club; he was not in charge of a particular area. I can remember during the time, feeling under attack. One particular incident stands out in my mind. My family was in South Carolina and I visited back there, and Georgia Pacific's headquarters were in Athens, Georgia. Some woman who had stock in Georgia Pacific [a redwood lumber company] wanted to delegate her vote to me and to have me appear at the meeting. We were visiting in South Carolina at that time. Ed bought me ten shares so I would be a stockholder myself, but then I had the proxy of this woman. I stood up in the meeting and said what a great chance it was for Georgia Pacific to do public service and make a Redwood National Park available. For all the good it did.

Anyhow, this was reported in one of the chapter papers, saying that Doris Leonard had done it, had made this as a great gesture, you know. Things like this would happen, that seemed unfair and unkind. Anyway, it was a mean time.

Lage: It seemed like a deliberate thing to you? Not a mistake.

Wayburn: I don't see how it could have been a mistake. I really don't. Anyway, things like that. It was a siege, in a sense.

Lage: So, yes, there was ill feeling. A lot of ill feeling.

Wayburn: There was a lot of ill feeling.

Lage: Among, as you described it, not just between Brower and the board, but among different factions.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Did that seem to heal quickly, or did those--?

Wayburn: Well, you know, I will never, ever feel the same about Dick Leonard as long as I live. Or about Will Siri, as long as I live.

Lage: So Will Siri took that side also?

Wayburn: Will Siri's vote was necessary. It was an 8-7 vote, you know.

Lage: On the presidency.

Wayburn: On the presidency. No, I mean, we had been quite good friends. Ed and Will had been quite good friends before all this happened. Used to meet for lunch, and so forth.

Lage: Did Will ever make an explanation to Ed over that?

Wayburn: No. I don't think so.

Lage: That sounds like it was a real power play.

Wayburn: It was.

Lage: And then the term "East Bay block" came about.

Wayburn: Did it? I was not aware of that.

Lage: I think in the early seventies they talked about the East Bay block of the board of directors.

Wayburn: Well, it was very apt; I mean, it was the East Bay block. All of them were over there in Berkeley.

#### Ansel Adams as Photographer

Lage: But you did have a healing with Ansel?

Wayburn: Yes. It was very difficult not to have a healing with Ansel. Ansel was never--. You know, Ansel was a marvelous character, but I was going to say that he--. Ansel ended up, apropos of keeping your word, favoring the Mammoth road, because the club had come out for the Mammoth road in the 1930s, I think, or something of the sort. Ansel said all the right things and I think he felt all the right things, but he was not profoundly involved, as Ed was or as Dave was, with the environmental scene. Ansel was an artist first. He was profoundly involved with his photography. His heart was certainly in the right place otherwise, but he did not have the commitment to this that--. Well, I think you can see this in his books. You can see in his books that this is a peripheral subject to him. His subject was photography, and he was a fine artist. Very hard-working, precise person. We took him to the North Cascades in 1959. Did I mention this before?

Lage: No, I'd like to hear this.

Wayburn: We took him up, and he was photographing for a photograph to go in Grand Central Station in New York. I think he had some kind of a commission. They had these big murals that he was doing. Anyway, we got up to the North Cascades, and it was a terrible drought year, and there were forest fires. The one image that Ansel made on that trip that survived was the stump in the fog. I don't know if you've ever seen it.

Lage: I don't know that.

Wayburn: Anyway, I have a proof of it upstairs. We saw Ansel at work, and he took infinite pains, and he went through logarithms and all sorts of things in setting up his system. He had a system of shading. You're familiar with this?

Lage: I've read about his zone system.

Wayburn: Well, he went through all of that. He would take Polaroids of what he was going to take to be sure he was getting it. You know, the idea of a creative artist just going out and shooting the picture--this was a procedure, I mean, this was an undertaking, and he did this--

Lage: Very technical.

Wayburn: Technically correct. And then, of course, he had this marvelous darkroom in Carmel that he built. One of the things he said to me that I've always liked, he said that the printing of a negative was the art. He said it was like a symphony, that you would have the score of the symphony even as you would have the negative of the print, and then the performance of the symphony was comparable to the beauty of the print. Because you have such leeway when you make a print, in what you do. That was his simile, which I think is a nice one.

Lage: Very nice. I remember seeing an Adams exhibit at the California Academy of Sciences; they had some prints made early and some prints of the same photograph he made maybe twenty or thirty years later. And they were quite different in feeling.

Wayburn: Yes. Well, he had a--as Ed said, he had it made, because he had the negatives, and he could print or not print as he chose. And of course that was what happened with Bill Turnage [Adam's business manager]. Bill Turnage had him print only for museums, and to limit his number.

More of Brower's Independent Actions

Lage: Do you have anything more to add about the redwood book?

Wayburn: This was just another little indication of Brower. The redwood book I was so involved in was held up because of funds, and it was supposed to be in abeyance; I mean, it was not supposed to go forward because the club had no money to produce the book. After the debacle, after the election in 1969 and so forth, Ed and I were in New York for some reason (I can't recall the exact details) and we stayed in the club's apartment. Was it New York? I think it was New York. Does that ring a bell with you?

Lage: Or London. I know he opened a London office.

Wayburn: No, this was New York. When we got into the apartment and I opened a desk drawer to see what was in it, and there were all the photographs for the redwood book. They had been reproduced. There were proofs of all the photographs. Dave had gone right ahead and had the separations and the color work done. It must have cost plenty.

Lage: And that was the way you found out about it?

Wayburn: That was the way we found out about it. It was after the election, when we discovered that all those things were there.

Lage: And then did you go ahead and put the book together?<sup>1</sup>

Wayburn: I went ahead and I edited the book. I've thought about it since. The publisher wanted me to put my name on the front, "edited by Peggy Wayburn," and I didn't do it, out of false modesty. I should have. Looking back on it, I was silly, but I just didn't--. You know, I have an innate dislike of conflict, and I just didn't want to take it on. It would have been a conflict.

I wanted to say, just for the record, that Dave was very good at taking credit for things that someone else had done. I just remember specifically, things that--. When you hear him talk now, he was the one behind the redwoods. But Ed was the one behind the redwoods, and the two of them agreed that Dave would take Grand Canyon and that Ed would take the redwoods as a

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<sup>1</sup>François Leydet, The Last Redwoods and the Parkland of Redwood Creek (San Francisco: The Sierra Club, 1969), paperback. [Paperback was different from hardback: Jim Rose pictures, and captions--quotes and comments--done by me.--P.W.]

division of labor in the club. And then you see Dave getting credit for the redwoods. That was really peripheral. He was involved with the ads, and that would be really more or less the extent. He didn't go up to the redwoods the way we did.

Lage: Or lobby on it extensively?

Wayburn: Or lobby on it the way Ed did, and I did.

I was also going to tell you about Bob Waldrop. When Ed went back to some meeting in either Washington or New York, and he probably will remember this--. He will remember the incident better than I do--the details of it. But what it amounted to was that he got into a cab with someone else to go to some function, and was talking to this other person, you know, as a stranger, and it turned out that Dave had hired him to work for the Sierra Club. This was an employee working for the Sierra Club--it was Bob Waldrop--that Ed knew nothing about.

Lage: [laughs] All these things are funny in retrospect.

Wayburn: I know. But at the time, you know, this was one more thing, one more thing that Dave had done. That was just another little sidelight. But a very, very difficult man. Very difficult.

#### Volunteer-Staff Relations in the Club

Lage: Now, as things evolved, as the club got more complex and much larger, the volunteer leaders haven't had as much hands-on control over the staff. I mean, I'm sure there are people hired now that the president doesn't know about. More is delegated, it seems to me.

Wayburn: I think it's necessary.

Lage: I wonder if somebody much removed would just look at this whole controversy as sort of a transition period in the club's evolution to a larger and more complex organization.

Wayburn: Well, this may be. But certainly after that 1969 election, the officers were very much involved in the club. Very much involved in the club, and in who was hired or whatever. But of course that was in the time when the conservation movement was really just coming into its own. I mean, the first Earth Day was 1970.



Lage: And they were reacting also to the Brower era. Do you have some thoughts about working with staff in general? I mean, over a long period of time, now, you as a volunteer have worked with staff, which actually was what the Brower controversy was about. But since then, also, have you seen any particular difficulties in the relationship?

Wayburn: No, I haven't. I think that the Sierra Club is a formidable organization for anyone to work for, you know, as a member of the staff. It's so very, very different from what it was as a smaller organization that I would find it difficult to assess the role of the staff now. I know when Ed was president of the club, it involved a great deal of his time and his energy and his thought, and all the rest of it. It's a consuming job. Now, I think the president of the club really has to drop everything else and just be president of the Sierra Club, because it's so involved. I'm sure that that makes it difficult for the staff; I mean, to have a volunteer who is full time, even as they have Ed as a volunteer who is full-time. I'm sure that that is--you know, it's an unusual situation. It's an unusual structure for anyone to work for. I would think it might be. It presents a personal challenge, in a way, and I think sometimes it attracts some very good people for that reason, who want to be involved in the environmental effort. So many people want to work for the Sierra Club; it's interesting. We get calls, you know, "How do I get a job?"

Lage: Young people, in particular?

Wayburn: Yes. "I have a friend who wants to work for the Sierra Club. What should they do?"

Lage: Do you think it takes particular qualities for someone like Mike McCloskey, who really has handled it for so long? Are there certain qualities that allow them to work in that complex structure?

Wayburn: I don't know. Mike is a special person. He really is. Apropos of qualities, I think he's possessed of them, certainly. He has a great deal going. Very, very thoughtful person. Of course, we saw Mike come to work for the club, and as I said, Maxine came later, and they have both taken their places, certainly, in--

Lage: And he worked on the redwood issue, didn't he?

Wayburn: Mike went to work for the club in the sixties [as Pacific Northwest representative, 1961-1965; assistant to the president, 1965-1966; conservation director, 1966-1969; executive director, 1969-1985; chairman, 1985-present].

Lage: When you would go back East to lobby, did you check in with Lloyd Tupling or, later, Brock Evans? How did that work? How did that relationship work?

Wayburn: Bill Zimmerman was the first Sierra Club representative in Washington, and Bill went to work for the club the year Kennedy was elected president. I always remember meeting with Bill in Washington, and we were talking about the election. It was very close, as you recall, and there was a lot of contention that the Kennedys had packed the Chicago vote and all the rest of it, you may recall that. We referred to this, and made some remark about, you know, it was a tough election and so forth and so on, and Bill said, "Yes, but we won!" [laughter] And it stuck in my mind, you know, the fact that however Kennedy made it, he made it.

Bill was grand. He had worked for the BIA, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and knew his way around Washington, and commanded great respect. I think that was a tremendous plus for the club, to have Bill. We worked with him, and then Lloyd came on after Bill retired. Bill was well along when he went to work for the club; he was not young.

Yes, we worked with them, and--

Lage: Did they take the role as mentor, how to get around in Washington, or was this not necessary?

Wayburn: I don't think it was really necessary. We had made contacts. For example, one of the things the wilderness conference had done was to involve congresspeople. I remember in particular John Saylor. We had worked, I think, person-to-person with other members of Congress. I know we had here.

Lage: In a different way from the paid lobbyists.

Wayburn: Yes. And there was a very personal relationship between Ed and many of the people involved in the redwood fight. Ed was a good friend of Scoop Jackson's, and there was a very special relationship between Ed and Phil Burton. I don't know if you knew that.

Lage: Oh, yes. I knew that.

Wayburn: Phil Burton called Ed his guru. That was a very big blow, when we lost Phil. A very able politician.

Lage: I wonder if you would tell more about the volunteer leader's relationship with staff. As a volunteer leader, do you feel you can go to the staff member and ask something of them, or do you feel like you have to go up to the president and come back down through the executive director?

Wayburn: I don't know that I've been in that position. I started writing in 1969; I started on my first book. Since I have been doing that more professionally, I've not been as intimately involved as a volunteer with the Sierra Club, and as it has become larger I have not maintained the very active participation that I had. I used to work with Ed all the time and I did a lot of the writing that we produced, and it often went out over Ed's name. I was very closely involved in those earlier issues that we talked about. And then after the whole movement took off, I would say starting in the seventies, I was involved in my own writing. However, I was also very involved in the Alaska campaign, the campaign for the national lands. I wrote and lectured extensively on Alaska during the 1970s. I'm still doing it! But not full time the way it used to be.

Incidentally, all during the seventies and well into the eighties, I was also involved as a volunteer on the California State Advisory Board on Conservation Education. First we advised the governor and then the state director of education. I was vice chair of this board. This took quite a bit of time--we had quite a program, then funded by the state. We met all over the state to see what was going on in conservation education--later we called it environmental education. We also developed a lot of pilot programs. Very interesting, looking back on it. I remember I said that environmental awareness--and indeed the pertinence of the environment--should be taught in all the different subjects. It's part of everything!

But back to volunteering with the club--

Lage: I think the club's so complex now that you really have to be enmeshed in it to really--

Wayburn: I think so too. You have to find one niche. It's no longer the general involvement that we had during the fifties and the sixties. Everything was there. Now you might want to work for clean air, or you might want to work on the population problem, or you might want to work on the nuclear issue, or whatever, but it's not the same scene at all. I think the staff--as I said, I think the executive director has a totally impossible job. I don't know how any executive director can live with fifteen strong egos on the board, which is what they're up against. And often contentious egos and people with different ideas about how

things should be done and how things should be run. All of that must make it very, very hard. A strain. An executive director of the Sierra Club is in great demand for all sorts of functions and has to speak for the club, and at the same time has to speak in a way that won't infuriate his board. You know, I think it must be tough.

Lage: A kind of balancing act.

Wayburn: But there are a lot of people who want to take on things like that. I admire the energy.

## VII ALASKA

[Interview 4: April 4, 1990]##

First Visit, 1967

Lage: We were going to talk today about Alaska, starting with your first experience and what that was like. I was struck in your Adventuring in Alaska, that at the time you published that in '82, you said you had had twenty-one visits over fifteen years.

Wayburn: Oh, my goodness, yes.

Lage: And they totalled two years of your life.

Wayburn: And I think by now it's close to three years of my life, with continued visits to Alaska. But as you know, we started in 1967, and it was the flip of a coin, really. This is probably in Ed's history, but just for the record, we had more or less chosen between running the Abitibi River and going to Alaska.

Lage: And where's the Abitibi?

Wayburn: It's in Canada, in the northeast. I wanted to go to Alaska very much, so we more or less weighted the coin. It reminds me of the Robert Frost poem, "The Road Not Taken," about choosing one road of two: "I chose the one less traveled by/And that has made all the difference." Our choosing Alaska over the Abitibi has made all the difference in our lives. But back to how we went.

There was an exhibit in New York City, a Time-Life exhibit of Sierra Club photographs and books, and we went back for that. Then we flew actually from New York to Seattle, and from Seattle to Fairbanks. On that first visit to Alaska, we had an extraordinary overview of only a small part of the state, but it was enough to give us an idea of what magnificence there was in Alaska.

Lage: Do you recall what made you want to visit?

Wayburn: Oh, I think the same reason that having been a New Yorker, I wanted to come to San Francisco. I have a little bit of a wanderlust, and still have, and love to travel, and love to see new places. Alaska had always been sort of a legendary place in my mind. I may have read Robert Service, I don't know. But I had formed a picture, which I guess most people do, of Alaska as being a land of ice and snow and Eskimos, and of course there is ice and there is snow and there are Eskimos, but that's not all. We found out that it was always a magnificent and very, very strong country, but as it turned out, in my research, only 3 percent of the state stays snow-covered year round. Ninety-seven percent thaws in the summer and some of it may not even feel the snow in the winter. So it's quite different from the picture that we had.

Actually, we were thinking of polar conditions with that picture and not with Alaska, which comes down into the mid-latitudes of northern North America, and has, incidentally, many worlds because it is such a large state. As you know, it's 20 percent in size of the contiguous forty-eight states, and it is north-south over two thousand miles and east-west over two thousand miles, so that it's a vast, vast country. I'm fond of saying when I give a lecture on Alaska, that if you're going to see it all, you would have to see one million acres every day for a year and ten days.

Lage: That gives you quite the picture. On that first trip, you certainly didn't see it all.

Wayburn: Oh, no, we didn't see it all.

Lage: Did you concentrate on certain areas?

Wayburn: Well, we flew to Fairbanks, and from Fairbanks we took the train to what was then McKinley National Park, and we spent three or four days with Ginny Hill and Celia Hunter at Camp Denali, which was their operation there.

Lage: Had you known them before?

Wayburn: No, but they knew of us by reputation and we had heard of them and knew that they were very interested in the same kinds of things that we were.

Incidentally, we had flown into Fairbanks, arriving in the middle of the night; I guess it was 2 a.m. or something. A very friendly taxi cab driver had driven us all over Fairbanks trying

to show us things, and of course we'd seen nothing because it was very dark. One reason it was so dark--because actually that's far enough north to stay light during a good part of the summer--it was dark because it was cloudy. The next day it started to rain in Fairbanks. We, of course, took the train to the south going to McKinley Park, but Fairbanks had this monumental flood. The hotel that we had stayed in was flooded, and it was quite a dramatic time in Alaska. It was a real occurrence, meteorological occurrence.

But we stayed in McKinley Park, and Celia and Ginny took us around; they were wonderful, and showed us many things. Showed us where proposed development was, not far from Camp Denali. While we were there, the mountain came out and we had wonderful views of Mount McKinley. Then we went on by train into Anchorage.

#### The Federal Land Agencies in Alaska

Wayburn: At that time we started doing what it turned out we would do on almost all of our subsequent visits, and that was to touch base with the federal agencies that were administering land in Alaska, and they would show us around or tell us of their particular problems of what was important at the moment. We were flown by Fish and Wildlife Service down the Kenai Peninsula. We got to see the Kenai National Moose Range. Actually, I'm trying to remember if that was the year that we were flown north into the Arctic Wildlife Refuge. It may have been, or that may have been the subsequent year, because things do begin to blur after twenty-four years.

Lage: How did this all fall together, that the federal agencies just naturally began to show you around? Did you plan any of that?

Wayburn: Ed was then president of the Sierra Club.

Lage: So was this all set up in advance?

Wayburn: Not in advance, actually. All of these things were more or less spontaneous. Both Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service were involved in these various outings that we took. We've done a lot of spontaneous traveling in Alaska--it's that kind of place.

Lage: What attitude did you sense towards you as representatives of the Sierra Club?

Wayburn: Oh, they were very friendly, and many of them were looking to, I think, support for the kind of preservation that we--. I mean, we embodied an ideal of conservation, perhaps. But they were definitely interested in making our acquaintance and in making us acquainted with Alaska. And this has persisted over the years. Just last summer we went on a trip with the Bureau of Land Management [BLM] and had a short run of a river that we had long wanted to see, which was under their aegis, and is a magnificent wild river, and hopefully will be classified and protected. This is the Squirrel.

Lage: So often you see tension between the club and the various federal land agencies. Or attempts on their part to maybe not tell the whole picture. Did you sense that, or was it different in Alaska?

Wayburn: Part of it is Ed's particular personality, which is anti-tension, really. He's very soft-spoken and he's not a contentious person, as you know. And nor am I. I think both of us were very interested in what was taking place, and we were anxious to see as much as we could see and to understand as much as we could understand about the whole situation in Alaska.

You know, when we went to Alaska, it was almost all under the BLM. There were 292 million acres or something of the sort that were under the aegis of the BLM. The land was potentially up for grabs; all this public land had yet to be classified. During the time that we have been up there, of course, we have taken part in this whole subdivision of Alaska into the various federal bureaus and into the state and the Native ownership and so forth. So it was natural to begin with that we meet with BLM because they were such a major landowner, if you will. Or a land administrator.

Lage: Were they receptive to the idea of conserving as much as possible?

Wayburn: Yes, I think they were, and we found--. Also, the other thing about Alaska you have to understand is that when we went there, the total population of the state was something like 225,000 people. It was a very small state, population-wise. A tremendous amount of land, magnificent land, and then this very small group of people, all of whom had to have certain qualities to survive in this particular environment. Because Alaska can be very cruel, and it requires a love of the land, I think, and it also requires that people be cautious, careful people, or they won't make it in there. We found that often was the case and has continued to be the case over the years, that the man who was



with BLM or Fish and Wildlife or whatever, would love Alaska, and his wife wouldn't. That was actually the reason that several of our friends with whom we had worked over the years left Alaska. This continues to be the case, that people just don't react to this kind of a landscape identically.

I think that the people with the agencies and people who were involved were interested in keeping what they saw, and they might not always share our ideas for the way it should be kept or protected, but the ultimate wish on both sides would have been for the protection of the land.

If you want names, Burt Silcock was the head of BLM.

Lage: In Alaska?

Wayburn: In Alaska. He was the regional director, I guess, was the proper term. And Bob Crumm, with whom we took several canoe trips, was the supervisor of the northern district of Alaska. He had close to 200 million acres or something under his jurisdiction.

And of course at that time, the National Park Service was very small. There were, I think, three professional members of the National Park Service in Alaska, and they had only a pittance of seven million acres to administer. It was still, I guess, the largest holding of any state in the United States.

But we also, on this first trip, went to Juneau. So we had seen the three major cities of Alaska and we had talked to the various people involved. We had talked to people in the state because the state was still in the process, then, of selecting lands according to the statehood act, which gave them 104 million acres of land, more or less, to be selected out of the public domain. They were interested in parks as well as in areas to be settled.

So we talked with people from the state, we talked with people from the Forest Service, also. There was a man named Howard Johnson who was the Forest Service director of the region, which then and still does have twenty million acres of land.

Lage: It's just so vast, it's hard to imagine it.

Wayburn: It's so incredible, you know, it really is. No one has ever really gotten to describe Alaska, and I'm also fond of quoting John Muir, who said that it was impossible to describe Alaska, after his different forays in the state. But I remember talking to Howard Johnson, and at that time we were made aware of the fact that there were contracts for cutting the Tongass National

Forest which had been issued during the 1950s and which were horrendous and have proved to be horrendous, still are, and are under a great deal of contention now in the Congress. But we asked Howard Johnson if he had considered establishing wilderness areas in the state. He looked quite offended and said, "Why, it's all wilderness." [laughter] Not having really any idea of what we were talking about. I think that he is one of the bureaucrats that I would say did not see things the way we did. But certainly we found that we were more or less on the same wavelength with the other people that we met and talked to.

### The Sierra Club in Alaska

Wayburn: As a result of that first trip, Ed, being president of the Sierra Club, was fired with enthusiasm, as was I, and he proposed that the club make Alaska one of its major programs. This was really the start or the very beginning of the concerted drive among the conservationists in the contiguous forty-eight states to save Alaska. The Sierra Club came out with a strong leadership role in that whole effort.

Lage: When you were in Alaska, did you sense that people there favored preserving their wilderness, or were they just too overwhelmed?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, but then they were just a handful of Sierra Club members in Alaska. And I do mean a handful.

Of course, we went back in 1968, 1969, right on; continued to go to Alaska every year and have ever since, and sometimes more than once a year as we became more and more involved in what was taking place in the state. There were very strong Sierra Club members in Alaska who were delighted to see us, incidentally, and with whom we became friends, and who were working in Alaska as much as they could. But remember, this was a very lightly populated area, and most people had not heard of the Sierra Club. When we go now, of course, there's no question about our identity, but at that time I think a great many Alaskans wouldn't know who we were or what we stood for. The people in the agencies did, and of course our membership did.

Lage: Were the Sierra Club members people who had been members here and then moved to Alaska, primarily?

Wayburn: Yes, and some of them were actually-- Well, I'm thinking of people out in Nome, for example, whom we met, I guess, in 1968. We went out to Kotzebue and Nome and did some exploring in that

part of the world. They were often people who worked with the government or who were with the state. Actually, I think the people in Nome, that he was a schoolteacher and would have been there as a state employee. But often they came in as part of their job, and then either did or didn't love Alaska once they were there.

We talked earlier about the role of women in the Sierra Club. There was a woman in Alaska who played a big role in the whole fight. That's Mark Ganapole. She was then Mark Ganapole; she's now Mark Hickok. She and Jerry Ganapole were both involved, and Mark was a very live wire. She dropped out, oh, three or four years ago, after having been very closely involved in Alaska.

Lage: What was her role there?

Wayburn: She was one of the local spokespersons and one of the local fighters who had worked very closely with the state selections and in the establishment of state parks and wildernesses and so forth, and who was a strong local supporter on the Alaska front.

Lage: Was she working to build a constituency there in Alaska, or would she be working more on her own?

Wayburn: She was more a personal activist, I would say. I don't think she ever went in too much for organizing any efforts. She may have, but I'm not aware of it.

#### Adventures on Rivers and by Plane

Wayburn: Early on in our exploring of Alaska, we took to traveling on the rivers. As a consequence, we have run probably thirty rivers in Alaska, and it's the most wonderful way to explore the terrain because you travel quietly, and you can see the wildlife, and you can experience a very close relationship with the land. We started running rivers in canoes. We started canoeing with the BLM. I remember very well our first trip was just a three-day trip on the Delta River, and then the next year we ran the Fortymile River in canoes. It was one of my first experiences--I guess it was my second experience being in the canoe with my husband being in the stern and I being in the bow. This is a great test of marriage.

Lage: I've heard that from many people and experienced it myself.

Wayburn: When we ran the Fortymile River, I can remember saying, "Get to the right! Get to the right! Get to the right!" and he was adamantly charting his own course, and we hung up on a big boulder. [laughter] And got sopping wet. Everything got sopping wet. But it was all a tremendous adventure, and every time we ran a river, of course, it was a new adventure. Looking back on it--.

Jack Hession, by the way, came on the scene early on in this--in 1971, in fact.

Lage: And he was a Sierra Club representative.

Wayburn: He was and is a Sierra Club representative and is Alaska's greatest river rat. He loves running rivers, and there's hardly a river in Alaska that he hasn't run. He and his wife Mary Kay took us on a run of the Alatna River, and Mary Kay and I said at the time that we were probably the first white women who had ever run the Alatna. I think we probably were. This would have been in the early seventies.

Lage: Did Mary Kay take to Alaska?

Wayburn: Yes, Mary Kay loves Alaska.

Lage: Had they been there, or did they go up to be Sierra Club representatives?

Wayburn: They went up to be--. Well, actually, Jack had gone to the University of Alaska and he may have gotten his master's, or--. I believe he has a master's in political science or whatever. He may have gotten that in Alaska. I don't really know how they met, but Mary Kay is just as enthusiastic about river-running as Jack. Both of them are expert kayakers. When we ran the Alatna, we ran in kayaks, and Ed and I again had a great test of our marriage in a double kayak. [laughter]

Lage: In a double kayak! This is unfair.

Wayburn: And then after that it was Jack who started using a raft, which is a much better means of getting down an Alaska river. The first years that we rafted, we paddled. So this was kind of a combination of a canoe and I don't what else, but rafts are big and wide, and it allowed for a much easier relationship between the various people who were paddling.

Lage: Couldn't blame it all on one person.

Wayburn: No, you couldn't. And we used to paddle, and then Jack discovered that he could do better with oars. So we went to having one oarsman in the raft, and the other people riding and taking turns rowing. So now when we go, it's usually via raft with oars, although last summer, again, we traveled in canoes.

Lage: It takes a certain level of skill to handle a canoe on these trips, wouldn't you say?

Wayburn: Yes. Some of the rivers are not suitable for canoes. They're suitable for both kayaks and rafts, but rafts probably can go most places that a kayak can go; not always. Kayaks can go in narrower areas where rafts can't make it.

But we ran, oh, starting, as I say, with the Delta, and then the Fortymile. The Fortymile River eventually flows into the Yukon. When we first ran the Fortymile, we took out about halfway down the river, and then in 1988 we completed our run of the Fortymile into the Yukon and ran down from Fort Egbert where we put in, in Canada, to take out in Eagle, in Alaska. So we had a kind of a completion of an earlier start on the river. And early on we ran the Chilikadrotna and the Mulchatna down into the Lake Clark country, exploring that. Everywhere we've gone, we have had a reason, conservation-wise or environmental-wise, if you prefer, to see an area and have done our exploring on the rivers.

Lage: It's a nice combination of adventure and purpose.

Wayburn: Yes. The very best way to adventure, I think, is when you have a purpose.

Lage: Ed mentioned a good story of yours from that first trip having to do with an Alaskan plane. Is that something you remember?

Wayburn: That first trip?

Lage: I believe it was. You sat up front and discovered that the plane was wired together with baling wire?

Wayburn: That was the first trip. I had forgotten that completely.

When we went to Alaska, as is presently the case, the way you got around was largely by air because the vast areas of Alaska do not--and then even more so, did not have any roads. As a matter of fact, Alaska got its first road to the outside during World War II, and that was then called the Alcan Highway, and that was the only way that you could drive into Alaska, was up

the Alcan, which was in itself an adventure. I think it still is an adventure, and now it is called the Alaska Highway.

But we had flown in small planes on the first trip up. I think I mentioned that we had been flown down the Kenai Peninsula by Fish & Wildlife Service. There was a marvelous assortment of aircraft in Alaska then, and still is, but not quite as exciting as it was then. They had a lot of Army surplus, or Navy surplus airplanes. They also notably had D-C 3s, which were one of the early workhorses of aircraft.

As I recall, the flight that we took that was quite interesting, it was from Ketchikan to Annette Island. This was a little leg, a flight that was necessary at that time because Ketchikan did not have an airstrip that would accommodate the larger commercial planes. Annette Island had been part of the war effort, and there was a surplus airfield there which was used by the commercial aircraft. When we made this particular flight, it was a typical Southeast day with a drizzle of rain, low clouds, not very good visibility, and a very wonderful sense that you have in the Southeast of this mysterious kind of weather. We had been flying in small planes in Alaska, and I had-- . Actually, the plane that this was in was a Goose. Are you familiar with the Grumman Goose?

Lage: I've heard of the Grumman Goose.

Wayburn: Wonderful airplane. Takes nine passengers and the pilot, and I had been sitting in the back all the times that we had flown, and I was determined that I was going to sit in the front with the pilot and experience the pleasures of being aware of what took place when you flew the airplane. So I got in the front of the line to get on the Goose, and I got up front and I sat right next to the pilot in the copilot's seat. The first hint that I had that this was going to be an adventurous flight was when I made some remark to the pilot, and he said, "Eh?" [laughter] He was quite deaf, and I guess had become quite deaf from flying. This is kind of an occupational hazard of Alaskan people, because they fly so much.

Anyway, we started out, and we were soon engulfed in clouds and could see nothing, and then very, very occasionally there would be the top of a tree that would go by underneath us. I began to get a little nervous, wondering if this man knew where we were going. Then I became aware that there was a fine spray of rain coming in on my face, and I started looking around the cockpit, and discovered that it was held together, literally, with electrician's tape. It was leaking and, you know, this aircraft had been around goodness knows how many years, and

through what kinds of weather, but it was a real warhorse. I held my breath as we went through this soup, and finally a couple more trees emerged, and we made a perfect landing on Annette Island. I was filled with an enormous sense of relief, and I said to the pilot, "Well, that was quite a long flight, wasn't it? Must have been an hour." And he looked at me, again after saying, "Eh?" and I shouted what I had said to him, and he said, "Oh, lady, that was just ten minutes." [laughter]

Lage: I can see how that would add years to your life.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. But this was the first, only, of many adventures in small planes, including one notable flight which was made.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, a Major Social Experiment

Wayburn: Of course, you must realize that we came on the Alaskan scene just before Prudhoe Bay was announced. Just before all the tremendous pressures began to be felt. We hadn't realized how much of a pressure the statehood act, which was in the late 1950s, had started exerting on the Alaska land. Then after the discovery of--not the discovery of oil, because it had been known that there was oil on the Arctic from the time people started going into Alaska. I mean, there was always that evidence. It was simply that they brought in the oil in quantities at Prudhoe Bay that made the pipeline and that whole development an inevitable thing.

And then along in the early seventies, of course, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed by Congress, and that gave forty-four million acres to the Natives and gave them a new status. It was what I have often referred to as one of the major social experiments in our history, because it made of all the Alaska Natives instant capitalists. As one Native leader described it with great glee after the act was passed, "Now we are all red-blooded American capitalists."

You are familiar with the terms of the Native Claims Settlement Act?

Lage: It made Native villages into corporations, isn't--

Wayburn: It made every village a corporation, and a village was defined as fifty or more people who had had one aboriginal grandparent. One of the interesting side effects of this legislation was how many

people were suddenly Native, because they had-- . Before this legislation, there had been a kind of a stigma. If you were a Native, you know, you were considered inferior by many misguided people.

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Wayburn: As I said, this had been a major social phenomenon. Still is a major social phenomenon, and a very significant piece of legislation historically, because it was the first overt recognition of-- . Well, in a sense it was a recognition of the rights of the aboriginals, but it was also a recognition, and a very paternalistic one, I think, of the "superiority" of the white culture and the white economic system and all the rest of it.

There were, as we were saying, instantly 250 corporations as far as the villages were concerned, and then there were also twelve regional corporations established which were much larger in area. The regional corporations had the subsurface rights of all the land that was selected. The villages had the surface rights of the land that they selected, and they were allowed to select out of this great pie of federal land that was still extant in Alaska when this legislation was passed. And of course, over the years there have been all sorts of adjustments made and corners straightened and shortcuts taken, and many other things have happened in the selection of this land, this forty-four million acres for the Natives.

Lage: Did they get first choice?

Wayburn: As it turned out, they did and do get first choice, and that had not been the case at the time the legislation was crafted. I mean, that was not the idea. Well, actually, I think the state supersedes the Natives, but certainly the Natives have been able to retain hunting rights, for example, in many of the areas that are parks. Subsistence hunting. And the whole question of subsistence and the subsistence rights of Native peoples in Alaska, and also of Alaskans who live in the bush, has been another very interesting subject, and one that will never be settled, I think.

Just as an aside, I noticed in the paper today that a village in Alaska had been able to overcome the regulations on hunting caribou threatened in their area, but they are hungry and they are going to be able to hunt the caribou even though the herd is greatly diminished. This was decided by an Alaskan judge. With this kind of thing, you run up against the fact that the Natives in Alaska lived very successfully with the land and



with the animals that were there. This was before the coming of the Europeans and the changes in culture and the tools of culture, including snowmobiles and rifles and all the rest. It was also before the Natives began to proliferate as they are now doing--there are many more mouths to be fed. The wildlife has become increasingly pressured, and in many cases, as in this particular instance, there are major problems about the possible survival of species.

Lage: Now, is the problem with the caribou one of overhunting by Natives, or are there other--

Wayburn: Oh, there are other reasons. I mean, the habitat changes have had a major impact and continue to have tremendous impact as the oil fields have been developed and as roads have been built and as more airstrips have been put in and as more and more people have come into Alaska. When we first went to Alaska, there was very little tourism. Now, of course, the more people--there are many more tourists in Alaska in the summer than live in Alaska year-round. I mean, this has made a big impact on the wildlife. Certainly the hunting of the wildlife in conjunction with this invasion of the habitat and change of the habitat all has added up to pressures.

#### Visit to a Native Village in Barrow

Wayburn: But this is all as an aside that I started when I was talking about our flying and having interesting flights. This particular flight would have been in 1971, possibly in 1972 or 1973, when we were to visit the Native corporation in Barrow. We flew out of Kotzebue. At this time, we were talking to the Natives and hoping that there would be a coincidence of purpose in their selecting of the land and in our wanting to see the land protected, because traditionally they had very greatly respected and protected their habitat and their wildlife. As it turned out, this hoped-for cooperation between the two of us has not been as broad-based as we had at that time hoped or believed it might be.

Anyway, we were to visit the new corporation in Barrow, which was the North Slope Corporation, which was a very large regional corporation and had great interests in the Arctic Slope and into the Brooks Range. Of course, what had happened-- again in an aside--with the passage of the Native Claims Settlement Act was that many oil companies had become very much involved with the Natives in helping them select lands that might prove to be

productive, oil-producing lands. Because of aboriginal land claims all over Alaska in the late sixties--remember, this was during the emergence of the civil rights movement--Secretary of the Interior Udall had "frozen" all public lands in Alaska. The "freeze" was to last until the Native claims were settled--as they were in ANCSA in late 1970. The oil companies could not get the land they wanted for the Trans Alaska Pipeline (TAPS). This was another reason they were involved with the Natives--they wanted the claims settled so they could "unfreeze" a corridor for their pipeline.

Anyway, this particular flight that we were talking about was important to us because there is a real protocol in dealing with the Natives, and we didn't want to not show up for this particular meeting; it was a crucial meeting. So we were going to fly from Kotzebue to Barrow. The weather was not good. We started out--I remember so well the whole flight. We flew up the Noatak River, and as we flew north--and we were flying slightly northeast, the clouds appeared to be getting lower and lower, when actually what was happening was that the land was getting higher and higher, and we were approaching an area where we would have to go across in the Brooks range in order to get to the North Slope. It was very beautiful; it was very gray, and the clouds, as I say, pinching us down, the land pinching us more and more as we gained altitude.

I was sitting in the back with Jack Hession, and Ed was in front with the pilot, and I was getting very nervous, and so was Jack, who doesn't usually get very nervous. But we were not happy because it was obvious that we were going into this dense cloudbank in front of us. It was raining the whole time. As we approached the summit that we were going to cross, because there were certain air routes that the pilots took, the plane began to buck and began to act like a little leaf in the wind. And the stall signal was going, and I remember looking out the window and there was a very distinctive snow pattern on the ground where patches of snow were still visible and the ground was very dark, so this made a very vivid kind of pattern for me to remember. I looked down at this, and the plane was doing all these weird things, and my heart was in my throat.

Finally we turned around and we went back, and there was a great sigh of relief from Jack and myself. Then we realized that all that had happened was that we were going to try another pass. Which we did, and meanwhile, the tension growing again, and as it turned out that this pass was even worse than the first one, which again, no decision had been announced from the pilot. He and Ed, I guess, had been in conversation, but nothing had been

said to us in the back. This was a four-passenger plane, you realize, a small Cessna.

Anyway, we turned around. We seemed to kind of mosey around through the mountains a bit, and then we came back to what proved to be, looking out the window, the first pass. We could tell for sure by the snow pattern on the ground. This time we went through, and we went through the clouds. There was absolutely nothing visible and the plane was half out of control, and I thought that we were flying into our doom. Then there was this incredible moment when we came out smoothly onto the North Slope, and all the turbulence was behind us. It was still raining and it was still dark, but there below us were the lower mountains of the foothills on the North Slope. Very beautiful mountains, by the way. Very soft, been around for a long time. Very different from the core mountains of the Brooks Range, like the Arregitch Peaks, which are very rugged. But we made our meeting.

Lage: The pilots must have nerves of steel.

Wayburn: They have to have nerves of steel. Also, there is a breed of pilot in Alaska which takes all kinds of chances. Most of them, those who fly, I think, enjoy the act of flying; I think they have to. You know, I'm sure you've heard the old saying--we heard it first in Alaska--"There are old pilots and there are bold pilots, but there are no old, bold pilots." [laughter]

Lage: So maybe it's best to fly with an old pilot.

Wayburn: The airplane has played a very interesting role in the development of Alaska, because, of course, flying evolved over the same period that the settlement of Alaska evolved. The first plane in Alaska came in in 1922, and from then on there has been this proliferation of small planes. Early on, the bush pilot was the hero of the bush; I mean, he was the one who picked up people who were sick or who had accidents. He brought in the mail; he was the link to civilization for many of the people living in the bush. The bush being, of course, that vast area of Alaska that has no roads.

Lage: Your mention of the Natives is very intriguing. Are there particular meetings, either the one you've just got us to, or another one that you could describe to show what the interplay was?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Well, you know, we watched this assumption of a new role occur among the Natives, and I remember this particular meeting in Barrow. Barrow was then one of the really way out, very distant, very isolated villages of Alaska. I can remember

flying into Barrow when the children would come out to the airfield, because it was an event when the aircraft landed. This has all changed so profoundly because Barrow has become a developed small city. Not really a city, but they call it the city of Barrow. The airfield has been improved and the buildings have been replaced. The whole atmosphere has changed, and the Natives own the hotel in Barrow now. We have not stayed there in the new hotel, but I understand it's just ghastly. We have stayed in some of the other new hotels.

Lage: Now, is Barrow still a Native village, or is it--

Wayburn: It's a corporation.

Lage: It's owned by a Native corporation.

Wayburn: Yes. Though I don't know if they--

Lage: Do they service a lot of non-Native--

Wayburn: Well, what happens, you see, there's the dual corporation. The village, or the city of Barrow, is a corporation, and then there is the regional corporation, which is the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, and officers of the two may be coincidental. As a matter of fact, there is a very interesting situation in Barrow in terms of land administration, because there is also a borough. Alaska doesn't have counties, it has boroughs, and there is a North Slope Borough. It also is headquartered in Barrow. It just happens, by remarkable coincidence, that the officers of the borough and the officers of the Arctic Slope Corporation and the officials of Barrow are often the same people. So they have a dual or triple kind of power. The borough can now, and does now, tax people. You have an authority there that is unmatched anywhere in the United States that I know of. You have both the corporate authority and the government authority, and they are in the same hands.

#### Failures in Superimposing Capitalism on Native Culture

Lage: And having the Native people just complicates the whole situation. If it weren't Native people, you'd probably have many outcries.

Wayburn: Oh, there's no question. There is no question. There has been a bending-over-backward to accommodate the Natives in their attempts to meet the challenge of the Alaska Native Claims

Settlement Act. As you know, there have been horrendous failures on the part of the Natives. So much so that they have had these enormous losses. The Settlement Act not only gave them the forty-four million acres of land, but it also gave them close to a billion dollars, meted out proportionately amongst them. So that they've had vast sums of money, and when the money started coming, it was much more than it is now. I mean a million dollars in the early 1970s was more like five million now, or even--. We no longer have the concept that was then held about money, but a million dollars was a whole lot of money. I guess actually at this point when we talk about a billion, it's about like when you talked about a million then. The dollar has so changed in value.

But you would have these situations where a bush community which had been oriented to traditional Native life and subsistence hunting in a genuine way would suddenly find itself with a million or more dollars and being charged with running a successful corporation.

Lage: That's amazing.

Wayburn: It is incredible. Really, the terms of the act were incredible. But I was just saying that in many cases this money was lost, and there would be these enormous losses. In 1986, I think, or maybe 1987, Congress passed this law whereby the Native corporations could sell their losses. This is absolutely outrageous when you stop to think about it. They would have a loss of five million dollars, and they could sell it to Coca-Cola or to IBM or to any of the large corporations who would use the "loss" for a tax write-off. This was done, and some of the corporations ended up with a lot of money because they sold their losses to give tax breaks to American businesses.

Lage: That's a new concept.

Wayburn: Now, this kind of thing has taken place, and people are not aware of it, and I don't think Congress was really aware of what it was doing. It was trying to help the Natives out, because, my goodness, how can you expect any group of people to be instant corporate businessmen successfully? I mean, it was asking so much; I think the challenge of this to the Natives was enormous. The Native people are like us in that there are some that are very venal, and there are many who are not venal at all, and the culture has never stressed materialism as the end-all of life. Survival has been their end-all of life in Alaska. We have made many friends among the Natives, and they're wonderful people and generous and giving and loving people. To be suddenly placed in

the situation of being corporate businesspeople is absolutely extraordinary. It is absolutely extraordinary.

You were asking for incidents. Well, I remember--and this was going from the North Slope to Southeast, to Admiralty Island and the village of Angoon. These are different people; these are no longer Eskimos or Aleuts that we are talking about, nor are they Athabascan Indians. They are Tlingit. Tlingit and Haida Indians in Southeast with a different culture and more of a materialistic culture than the Eskimos had. But still in our terms, nothing at all comparable to the emphasis on wealth that we have in our society.

Admiralty Island was one of our special concerns. There had been a proposed sale in the late sixties with the Forest Service to Champion Plywood, and I'm sure all of this is in Ed's history. A suit had been brought by the Sierra Club to stop the Forest Service from giving away Admiralty Island, which is a marvelous place, absolutely marvelous. It has the Native village of Angoon on it, and we felt that the people of Angoon would be with us in what we were attempting to do to save Admiralty Island, and this is one of the places where it proved to be true.

We visited there in the mid-seventies, and I can remember we took a walk with some of the Native leaders there. We were walking around Angoon. Angoon again is reached by small plane, but it has to be a float plane because you land on the water. Or by ferry, and I'm not sure the ferry went to Angoon at that time. But anyway, we had gone in by a small float plane. The village just has unpaved roads and had rather muddy, unpaved roads at that time. We were walking along, talking to Ed Gamble, who is one of the Native leaders in Angoon, and discussing the idea of the "overmature" forest and cutting it, because this was one of the phrases that was used by the Forest Service and the timber industry. You know, you can't let an overmature forest stand there. And Ed Gamble said, "Why, it's just like killing your grandmother." He said, "We do not see that way. The way we think, you honor your grandparents and you honor your older people, because they are the wise ones in the community. You don't do away with them."

Also, we were talking about the regional corporation at that time, and the man who was in charge of it was named John Borbridge. Ed Gamble said, "Well, he's just an apple Indian. He's red on the outside but white on the inside."

Lage: So there were many different points of view.

Wayburn: Yes. And this has been one of the big problems with the adjustment of the Natives to this new culture. Even in the villages in the bush, away from the immediate pressures of our way of life, now the immediate pressures are brought in by TV and by videos and by many things. They are now impacting the villages because of the satellite deployment over Alaska, and TV is now part of the village life.

Lage: So they're exposed to all the culture down here.

Wayburn: They're exposed now to the culture. There is this terrible problem of adjusting and of the younger people coming along, being exposed, and not being able to go out and get a job, because there is no industry in the bush. They try to bring things in. Angoon, for instance, had its people assembling computers to make jobs. They had one of the larger buildings in the village, they turned it into what would be a factory, and brought the parts in and had the local people doing the assemblywork. I don't know how that's panned out, but this is the kind of thing that had to be done in order to give people jobs. The older people and the people who cling to the Native values have been terribly torn in trying to adjust to this whole new culture that's superimposed and they cannot escape it.

Lage: How do they relate to the conservation organizations?

Wayburn: Well, it depends. We have friends among people such as those in Angoon, but in the regional and in the city corporations--there are city corporations in Southeast, too--these are businesspeople, and we deal with them as we would deal with any businesspeople. They are businesspeople with the added fact that because they are Native, they pull a certain punch that we don't. This is part of this transposition from the older culture to the new culture. I think it's fascinating, but it's a very disturbing scene in many ways.

Lage: Do they have political power within the state?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. As businesspeople, they have the political power, and many of them are now sitting on the boards of directors of banks and taking their place in the business establishment as members of the business community. There are a number of Natives now in the legislature. They have not run successfully for higher public offices, and I don't know whether they could be elected or not. In the white communities in Alaska there is a lot of ambivalent feeling still, I think, and I'm not sure that they could get out the vote.

Alaska, being as lightly populated as it is, has only one congressman. The population now having doubled since we first went, still there's only one congressman, and of course the two senators, none of whom have any Native blood but who try to carry forward the favors for the Native side. They were, I think largely responsible for this bill allowing Native corporations to sell their losses. They curry favor with the Natives because the Natives do wield an increasing clout, and they are powerful. They are gaining in power, let me put it that way. As I say, there are Natives in the assembly. I don't know if there are any Native state senators, but yes, they are part of the power structure now. They call themselves "The Ice Block" in the legislature.

Lage: Well, it really is an interesting social experiment.

Wayburn: Yes, it is. I've often thought that I would like to do a book on it.

#### Idealistic Motives behind the Native Claims Settlement Act

Lage: Do you know anything about the roots of the Native Claims Settlement Act? Who was behind this idea?

Wayburn: Well, there were certain key people in Alaska--among them, our friend Dave Hickok--who were honestly and genuinely trying to do for the Natives what had not been done in the contiguous forty-eight states. And then there were also Native leaders who were involved, like Charlie Edwards, who's a very interesting character.

There are stories about Charlie Edwards. I'd met the man, but I had never seen him quite in the kind of action that is described. He is very flamboyant, and a very dynamic leader, and had been described as being something of the shaman in Eskimo society. He's from Barrow. One story tells of his being back in Washington and having a meeting in some restaurant, and Charlie reached down and pulled out the tablecloth from under one of the set tables and left all the silverware and everything standing up by that gesture of power, or whatever you will. He was the one who made the remark about being a red-blooded American capitalist. But the Native Claims Settlement Act was the result of people with social consciences who were honestly trying to put the Natives in a better position in society.



Lage: And to fit them into what really is our society, a different world?

Wayburn: Yes. Well, I've talked to Dave Hickok about this, and I said, "Suppose this doesn't all work?" In a sense, it's the ultimate paternalism. You know, the ultimate paternalism to make it by law that the Natives have to be like the whites, the superimposition of white culture. I can remember remarks being made by our friends in Alaska who were behind the Native Claims Settlement Act saying, "Do you mind? At least give them flush toilets." This was the idea, but the fact of the matter is that we have plugged them into this energy-demanding machine to an extent where in Alaska the lines are very thin, or the input of the energy into these villages is fragile. Maybe flush toilets won't work so well. For example, in Barrow, I don't know whether they are all flush toilets now. They still have a honeybucket system. You know what the honeybucket system is?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: Well, the honeybucket is the bucket into which you urinate and defecate. Then there is a truck with a tank on the back of it that comes by and picks up your honeybuckets and dumps it into the truck. Then there is the problem of what to do with the human waste. In Barrow they've had some major, major problems in disposing of human waste because they've built on permafrost. There's no such thing as a successful septic system. They're dealing with the Arctic Ocean, which freezes solid in the winter, and even when it is in breakup, if they put stuff on the ice--or even in the winter if they put stuff on the ice to get rid of it, it goes out and comes back in on the tide.

Nobody, I think, had any idea of the kinds of things happening that have happened. But looking at it and watching all this take place, I once talked to Dave Hickok, who was one of the people who was closely involved in the drafting of that bill. I said, "Suppose this doesn't ultimately work? Because we keep seeing all these things that are happening." He said, "Then my life will have been lived in vain." So there's no question that the kinds of things that were done or the attempt that was made was made with very good Christian motives, but nobody could take into account all the eventualities and the kinds of things that have happened.

Lage: And any time that two cultures come together, there are strains and stresses, and destruction, so it's not all to blame on that act, I'm sure.

Wayburn: No, it isn't all to blame on that act, because this is the imposition of one culture on another. I remember in Kotzebue John Schaefer was president of the regional corporation there, and his office in Kotzebue has a poster which says, "We live in two worlds." This is what they're trying to do, live in the two worlds.

The Red Dog Mine and Other Native Enterprises##

Wayburn: Here is another example. As I say, many of the Native leaders are very conscientious, and they are trying to do their level best to take care of their people, carrying on the traditional ways and also moving into the newer order.

So Kotzebue, oh, what an end-of-the-world place Kotzebue is. We were there last summer, and it's just--. You know, this is this poignant example of what has happened. But that's another story. I should stay on my track. In attempting to find ways to give the Natives employment, John Schaefer and other Native leaders there have entered into this venture on land that they have selected to the north.

Here's the kind of thing that happened with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. A village would be given a minimum of 23,000 acres, a township or more, depending upon its population, to select, and according to the way the act was originally drafted, they would select this land around their community. Kotzebue is on a peninsula, and if they were to select their townships around the community, they would end up with nothing but water. So they had been allowed to make alternate selections in other places within the region. The village has, as I said, the surface, and the regional corporation has the subsurface. So the regional corporation had selected these lands--or I guess the village; I'm not too clear on how this particular selection came about--far to the north of Kotzebue, in wilderness, mineralized land. This land is immediately adjacent to Cape Krusenstern National Monument.

This has been developed as the Red Dog Mine, which is unbelievable. You are in the fantastically beautiful wilderness and you come upon this monstrous building which is the depot of the mine, which is right on the water there; I guess it would be the Bering Sea. This development has involved a road back into the heart of the wilderness where the mine is and the actual mine, which again has these monstrous buildings. When I say "monstrous," Ann, the depot building is a quarter of a mile long.

It's eight stories high and it has a railroad inside that, up above in the top part, that can carry the ore back and forth. This is on such a monstrous scale, and it's painted with a flag of Alaska on the side of it. All the buildings are painted red, white, and blue.

Lage: So they don't blend into the landscape.

Wayburn: There's no attempt. This high-grade road, which runs between the mine and depot through this fragile wilderness--

Lage: Is the fragile wilderness a protected wilderness at all?

Wayburn: Yes, the road goes directly through the Cape Krusenstern National Monument, so all sorts of things had to be bent, and corners cut and all the rest, in order to accommodate this. But John Schaefer--who comes of the Eskimos who love the land and respect its fragility and treat its animals with respect even as they subsist on the land and the animals--is responsible for this development, ultimately. If he had said no, it could not have happened. So this is an example of the kinds of things that happen. One of the things that bothers me in particular about something like this venture, which is so monstrous, is that the mine will run out, and they will be left twenty-five, thirty years from now, with no future. The kind of employment that results from this is extremely short-term.

Lage: But the Native people do work there?

Wayburn: Not as many as you might think. The idea, of course, would be--

Lage: --to give employment.

Wayburn: --would be to give employment.

Lage: How about building that building? Were Native workers used on that, do you know?

Wayburn: You know, I don't know what the proportion is, but I do know we visited the mine this last summer with the park service. I didn't see that many Natives working there. There's a whole mine community, of course. They're taking down a mountain for the ore. It's very hard to see this happen, to see the wilderness impacted this way. And this high-grade road; I can't remember the mileage. I think it's fifty-two, fifty-three miles of road.

Lage: And once the wilderness has been set up, or a national park set up, can the Natives still select inside?

Wayburn: No. They cannot select inside, but again, corners get cut, or angles get bent to accommodate Native corporation projects. As I told you, this mine--the Red Dog Mine--was built and the road was built through the national monument to reach it. I don't think this kind of thing is a frequent occurrence, but as I said, the Natives have subsistence rights in the parks. So do other hunters in certain of the parks. That's the other interesting act that was passed, and that's ANILCA, Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, which was passed approximately ten years after the ANCSA or Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. And that, establishing the parks, and of course that was what we were involved in so closely in the decade of the seventies, in the work and in the thinking and in the lobbying and in the education of people about Alaska, and all the rest of it.

Lage: And selection of areas, it seems you've had a primary role.

Wayburn: Yes, we did. As you may know, under the terms of that act, there are national parks and national preserves. Hunting is allowed in the preserves, and the larger parks all have preserves. There are many things happening that are very disturbing. As an example, the village of Anaktuvuk Pass is in the middle of Brooks Range. We visited there first in 1971 or before. With their new-found money, the villagers built a swimming pool. They built a huge school and a swimming pool. This is a village of maybe 250 people. This is a swimming pool in the middle of the Brooks Range, in the Arctic.

Lage: Indoors, I hope?

Wayburn: Yes. An indoor pool so the kids can learn to swim. But when something goes wrong with the swimming pool, there they are, and they have to send out to get the parts, or they have to send out to get somebody who can fix the swimming pool. Apropos of how fragile the links are that tie in this whole new developing or evolving society into our society and the way we live, so energy dependent. They have to heat the pool. They have all these side effects that they have to deal with as they make this profound change.

Anyway, the Natives of Anaktuvuk are hunters, primarily. Gatherers, I guess, of berries and such. But they use their snowmobiles. So we are faced with the impact of snowmobiles on the parkland, which is adjacent to Anaktuvuk. It's a mess. We saw this last summer, and it's a terrible mess. I mean, the gouges in this fragile tundra and fragile land that had been made with the snowmobiles.

And it's happening on so many levels. I'm taking a dimmer, or a less hopeful, view for the future of Alaska as the years go by.

Lage: Oh, that's discouraging.

Wayburn: It is discouraging, because this really was our major last chance at preserving true wilderness, and it's being impacted from so many levels. The visitation is enormous, you know, and this is just in a matter of ten years or so.

Lage: Things like hunting, are those issues that divide conservationists in Alaska? Or conservationists here from conservationists in Alaska?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. There's bound to be. The people who are interested in the preservation of the wild animals are bound to have a different view of hunting than people who live in Alaska and who actually subsist on the game.

Lage: What about Alaskan conservationists? Are they more--I don't want to use the word "conservative"--but does the fact that they live there kind of shape their ideas, and does that cause tension with people like yourself and Ed? How do you deal with that?

Wayburn: We have never felt contentious about this because we have visited in Alaska and stayed with non-Native Alaskans who were hunters. We actually have been out with one family on a caribou hunt and watched the whole process of the caribou hunt, knowing that they would take the caribou and eat it. That they would live off of that as part of their major meat supply for the coming winter. So we have never been in the middle of a controversy on this, but there are some people who feel terribly strongly about hunting. Not many of them are in Alaska. Most people who live in Alaska who know the bush Natives are very pro-Native and are very pro-subsistence existence for the bush Natives. So they have a lot of support from the non-Native community in certain sectors. In others, they don't.

Lage: Is there a generalization about what sectors?

Wayburn: I don't think I could, you know. It's very complicated. As I said, there are still people in Alaska who look down upon the Natives, but certainly most of our Sierra Club people who were there, who are generally professional people, if they know the Natives, they are very pro-Native. As I said, the native Natives are wonderful. I mean, you can't help but love them. It's just that they are producing more and more of these apple Indians, if you will.

Lage: And also more and more people. I mean, is their population increasing?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, their population is increasing. Definitely.

Lage: It doesn't seem like a land that can support a lot of people living on it.

Wayburn: No, it can't. Not in the old ways. And that's why the caribou herd we're talking about becomes an issue--because people need the meat to live. On the one hand they need the meat to live; on the other hand they are plugged into a system with a lot of money. But again, you find these situations where the money just doesn't--they just don't know how to handle it. And how can they? And then there are people who always want to hold their hands, non-Natives who come in and want to tell them what to do and to move in and help them spend their money.

Lage: Of course.

Wayburn: So there you are. It's a tough one. The Natives, incidentally, are very artistic people, most of them. I shouldn't say most of them, but they have a cultural background of art that is wonderful. As you know, I have been collecting Native art and enjoying it ever since we first went up. Every summer I try to buy one piece of something, a basket or a carving or something.

Lage: You have a beautiful collection.

Alaska, The Great Land and Proposed Book on Governor Hammond

Lage: What role did you play in the campaign for the National Interest Lands Act? Was this something that you did, along with Ed? I know Ed has talked about his role in his oral history.

Wayburn: Yes, I was very much involved. Actually, the Alaska book that I did was meant to be an educational piece of literature.

Lage: Alaska, The Great Land?

Wayburn: Alaska, The Great Land [Sierra Club, 1974].

Lage: Do you want to talk a little bit about how that came about?

Wayburn: Yes, that's kind of interesting, actually. When the book was first projected, when the whole project came about, the club wanted to get an Alaskan to write the text and chose Mike Miller, who was at that time in the state legislature, who is a writer by profession. Mike produced the text that he was contracted to do, and when the text came in it was realized that it was very hard for an Alaskan to give the overview that someone from outside the state could give. So Mike's text was used as much as possible, and I was asked to write the broader overview. So as it ended up, I had the major part of the book. That was a problem, so the editor set Mike's text in a narrower column than mine, so we each had the same number of pages of text but I had about twice as many words in the book.

Lage: And you selected the photos. Is that correct?

Wayburn: I had a lot to do with the photos. I did. And I wrote the captions for the photos. I didn't select all of them, but Ed and I both have photos in there, among those that were finally chosen. We used to photograph everything; we would come home with these rolls of film from our first trips because that was part--we were trying so hard to capture what's there, and again, I don't think even with photographs that you can begin to capture what's in Alaska. It's just too big.

Lage: Didn't you also do a filmstrip on Alaska?

Wayburn: Yes, that was also in the early seventies, a few years after Alaska, The Great Land. In fact, this filmstrip was also named Alaska, The Great Land.

Lage: Did you realize in those early years that Alaska was going to take up really a major portion of your life? For a number of years?

Wayburn: I don't think we did; I mean, this just kind of evolved.

Lage: It just happened.

Wayburn: It happened. And then, of course, you know that I had gotten myself a literary agent in New York City, and through this agent I had a commission to write a book on Jay Hammond. Are you aware of this?

Lage: No.

Wayburn: This was in the mid-seventies, and I signed a contract, and I spent two years of research on Jay Hammond, who was a fascinating

guy. He had been elected governor in 1974. I got the contract in 1975, and in 1975, 1976, and 1977, I worked on this book.

Lage: Was it a biography?

Wayburn: Yes, it was supposed to be a biography of Jay Hammond.

This was one of the few times when I spent time in Alaska without Ed. Particularly in the winter of 1976, I went up. I stayed with friends in Juneau for six weeks and interviewed all the politicians who were surrounding Jay Hammond. Interviewed Jay Hammond extensively; interviewed Bella, his wife; interviewed Native leaders; interviewed senators, assemblymen, and the heads of various state departments. Did a lot of taping of interviews. I wasn't nearly as careful as you are when I did it. I wish I had been.

At any rate, the upshot of all of this was that I had a tremendous educational experience myself. Living a winter in Alaska is an educational experience, and even though Juneau is not in the heart of real Alaska weather, it has plenty of weather. It really does. But I found as I worked on the book that I was simply not emotionally equipped to write about a living person and to tell everything that I saw or that I learned. I found it very difficult to handle things that were not totally complimentary to Jay Hammond.

Lage: Was he a person that you liked overall?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. He's a marvelous man, and absolutely fascinating. He had more of a conservation bent in his career in the Alaska senate than many of the other legislators. Very interesting, complex personality. I won't try to go into his whole story because it would take at least a whole tape.

Lage: Another book.

Wayburn: Another book. But the upshot of all this was that I was released from the contract and the book never flew. I still have it upstairs in my collection of papers. I think I got five chapters written.

Lage: You didn't want to deal with--

Wayburn: I just couldn't deal with writing about a living person. Other people can do it; I couldn't.

Lage: I can understand that.



Wayburn: But it was a great learning experience. I really had a fascinating time.

Lage: Was this a book that he approved of?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. I ended up unable to finish it, but in the course of it I went up onto the Yukon in the middle of the winter, and I traveled with the governor to Kotzebue and to Nome and to various other places, saw him in action. It was very revealing.

I interviewed Native leaders along with--

Lage: Now, did you save all these tapes?

Wayburn: I have these tapes. As I said, they aren't as well organized as they should be. I don't know; I should play them and identify them better because they are a piece of Alaska history, very definitely.

Lage: It sounds to me like something you should identify well enough so that others could use them, perhaps.

Wayburn: Yes, I think so. The University of Alaska wants them and wants my papers. I have tremendous background information on Alaska of that period. I don't know if the Bancroft would also be interested. It would be easier for me to give it to the Bancroft Library than to give it to Alaska.

Lage: I think it's something we ought to talk about with Bonnie Hardwick, who's head of the manuscript division. Because they have a very good sense of sort of where things should go. The best place for them.

Wayburn: Right.

Lage: And whether she thinks that because of the Sierra Club connection they should go to the Bancroft or maybe some of these things would be better in Alaska, I don't know.

Wayburn: I think--. Well, here's just an example. At that time, one of the departments of the state published profiles of the different villages, and I have those. Now, I don't know that those may already be in the Alaska library; they probably are, but it might be something that would be useful for people who are researching Alaska. Because those are vignettes of the seventies in the bush in Alaska, and they're really very interesting.

Adventuring in Alaska

Lage: It sounds like something very useful. Shall we talk about writing Adventuring in Alaska, then?

Wayburn: Yes, let's. But first, let me mention another couple of things that happened during the 1970s--really outside of Alaska. First of all, my book, Edge of Life, the World of the Estuary, was published by the Sierra Club in 1972. This was a big event in my life--and in my relationship to the club. This book was a turning point that put me back into professional writing. This book was followed by Alaska, The Great Land in 1974. Then I did a series of filmstrips for Random House called "The Circle of Life"; then the Hammond book attempt, all two years of it; and then came Adventuring in Alaska.

Lage: One thing I'll bring up. You mentioned the impact of the tourists and all, and I would assume that you must have had a certain mixed feeling about writing a book that would attract more people. How did you reconcile that?

Wayburn: I did, and I voiced this misgiving in the introduction to the book. As I worked on the book, I justified writing it by the fact that people were visiting Alaska. Whether I wrote the book or not, there were going to be a lot more tourists going into Alaska. I could see that the book might be the kind of guide that would give people an understanding of and appreciation for Alaska and would help lessen the impact of the visitation.

The book was written with this in mind, so that in every instance in the book I have always included the salient facts about the fragility of the area and what the background of the area is. I have tried to help with the understanding of what the Native communities mean and have in general simply tried to give an overall picture as seen by someone who really cares about the place. Yes, I definitely have those feelings.

The book really grew out of my failed attempt on Hammond because I had so much information. I proposed a book called Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Alaska, and my agent said, "You will never place that book, but you might place a travel book." And then my agent, of all things, placed it with the Sierra Club.

Lage: That's ironic. And did you title it Adventuring in Alaska?

Wayburn: Yes, I did, and I inadvertently started a whole series of books which the Sierra Club subsequently published, adventuring books.

Now there is an Adventuring in the Caribbean, there's going to be an Adventuring in New Zealand, there are Adventuring books on various parts of the world.

Lage: And do they all take this same approach?

Wayburn: They all have the same format. As you know, the Adventuring in Alaska came out in 1982, and three years later I proposed doing a book on Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area, and this idea was accepted. Jim Cohee was my editor, and he gave me a form to follow, which was based on my original book. I really got a kick out of that.

Lage: So your original book, you designed yourself. Once the club took the book, they didn't help devise the format or--

Wayburn: All I produce is the manuscript, and I selected the pictures, or I collected the pictures. I also worked with the artist who did the illustrations of the book, but the actual format, the way the book came out, was not--I knew it was a paperback but I had--

Lage: But the sections and the way you approached it?

Wayburn: Oh, that was all mine. One of the difficulties of writing about Alaska was how you divide up the state when you write about it, because you obviously can't write about 375 million acres without having some way to handle it. This has been traditionally a challenge to people who are studying Alaska, and different divisions have evolved. You may have three divisions as I did, by using the three major cities as gateways. Certainly for anyone who's going to travel in Alaska this makes sense, because you're either going to go out of Juneau or out of Anchorage or Fairbanks as your major launching point. So I was able to divide the state accordingly into the territories around these cities. But some people divide Alaska into seven parts, and they do south-southwest, and south-southeast, and southeast and southwest and so forth, trying to get a handle on how to manage information about the state.

Lage: It's just so enormous. How long was Adventuring in the writing? Did that involve special trips, too, or did you have it in mind throughout?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Well, I had, of course, the background information that I had gathered, and--

Lage: You'd collected all along even before you started the book?

Wayburn: Yes, I had. I collected a lot when I was working on the Hammond book as well. When I did this Alaska book, I collected even more. Alaska, the Great Land did not involve as much firsthand research as this book did. This book took three years to write, with several visits to Alaska involved, and the collection of material and the talking to people and the research that one has to put into a travel book.

Travel literature is not always given the recognition it should have. It's a very demanding kind of writing to do a travel book. Actually, you're reporting contemporary history as you do a travel book. I mean, you're telling how things are and how you can do things the way things are. You're hopefully describing something that will give people a sense of what it is, and therefore you really are recording what is happening, and the research is profound. And of course I could go on researching forever.

Lage: Well, this is what I wondered. It seems like things change so fast. How did you ever feel, "Now I'm ready to put this together"?

Wayburn: I had an interesting experience. Adventuring in Alaska has been very successful as far as Sierra Club Books are concerned, as far as I'm concerned. Although I've often said that if I were to live off of the proceeds of my writing, I could not do it. Writers don't make much unless they have a blockbuster. But this book is now in its ninth printing, with a completely revised edition coming out two years ago. So there was a hurry-up demand for a corrected version for this current printing. I think the book came out maybe in twelve thousand, or an issue of twelve thousand, and suddenly they had to have several more thousand out. So I had a chance to put in a couple of very small changes, because this was such a rush-rush thing. I attempted to put in a little bit about the oil spill, and in the course of it I had a sentence which said-- This is illustrative of the part the writer plays. I had a report that around one thousand sea otters and 36,000 birds had perished as a result of the oil spill. So I'm presented with a page proof with the notation that I must make any changes that I can by Monday. I get the page proof on Monday, after the deadline is over, and the printer has made the error that there were 36 million birds perished. So here am I as the author, and I will be the one who's castigated.

Lage: And it was too late to change?

Wayburn: I have tried desperately to get hold of the editor who's doing this, and I have been unable to reach him.

Lage: This was just this week, then.

Wayburn: This week. I'm still writhing over the thing.

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Lage: Any more that we should talk about relating to Adventuring? It sort of stands by itself, but is there any background to it?

Wayburn: Well, not really. Of course it chronicles a lot of our own adventures and has been--

Lage: You did a very good job of keeping yourself not too intrusive in it.

Wayburn: Thank you, but obviously, you know, as I write about places I'm reflecting what I saw and what I did and how I reacted to the place. So it's very personal to me and it's a good part of my life. I'm particularly pleased, you know, that it started a whole series and led on to my doing the book on the San Francisco Bay. So I don't know what more to say on it. It was conceived and brought forth without a computer, and looking back on it, I don't know how that happened.

Lage: Well, people did things like that way back then. [laughs]

Wayburn: Way back then in the seventies, yes. And I started in on the idea of getting a computer early on, too, and took some classes and bought a little Radio Shack laptop computer which I still have, which I've never used that much.

Lage: Of course when you were traveling so much, too--. But I suppose you did most of your writing here.

Wayburn: Yes, I made notes and then picked up on them later.

Lage: And then did you use the computer for Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area?

Wayburn: Yes. That was all written on a computer. And it was so much easier, it's just amazing to me. No, Adventuring in Alaska was a great challenge, and in writing it I had to make very arbitrary decisions apropos of--

Lage: --on what to leave out?

Wayburn: --the size of Alaska and what's involved up there. So that it was quite a challenge from that point of view. But then it was

fun to write, too, because I could write about things that I had experienced and describe things that I had seen.

Encounter with a Bear, 1968

Wayburn: Now, you know, we didn't talk about the bear story.

Lage: I know. I wanted to come back to it; this occurred the second year that you went up to Alaska?

Wayburn: I think it was the second.

Lage: That's when I have it. That's what Ed said.

Wayburn: And this was wonderful. Did Ed talk about Jack Calvin very much?

Lage: Only in relation to that story.

Wayburn: Well, Jack Calvin was a very special Alaskan. He was a good friend of John Steinbeck and Ed Ricketts. Do you remember Ed Ricketts?

Lage: Yes, the biologist from the Monterey Bay area.

Wayburn: Jack Calvin and Ed Ricketts produced together the definitive work, Between Pacific Tides, which is a classic book. Jack had to do with the writing as well as with the photographs in that book. After that book, after the thirties, he had married a woman who was of Russian descent. Her father had been a Russian priest and had come to Alaska, and had moved from Kodiak to Sitka in a kayak, with a marvelous background. I'm trying to remember her name. It's not Sonia, but it was--.. I will think of it at some point and let you know, because she was a marvelous Alaskan too. What a background.

Jack Calvin was a very special person, very gentle, sweet, thoughtful, sensitive man, and very much in love with Chichagof Island and with all of southeast Alaska. But it was Chichagof Island that he particularly wanted to show us. He had this boat called the Ootka. "Ootka" means "duck." We were on the Ootka with Brock and Rachael Evans. We had asked Brock to go with us because he was the northwest representative of the Sierra Club.

Lage: Which made him in charge of Alaska at that time.

Wayburn: Yes, he was the staffperson who was most directly involved. So we met Jack in Sitka, and at that time the runway in Sitka was so short that when the large planes landed they almost had to do what they did on the aircraft carriers, where they put a hook over with a wire and somebody would stop the planes. We would land; it was always a great adventure because the plane would go right to the end and you'd be right at the water.

Anyway, we went out on the Ootka, and--. Oh, dear, I've got to remember Jack's wife's name! Oh, it was Sasha! Sasha had fixed these wonderful meals and every night would be an adventure with this wonderful cooking that Jack Calvin would pull out of his icebox chest. We had a marvelous, marvelous trip with him, into these exquisite areas. I remember especially the marsh grasses and estuary regions.

Anyway, this particular day, we had gone into an area on West Chichagof, an area that had been logged, and it was misting softly, a hazy sort of a day. We strung out along the old logging road, walking around looking at the ghastly results, effects of the logging, which has just absolutely clobbered the place. Stumps. Nothing left, a barren landscape. I think we were all a little bit downcast by this.

Well, we sort of separated out on the road. Brock Evans was in front, and I was behind Brock, and behind me was Rachael, and then Jack and Ed brought up the back of the party. We were far enough apart that we lost sight of each other at one point, going around a curve, and all of a sudden Brock Evans came pounding past me, running as hard as he could go. As he went by he sort of flung over his shoulder, "Bear! Get out of here!" Without thinking, I turned and went pounding backward as fast as I could go. We passed Rachael, and Rachael said afterwards, "I knew something was happening because here was this fearless woman running for her life." So Rachael joined in. We went pounding back as fast as we could to Jack and Ed.

Jack was the one who kind of took charge, because he was local. He never carried a gun, and a lot of Alaskans do carry guns. But Jack didn't believe in carrying a gun. So it was Jack who really orchestrated the standoff with the bear. This bear was enormous. It was a brown bear, and it was huge. I remember, I said at the time, and I think Ed picked it up, that it was so large that we thought it was standing on its hind feet, but it was on all fours.

Lage: Oh, goodness.

- Wayburn: It was just like from here to the dining room table [about fifteen feet].
- Lage: And running along after you?
- Wayburn: Oh, yes. And then stopping short because Jack was standing with Ed in the middle of the road.
- Lage: And did you keep on running, or did you stop when you got to--
- Wayburn: We stopped. As I recall, Brock ran a little further and then came back. [laughter] But he swears he didn't. He says that's all wrong. But he stopped too. And he should know.

Anyway, Jack Calvin, this dear, gentle, sensitive, sweet man, was letting forth a stream of expletives such as you would never hear anywhere else. He had a fantastic vocabulary. In a loud voice, he was yelling all this at the bear, you know. He just cut loose in a very authoritative voice. He told that bear off. And he also made the gestures that a bear makes when it's defending itself. So Ed, who was standing next to him looking bewildered, began going the same way. The bear skidded to a stop, and I think probably what saved us, really, was the fact that there were five of us and that there was enough of a crowd to influence the bear. It's one thing to have a single person or two people, but another when you have five.

So the bear stopped, looked us all over, and of course we were all in this moment of--it was utter panic in my heart, I can tell you. Just waiting for what was going to happen next. You know, you have this sense of timelessness when you're in a moment like that, when you are totally gripped with fear, and you hardly exist. It's an interesting experience. The bear ambled off.

- Lage: Just ambled off.
- Wayburn: Just ambled off. You know, presented us with a rear view. [laughter] Much to say, "Well, just take this." [laughter]

#### Other Varieties of Tourism

- Lage: Hearing those stories makes me think about whether Alaska is the place for everyone, as a tourist experience. When you wrote your book, did you have a sense of this?



Wayburn: Oh, yes. And of course there are different ways to see Alaska. Many people see Alaska--. A vivid example: the Haul Road was the road built next to the pipeline. When it was built, it was an industrial road, and it was built with the understanding that it would not be opened up at that time. And there has been a fight ever since to keep the road closed. The people in Barrow in the Arctic Slope Corporation want to keep the road closed. The villages that would be impacted with the opening of the road want to keep the road closed. This is one time when there is a very clear sharing of interest on the part of the Native people and the conservationists, because the conservationists want to keep the road closed. However, by law the road is open to commercial traffic. So they've started running a tour bus from Fairbanks to Prudhoe Bay along the Haul Road. Incidentally, the road costs millions to keep open because it's through some of the toughest country in Alaska.

Anyway, this last summer we camped out with the BLM people at a place that had been a camp for the building of the pipeline, called Coldfoot. Coldfoot is near an area that has been selected by the state, and the state wants to select Coldfoot and make it a tourist stop on the Haul Road. But the point of the story is that while we were there at the camp, a busload of tourists came in, and the man who owns property there at Coldfoot--because of course private property is interspersed here and there in little dots on the Alaskan landscape dating back to 1966, I think, when the Homestead Act was closed in Alaska. But before that you could select 640 acres of your own and patent it if you lived on it and cut the trees and did all the things that the Homestead Act--which was conceived of for the East Coast--says you could do. You could also file for a mining claim and end up owning the land--you can still do this under the antiquated 1872 Mining Law!

The man who has the property had taken over the trailers that had been used for living in the pipeline camp at Coldfoot, had brought them from the oil consortium when the pipeline was finished, so he had these as a motel. This is very raw, because when you first try to civilize a piece of Alaska wilderness, it's very raw. It's not country that lends itself easily to being ripped up. Here are all these tourists, and they're having a wilderness experience. I mean, they're in the bus, they stop at Coldfoot, they get out, they have their dinner, and they spend the night in the trailers, and get back in the bus and drive on up to Prudhoe Bay where they'll probably do the same thing in the same kind of accommodations. And that's a wilderness experience.

Lage: And what will they have seen, just from the window of the bus?

Wayburn: From the window of the bus. So there are different ways to see Alaska. Now, they will not have a bear confrontation. They may be able to see a caribou, and I'm sure the bus will stop if they see any wildlife. But they're not going to be walking up on a road and have a bear come around the corner. Oh, and the bear roared! I forgot to put that in, because it made a noise. I swear--

Lage: Was this while you were standing--

Wayburn: While we were standing there, the bear let out these roars, and I thought it sounded like a lion. But it was a very loud noise that the bear made at us. It was very frightening.

Lage: It was probably scared to death.

Wayburn: I think it probably was. [laughter] Defending its territory.

Anyway, the quality of the experience in Alaska will depend directly upon how you go about what you're going to do. There are numerous tours that take people on a cruise ship from Seattle or from Prince Rupert or up the Inside Passage, stopping at Ketchikan, maybe going out to Sitka and then into Juneau, and then putting people on a jet and flying them up, oh, any one of a number of places. Or they may even go up to Haines, in which case there is a road into Haines off of the Alaska Highway, get into a tour bus, and go by bus maybe to Tok and then up to Fairbanks or down to Anchorage, depending. Those people are probably not going to buy my book, or if they do, it will be to read background information and history and observations to have a sense of perspective, maybe, on Alaska.

Lage: Or a little side trip, maybe.

Wayburn: Or maybe a little side trip. But most of the people, I think, who get my book are going to be doing independent exploration and maybe they're going to go into the bush, maybe they're going to go into the wilderness, and the book hopefully will prepare them in terms of a sensitive approach to what they're going to do.

Lage: Is that state ferry still a good way to go?

Wayburn: Oh, it's marvelous. The Marine Highway. Yes. It's gradually crawled up in price; it's no longer inexpensive, but it's a wonderful way to go. We have friends who just recently had taken their sleeping bags and slept on the ferry and had had a great time.

Lage: Sounds like a good way to go.

## VIII WRITING: TRAVEL AND THE ENVIRONMENT

[Interview 5: April 11, 1990]##

The Edge of Life, 1977

Lage: You told me a little bit off the tape how you got involved with The Edge of Life, and I think that's an interesting tale.

Wayburn: In essence, the story was that I had taken a number of classes, University of California, mostly extension classes. I had taken several classes related to the environment, and I thought, why didn't I get my master's while I was at this? So I went out to San Francisco State and talked to the head of the ecology department there, whose name I don't remember--I should, but don't. I remember his face. His name was Sweeney, that's it! At any rate, he said I would have to have better undergraduate requisites than I had. I had sent to Barnard to get my undergraduate transcript.

Lage: Your philosophy and English.

Wayburn: Mostly philosophy and English and Italian and my one class in zoology. He wanted me to have more of a scientific background. So I went to the College of Marin, which I had heard was a very good place to go, and took a class in classical botany. And discovered a really outstanding professor, a wonderful, wonderful teacher. His name is Al Molina. He's still teaching, and has a coterie of people who take classes from him just, I think, to be with him. He has a fine mind and a real gift for imparting knowledge. So I took his class in classical botany and loved it.

He had a class in marine biology, so I signed up for the class in marine biology. This took me to Bolinas. My field study for that class--we had a regular field study--was to count pelicans, because this was in 1969, when the pelicans were dying from overdoses of DDT because their eggs were too fragile to be brooded and hatched. So every Wednesday I went from San

Francisco to Bolinas and got in the Boston whaler. (This is a kind of small boat.) There was a marine biology station there at the time, for the College of Marin. I think since then they've lost the funding for it or whatever. At any rate, it was there, and there was someone who could take me across to Kent Island [in the Bolinas lagoon] in the Boston whaler, and I would walk the width of Kent Island. I had a special place where I mounted my telescope, and I took the measurement of the wind and the water temperature and the ambient temperature, and then I started counting pelicans and gulls and whatever birds I saw. I had a definite number of degrees through which I counted with my scope. And I did this every week for months.

Lage: How long would you count?

Wayburn: Oh, I took quite a while.

Lage: A period of hours?

Wayburn: Yes, the whole thing was a matter of hours. After I had been there a little bit, why, the absolutely enchanting quality of this lagoon or estuary began to reach through to me. I found it very exciting, and the more I was exposed to it, the more interested I became in the estuary and what was taking place in the lagoon. Because it wasn't just the pelicans; there was the other birdlife. There was one--I'm sure it was the same great blue heron that I passed every time I walked out. It had to be the same one because it was always in the same place. And it got to be a friend, and so many other things in the lagoon. Of course, the seals were there. Harbor seals. The whole thing really reached me.

Lage: It must have been a very quieting experience.

Wayburn: Oh, it was.

Lage: I put that in contrast to all that was going on in the Sierra Club that year.

Wayburn: Yes. And it was quite something.

At any rate, by the time I finished the class-- . And to put aside my false modesty, I was the top of the class [laughter], which pleased me no end, at my age at that time, having gone back to undergraduate college to be the top of my class. I think I was second in the class in the classical botany one, but I led the class in marine biology.

At any rate, I decided that I would write a book about the estuary because we were beginning to talk about wetlands at that point, and there was not a good book on estuaries. John Mitchell was then the editor of Sierra Club Books, and I talked to John. He was interested, so I undertook to write the book, which I called Edge of Life, hoping that I could do this and use the book as the basis of a master's. But of course that wasn't what the man Sweeney at San Francisco State had in mind. He had something quite different that he wanted me to do--something that he could use for his research.

Lage: Something much more scientifically research-oriented?

Wayburn: More esoteric. Although I did a lot of scientific research for the estuary book and interviewed all kinds of people. I went all over the country to interview people, as a matter of fact. I found people who were expert in various fields related to the estuary, and I interviewed them and taped them, and read and read and read on the background material, and finally produced my book. John Mitchell meantime had talked to Dennis Stock, the photographer who did the photographs, the color photographs in the book. He came to San Francisco, stayed with us, and did some photographing, although much of what he used he had taken other places.

At any rate, the book got wonderful reviews and had very poor sales, which seems to be the fate of a lot of books. It was not helped by the fact that it was announced, and we had a big party in the Sierra Club library, still in Mills Tower. We had a great big party and only one book for people to see. It had been reviewed in the papers and there were demands for it in all the bookstores in San Francisco, and there were no books.

Lage: Why was that?

Wayburn: They were in Italy where they had been printed. They had been held up because of the weather, and the plane couldn't take off. It was heavy fog or something, but it still had been one of those, you know, millionth-of-an-inch shipments. I mean, the books would only have gotten there just barely. It was cutting it very, very thin.

Lage: And was that the Sierra Club Book program? They hadn't farmed it out to another publisher?

Wayburn: That was a Sierra Club book.

Filmstrips and Photography

Wayburn: From that and from working with Dennis Stock, who is a very, very fine photographer--a very difficult person personally, but a very fine photographer--I went on to the filmstrip with Random House. That was another good undertaking as far as I was concerned. A good creative undertaking.

Lage: How did that evolve? Through Dennis?

Wayburn: Well, through my book, and through Dennis, too. I went back to New York on this. Random House had quite a program of filmstrips--educational aspect of the publishing. They wanted this series. They had had this in mind, I guess. I called it The Circle of Life, which was a six-part series which explored everything from how the earth was formed to photosynthesis to the beginning of animal life and so forth on up through the whole circle.

Lage: And you did all six of these?

Wayburn: I did all six of them.

Lage: Oh, I see. So it wasn't related to estuaries; it just grew out of your book.

Wayburn: Oh, no. It really had nothing to do--. Although when I re-read my book now, it's kind of a treatise on ecology, which I was very much into at that time, and still am. The whole basis of existence was explored in the book and then, of course, in the filmstrip, in a different way.

I conceived of and put together the six different parts, which began with the earth. I had one filmstrip, for example, called Green. That was the title of it, and that was simply an exposition on photosynthesis, starting out with the statement, "The color of life is green," and then going on with photographs. Of course, it was very, very pleasing to me to do this because I like the visual as much as I like the word, I think. So I was dealing with both the visual and the word and trying to put forth ideas. I found it very satisfactory.

Lage: Was it difficult to switch to this new medium?

Wayburn: No, not at all.

Lage: Was this aimed at young people?

Wayburn: Yes. It was done for high school children, and then after I had done that I did an adaptation to be used in grammar school, which was simply a matter of vocabulary and not changing the images or the ideas at all, but simply trying to put it into simpler language.

Lage: Did you put the words with the visual?

Wayburn: Yes. I chose the visual for the words.

Lage: Sounds like a wonderful project.

Wayburn: Oh, it was. It was just great.

Lage: Very gratifying.

Wayburn: And it was one of the most lucrative that I ever had. Because I got the money up front. [laughter]

Lage: That's always nice.

Wayburn: And a very sizeable amount at that time. I think Random House paid \$25,000 for the filmstrip, and I got half, although I did most of the work. Dennis simply sent me a selection of photographs, and it was up to me to choose which ones I wanted to use. But he is a very sensitive nature photographer, and he does have beautiful, beautiful slides. Wonderful things.

That was a prize-winning filmstrip. It got one of the highest awards for filmstrips, and I can't recall the name of the award.

Then I went on and did the first Alaska book, Alaska. The Great Land, which I think we talked about.

Lage: We talked about that, and Adventuring.

Wayburn: And Adventuring, and then I also did a filmstrip on Alaska for Lyceum Productions in Los Angeles, which was more or less in conjunction with the book, Alaska. The Great Land. There was two filmstrips that went with that.

Lage: Also aimed at high school audiences?

Wayburn: Yes, this was for children; this was classroom. You see, the filmstrips were really the predecessors of the video in education. They were used extensively in classrooms before we had video. Now it's a lot easier to put in a video machine, because you used to have to coordinate the filmstrip with the

audio, and sometimes the teacher would have to read what was being said. Instead of having an audio part to the filmstrip, the teacher would be given a script with the pictures keyed in, and the teacher would read it. So it's a lot easier--

Lage: --to slip that cassette in.

Wayburn: Just to slip that cassette in and have the video do the whole lesson.

Lage: Have you thought of going on to do some of this kind of educational video work?

Wayburn: Not really. I'm sure I would enjoy doing it. It simply hasn't come my way. The kind of writing I've done more recently has taken me more into a different kind of book. I don't know. There's so much being done, so much being produced by way of videos by so many different people. When I think about it, for example, what would I do for Alaska that hasn't already been done one way or another? The Department of Tourism in Alaska will supply a cassette to you if you want it. You can buy a cassette on Alaska. The different tour companies offer--well, they may not offer them, but there are commercial production cassettes available on Alaska. I'd really be competing.

Lage: That's true. It's a very different market.

Wayburn: It's a completely different idea. And I think that the whole concept in education may have shifted a little bit, too. I don't know; you don't hear as much about children being exposed. They have TV. So it's interesting, but I don't think it's something that I'll get back into, I have a feeling.

Lage: Well, I'm glad to hear about the filmstrips, because I didn't know that part of your career.

Wayburn: Oh, you didn't?

Lage: The visual aspect.

Wayburn: Well, you know, I did commercial photography. I was very much into photographing, and enjoyed producing my own photographs, and actually did use some of my own photographs with one article I did for the Bulletin, for example, on Alaska, for children. And then had two different covers on Sierra that I did, and a number of calendar shots that I did, I think I told you. So the visual has always been important as far as I'm concerned, and I still am very much into the visual. I enjoy paintings and I enjoy--I should say I enjoy movies; we never go. [laughter]



Lage: But you would.

Wayburn: I would. I would enjoy movies very much.

Lage: If you had time.

Wayburn: Well, our lives seem to take us in other directions.

Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1987

Lage: Now, Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area, I think, is one that we haven't really talked about. How was that different from Adventuring in Alaska?

Wayburn: Well, I think I did tell you the funny story about Jim Cohee giving me the layout of the book, which was supposed to tell me exactly how to organize my material, and of course it was all based on my own book.

Lage: And this is what they gave to all the people who were doing the Adventuring series?

Wayburn: This is what they gave to everybody who did a book on adventuring.

Lage: I think they should have given you a little line of credit there.

Wayburn: I would have appreciated at least having been listed the first in the series. They give a list of the various books in the Adventuring series in the front of each book, but they have never put my Adventuring in Alaska at the top of the list, and I have never understood why.

Lage: The Bay Area is a very different landscape from Alaska.

Wayburn: Totally different. I had a very interesting time doing this book. I did a tremendous amount of research into the background of--into the history, actually, of the Bay Area. I started, as I do in these books, with the geology, and then moved on to the fauna and the flora that had evolved in the Bay Area, and then into the human history, and it was extremely interesting to me because I started with the Miwok Indians and then went through the arrival of the Spanish and the Mexicans and the Gold Rush and all the rest of the things that happened. This gave me a real feeling for the Bay Area that I hadn't had before, and an

appreciation for what had been set aside, and also it brought home to me the fact that the whole conservation movement had been nurtured in the Bay Area long before it had become a national kind of a movement. Starting even before the thirties, in this century, there had been an awareness, particularly in the East Bay, which was quite interesting. And of course--

Lage: And Marin seems to--

Wayburn: Well, Marin was not as settled as the East Bay. The East Bay was kind of settled concurrently with San Francisco. Although there was a large influx into Marin after the 1906 earthquake, there was also an influx into the East Bay of people wanting to leave San Francisco. The thing in the East Bay, of course, that was particularly interesting was the East Bay Regional Parks, which had been voted by the people in the middle of the Depression even though it meant that their tax was increased. They were willing to pay the extra in order to preserve the open space. What a wonderful idea.

Lage: What a difference it's made. I think that's the value of a book like yours; it makes people grateful for what they see in front of them, instead of taking it for granted.

Wayburn: Well, I hope it does. That's my idea on the book. It's been very interesting to me. Of course, the book covers all of the Bay Area in terms of the recreation areas, the outdoor recreation areas and possibilities. It has the section on the East Bay; it also has a section on the South Bay and on the Mid-Peninsula Regional Open Space District, on Marin County, on Mount Tamalpais, and of course on Point Reyes National Seashore and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, both of which I was involved in.

Did we mention the fact that I had served on the Point Reyes Foundation?

Lage: We did.

Wayburn: And I had been very closely involved in the GGNRA working with Ed. Of course, he was the leading spirit in that, and his involvement goes back to shortly after we were married in 1947. And then, of course, in the book I have a lot about San Francisco and about the possibilities. There are wonderful walks you can take, and really an extraordinary variety of walks that you can take. I guess I don't know any other city in the world that has the opportunity that San Francisco does, with twelve miles of waterfront that has been set aside. It's really quite amazing.

So this book meant a great deal to me. I remember one of the interesting things in the book. In Napa and in Sonoma I did a background on the wine country and on the story of how wine was brought into California, how the first wine came with the missions, and the good fathers were the first winemakers. I also had a sequence on the architecture of the different wineries, particularly the historic ones and a mention of the historic buildings that were involved in some of the well-established older wineries. My book was reviewed in the Chronicle, and the woman who reviewed it didn't have the faintest idea what was in my book, really. She pointed out that I had only mentioned seven wineries in Napa.

Lage: [laughs] Adventuring in the Bay Area.

Wayburn: Adventuring in the Bay Area. So it really stunned me. The review was--well, it was sort of backhanded in saying--. I gather the only part of the book she read was on the San Francisco weather, which I had done extensive research in and had written about. She said grudgingly, "It's really quite a remarkable and very lucid explanation of the weather in San Francisco." So you never know; I've had other reviews of the book that were wonderful, and that understood what I was trying to do, and commented on the different aspects that I had so carefully chosen to emphasize. You just never know with a book what kind of a reviewer you're going to have.

Lage: Does that make a difference in sales, do you think?

Wayburn: I'm sure it does. I don't know how much of a difference it makes. The book has done very well. Not as well as the Alaska book, which I think I mentioned to you has gone into nine printings. It's the ninth or the tenth that's coming out now.

Lage: You'd think there'd be a larger market for the Bay Area, with more competitors.

Wayburn: I was just going to say that there's a much larger market but there are many, many books on the Bay Area. One of the things that I always felt badly about: when I proposed the book, my subtitle after the title--which of course is Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area--my subtitle was A Comprehensive Guide for Outdoor-Minded People, instead of which the Sierra Club published the book with the subheading, The Sierra Club Guide to Marin, Contra Costa, Alameda, listing all the counties. I always felt that--and I was able to make my point on the Alaska book--that people are not going to buy the book because it's a Sierra Club book. They felt otherwise, and this was done without any word to me, by the way. I didn't know about it until I saw the cover.

But that's the way it is with publishing; the author is, I think I mentioned--

Lage: You don't get the final say on these details.

Wayburn: No, you don't.

Lage: Even something as important as title.

Wayburn: Something as important as titles. One of the other things that always gets me is that the author pays for the indexing, but on the San Francisco book I never saw the index until it was in final form, and it had some awful bloopers in it. But I paid for it--

Lage: I see. But they arranged it.

Wayburn: --and took it out of my royalties. But they had arranged for the indexing and gone through the whole thing without saying anything to me.

Lage: You sound a little irritated.

Wayburn: I was more than a little irritated.

Lage: Was it the word "comprehensive" you wanted to get in the subtitle?

Wayburn: And the "Outdoor-Minded People."

Lage: Rather than--

Wayburn: --the Sierra Club.

Lage: Because your book is outdoor-minded, but don't you get into restaurants and--

Wayburn: Very incidentally. And that was only done because the editor wanted to have it in the book. I had mentioned two or three restaurants. I mentioned the restaurants that date back to early history like Jack's and Sam's and Mayes Oyster House. The restaurants that had survived through all the years, more for their historic value than for their food. Then Jim Cohee, who was the editor, wanted to have a small section on hotels and on restaurants. I did as much of it as I could, but actually he found a young couple who were very anxious to make recommendations--they like to eat around--if I would mention their names in the acknowledgements, which I was delighted to do. But that was how that happened.

There's just a section on restaurants in the back of the book with a few recommendations, and also the references in the text. One of my sections in the book is a walk out Geary Boulevard, and of course you go by a lot of restaurants if you walk from Market Street to the beach. I was able to mention several along that way, but it's not a restaurant guide in any sense of the word. There are lots of restaurant guides to San Francisco, so I never could really see why there needed to be any more, but I went along with it. But it was, I felt, a peripheral subject to be included.

Writing for Fodor Guides and Equinox Publishing Company

Wayburn: But since I've done that book, I've done work for Fodor, and I should tell you about the job I did for Equinox, which is a London, or an English, publisher.

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Wayburn: This job grew out of my being at the IUCN [International Union for the Conservation of Nature] meeting in Costa Rica. I met someone who was looking for authors for a book to be published by Equinox Publishing Company. Equinox is, I think, unique. It's based in Great Britain. It does books of international significance, and the books are prepared with illustrations and are ready to roll on a press, and then they are translated into different languages and are published around the world. Are you familiar with this?

Lage: I'm not, no, except for what you've told me.

Wayburn: I had never heard of it, and apparently they have been successful in this for quite a while. They have books on world culture and books on world geography and on world geology, and on different political aspects that can be tied around the world and so forth. The book that I was asked to contribute to is called Nature's Last Strongholds. It is a book on the remaining strongholds of the natural areas on earth, and I was given the task of doing the United States, which was a major challenge, and was a lot of fun to do. I was given a format to write six essays, each to be, I think, 750 or a thousand words, and then to write--I think I had twelve--what would be sidebars, which were limited to three hundred words or something of the sort, which were of specific areas. Of course, in the longer essays I was able to be general. This gave me a chance to talk about the National Park Service,

the National Forest Service, the whole Wilderness Act and the Wilderness classification as a means of protecting natural areas. It led to a lot of research and took me to Washington to talk to the different agencies that were concerned with administering nature's last strongholds.

Lage: It sounds as if it's more than a book of pretty places.

Wayburn: Oh, definitely.

Lage: This is much more informational.

Wayburn: This is informational, and is scientifically based and so forth. This was done two years ago, and I have just received a proof sheet from Equinox on the section that I did. It seems to have been modified considerably; they no longer have the long essay and the smaller sidebar and so forth. I don't know quite how this whole thing is going to come out, but I did find, as I always do when I do a book, when I do all the research and become acquainted with what I'm writing about, that I learn so much. It's exciting to me from that point of view, no matter what comes out in the final publication--whether or not you have restaurants in the Bay Area guide! The research that I do is something I can enjoy.

So I did that job for Equinox, and I was just finishing up on that job when I had a call from Fodor asking if I would do a section for their Alaska book, in their 1989 book. This would have been in 1988 that I got the call. I did do a section on parks and wilderness areas in Alaska for Fodor for the first year, and then last year I added a section on recreational fishing and on wildlife viewing, so that I had two sections--actually three sections in the Fodor guide.

Lage: Did you feel you could get your message in about how to treat the land?

Wayburn: Oh, I did, I did.

Lage: That was okay with Fodor?

Wayburn: The interesting thing to me was that Fodor went along with this and I was able to make several little philosophical comments. For instance, in listing the Arctic Wildlife Refuge I made the point that this was up for grabs and that Congress was going to decide whether or not drilling for oil in the refuge would be allowed. So I made the comment that if oil development did occur in the wildlife refuge, that the wilderness and the life that it supported would be greatly modified or destroyed. They left that

in, so I was very pleased. I was very pleased with the first editor that I worked with at Fodor; as it turned out, he's the editor-in-chief. Last year in 1989 and then this year when I updated my section, I had two new editors, neither of whom seemed to know anything at all about Alaska.

But it was okay, and I've enjoyed just keeping my finger in on that. It gives me a little bit of a breadth in placing my writing outside of the Sierra Club circle. I like that. And now, I think I told you that I have a proposal on a book on deafness which my agent is trying to place for me. I have changed literary agents.

Lage: That would be totally different.

Wayburn: Totally different, right. And also a challenge, and also something new to research.

Lage: Anything else on the writing or photography that you want to mention?

Wayburn: Yes, I just think that I'm extremely fortunate, because writing is something that you can do forever. As long as you can think, you can write. Especially with a computer; I mean, it makes it such an easy--. I shouldn't say it's easy. The actual getting to it and the organization of ideas and of thoughts and how to present them is not easy.

Lage: The computer doesn't do that for you.

Wayburn: The computer does not do that for you. But the profession of writing, I think, is a wonderful one because it really has no limits. It is not limited by age, as many professions are. I can write as long as I want to.

Lage: And on your own, as well.

Wayburn: And on my own. This, I think, is fortunate. Photography, I find--. I love it, but I find it a very draining--more draining to me than writing, I think. The act of photographing, and then, of course, processing, if I should work in black-and-white as I have in a very incidental way. I took a class--again, a UC Extension class--in black-and-white photography at one point when I was doing a lot of photographing, and learned to develop and print my own things. I thought that was wonderful and also very draining as far as energy is concerned.

I have to remember one nice thing. Ansel Adams did not care for color photography. He really didn't. He felt that the art

was in black-and-white. However, when the photograph that I did of a California poppy was on the cover of Sierra magazine, he wrote me a note and said what a wonderful work it was, and how it had space, and so forth and so on. He just did it on a postcard. I saved the postcard; I don't know where it is, but it was kind of nice. It made me feel good.



## IX ALASKA AND THE SIERRA CLUB IN THE EIGHTIES

The Park Service under Ronald Reagan

- Lage: You wanted to bring Alaska more up to date than we have.
- Wayburn: I think I was thinking about bringing Alaska up to date and talking about the Sierra Club in the 1980s, both of them, because the dimensions have changed enormously in the past decade. Of course, the Reagan administration was the worst thing that could possibly have happened to Alaska. We saw this in so many ways, and it was really heart-breaking to see how little protection was being given to the resource in Alaska, the wilderness resource --how it was being eroded and how it continues to be eroded, and how it's going to be awfully, awfully hard to stop the intrusions that have already taken place and to prevent further intrusions in the Alaska wilderness.
- Lage: Were these specifically tied to actions of the executive branch?
- Wayburn: Oh, definitely. Definitely. First of all, the Park Service has never been given adequate funding to protect the areas that they have. They don't have enough people, they don't have enough airplanes. In Alaska the only way you can patrol in many areas is by air. Possibly by boat on the rivers in the summer or by snow machine in the winter if you could run up the rivers, but the Park Service doesn't want snow machines in the wilderness.
- Lage: The air would be the least intrusive.
- Wayburn: The air is the least intrusive, and it's certainly the only way that, for example, you can monitor the kind of hunting that's taking place. Not having the facilities, not having the aircraft, not having the personnel has been the first thing that has made it very, very hard on the Park Service. But having the philosophy from Washington that the private property idea and the personal rights of people, the kind of thing that Reagan--. The withdrawal of government from all parts of the citizen's life as

much as possible, this whole philosophy has been very, very hard in Alaska. Because you have, for example, people who had inholdings in the parks who have developed hunting and made it a much bigger deal, bringing in more and more people, killing more and more of the animals with the benediction of Washington on it, you know: "Great idea. Get everything out of it you can."

This is something that it's so alien to really protecting the land and protecting the resources, and it's extremely hard to fight. This is just one small example, but all the way around in the parks, the invasion of the parks for personal pleasure or personal profit has been encouraged from Washington, or was encouraged from Washington.

Lage: When you say it's encouraged from Washington, did the local personnel that you had contact with in Alaska--

Wayburn: Oh, they were given orders. Remember we had James Watt as the Secretary of the Interior, and Watt personified this whole philosophy. The morale in the Park Service under Watt was zilch. Their hands were tied. They had no backup of any actions that they might take legally to protect a resource.

Lage: Did William Penn Mott make a difference when he came [as director of the National Park Service]?

Wayburn: I think William Penn Mott made a definite difference, but William Penn Mott also had Donald Hodel [as Secretary of Interior]. Donald Hodel was not really very different from James Watt except that he was a much smoother character and talked a great game of golf, but when it came down to the ultimate decision, Hodel made the same decision that Watt would have made. So Bill Mott had his hands tied just as Russell Dickinson had had his hands tied, and the other--. I'm trying to remember who came after Russell Dickinson; I don't remember.

But Bill Mott also had the problem, which I think he overcame a great deal--he simply was not familiar with the resource of the national parks. His work had been on a much more local level, specifically in the Bay Area, so that he had a lot to learn. But he was very willing to learn, and I think ended up knowing a lot about the Park Service to the point where he's now an invaluable consultant on the Presidio.

Lage: Did you have a chance when he was National Park Service director, did you consult with him, you and Ed?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. He's a longtime friend, and yes, we talked to him frequently. He and Ed would meet for lunch and would confer.

Whenever we went to Washington we would go in to see him, and Ed would go in to see him even if I didn't go with him. So there was a close tie between Bill Mott and us.

Phil Burton, Ed Wayburn, and the Presidio Lands

Lage: Are you encouraged with his heading up the study for the Presidio?

Wayburn: I think it's great. I think it's just great. Ed meets with him now, and of course Ed is extremely involved in the whole effort to chart the course for the future of the Presidio now that it is going to be turned over by the Army to the National Park Service. So I think that's one of the other pluses that we have had, being as involved as we are in the conservation effort, is the friendships that we have made over the years with people who had similar callings. Of course, it's like the friends you make in the mountains. The friendships usually last.

Lage: Do you have any knowledge about how it happened to be written into the GGNRA bill that if the Presidio was ever given up, it would go to the Park Service?

Wayburn: That was Ed and Phil Burton.

Lage: I've heard Phil Burton get the credit, but I wondered if Ed had had something to do with that.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. I think Ed has doubtless told the stories of his association with Phil Burton.

Lage: Right, he had, but that specific thing was never brought up because it wasn't an issue when Ed was interviewed.

Wayburn: Right. No, I think that's quite true, and I know that this was always kind of a secret pleasure of Ed's to know that eventually the Presidio would be part of the GGNRA; he just had no idea that it would happen so soon, and none of us did. But I think the recent action by Congress on army posts is quite exciting; I mean, the opportunities that will be offered.

Lage: Do you have some sense of why our local representatives fought that so much?

Wayburn: Oh, I think it was strictly a matter of politics. I think there are a number of local jobs involved with the Presidio. I forget

how many thousand civilians are employed there or were working for the army. So that it was simply a political stand, and I don't feel that either of them really--. Underneath, I think both of them are very happy that it's a park and not a--

Lage: At least there'll be some jobs related to the park, I'm sure.

Wayburn: There will be jobs related to the park. There are tremendous opportunities, but it's awfully hard to tell your voters that you're for losing them their jobs. So I can understand that there would be an effort made, or at least a talk given of supporting the army.

Lage: With the news reports, I kept thinking how far-sighted it was that that was written into the legislation. What could have happened there, if it hadn't been written in--

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. It would have been up for grabs. That was one of the great things that Phil Burton did. I think his death is one of the biggest blows certainly that we've had locally, to the whole environmental movement. It was a very shocking thing, but he didn't take care of himself.

Lage: That's right. He needed a good doctor.

Wayburn: Yes, definitely.

#### Erosion of the Last Best Chance for Wilderness

Lage: Well, I've gotten you off Alaska, but I thought we should follow up there. When you talk about Alaska, you seem discouraged.

Wayburn: Oh, I feel that way. I do feel that way, but then, as we were saying earlier, when you talk about the realities worldwide, the environmental realities and what is happening in the world, you have to feel--well, I don't know if "discouraged" is the right word, because you can't let yourself be discouraged. Depressed, certainly, and sad. Very sad. I feel very sorrowful about Alaska because it in a sense--. Well, not just in a sense, it was our last best chance. We did manage to prevail to the extent that we had ANILCA [Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act] passed in 1980. You know it went through Congress at the very last moment that Carter could sign it! But that was a tremendous achievement. To see it being diluted and eroded is very hard, it really is.

I think last summer was really the big body blow as far as I was concerned, when we went up and we saw so much. We saw first the oil spill and the monumental disaster that that was.<sup>1</sup> One of the things that always got me in that was that there was this glib assurance, well, not to worry; you know, Prince William Sound, only 2 percent of Prince William Sound, or 2 percent of the animals--I forget. They use these figures to downplay the effects of this, when in fact it besmirched so much and destroyed so much. You know, the beautiful wild shore of Katmai National Park was besmirched. Incalculable devastation as a result of that oil spill. To see that, and then to see the Red Dog Mine, which is such a monstrous development, and then to go into the middle of the Brooks Range and realize that the state of Alaska may prevail in selecting that land under the Statehood Act and setting up a tourist stop on the Haul Road between Fairbanks and Prudhoe Bay. I mean, this kind of thing. It's just--

Lage: A tourist stop in the middle of the Brooks Range.

Wayburn: Yes. This is what they want to do. They want to have a community there, and facilities for tourists, and then increase the tourism.

Lage: Is it even feasible?

Wayburn: Well, it can be done, but at what a cost energywise. It's like what I mentioned in our last interview about the swimming pool in Anaktuvuk Pass. It can be built, and you can have a swimming pool in Anaktuvuk Pass, but at what a cost, a human cost and an energy cost. We're profligate with this kind of thing, so yes, you could put a community there, and it will cost horrendously, but it can be done. It seems to be sort of part of mankind that if you can do it, we do it.

Lage: And these things are up to the state. Is there a strong constituency for conservation in the state?

Wayburn: Well, there is and there isn't. I think the present governor, Steve Cowper, is very development minded. Holds hands with all the miners and with all the oil companies, and with trade with Asia, and with doing everything he can to exploit the resources in Alaska. This is the kind of thing that gets me. It's like with our gross national product, which we measure in terms of production and money. We never talk about the capital that we're

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<sup>1</sup>On March 24, 1989, the tanker Exxon Valdez released over ten million gallons of oil into the waters of Prince William Sound near Anchorage, Alaska, the worst oil spill in U.S. history to date.

expending in our gross national product. We don't talk about the total value of the ore we take out of the ground, or of the oil that we take out of the ground. The actual cost is just glibly overlooked. And this is so stupid in the long run because we're destroying our capital. And the same thing is true in Alaska. This glib idea that you just take something out of the ground and it's yours, it's free. It isn't. It isn't at all.

Cowper doesn't seem to understand this. I think he's a nice enough man. He did react very strongly to the spill in Prince William Sound, and he said a lot of the right things at that time, and he worked with the conservationists at that time, and was given a check by the various conservation organizations which he made a big to-do of receiving. Sierra Club raised, I believe it was \$90,000 by the ads on Alaska. Cowper accepted this graciously and kind of took credit for it. [laughter] But the prevailing philosophy of the business establishment in Alaska is still the same old thing, this antediluvian attitude that you should take from the earth anything that makes you money. It's very destructive, and Alaska is very fragile. You can't put it back as easily there as you can in some of the other parts of the world. Can't ever put it back, but you can mitigate things better other places.

Lage: Do you and Ed and other conservationists have a plan for attacking the attack on Alaska?

Wayburn: I think there's always hope and there's always the possibility that you can deflect some of this. At the moment, Alaska is kind of coasting with Cowper. Cowper has declared that he will not run in 1992. So there will be a chance, hopefully, that there will be candidates for the governorship that will offer a chance to slow down this whole rush into development that has been inaugurated by Cowper. But who knows, you can't very well pick a candidate when you're not there. And even if you are there, you can't always pick a candidate. I know the environmental community in Alaska works very hard in the public arena, and they can't always come up with people. There aren't that many people in Alaska to begin with; the talent pool is small. I mean, there are less than half a million people in the whole state of Alaska, and you don't have the choice that you have in larger communities. So this is something kind of in the lap of the gods, what will happen in the next election. I think it's [Senator Ted] Stevens who is running this year for reelection, and of course he's a shoo-in. Stevens or [Senator Frank] Murkowski. I think it's Stevens. There will just be a token candidate who will run for the senatorship, because Stevens is so entrenched and has been there so long. As I say, I don't think there's any chance at all.

Lage: The image of a half a million people making the kind of decisions that affect such a huge area and such an important area--

Wayburn: Yes, it's interesting. The legislature in Alaska is one of the most interesting bodies that I have ever sat in on, and I got to do this when I was doing my book on Jay Hammond. I would sit there in absolute awe of the caliber of the thought that was being expressed in that legislative body, because it was so varied, it was just extraordinary. The people who were in the legislature represent, of course, these vast areas in Alaska. So you get all kinds of people who are the candidates of choice because they are the ones who are running and they are the ones that the people know, and all the rest of it. Whether they're qualified to be legislators or not is really incidental.

Lage: I take it that you were a little appalled by some of the things you saw.

Wayburn: Yes, I was, and I gather this is still the case.

Lage: It must not be a full-time legislature.

Wayburn: No. They have a limit on their legislative sessions. The legislators come into Juneau, inundate Juneau for something like four or five months of the year, and then go back to their districts.

Lage: And probably have their own businesses there.

Wayburn: And have their own businesses when they go back. Not that there's anything wrong in having a bulldozer operator as a legislator, if that person is a thoughtful person. But the tendency of a bulldozer operator is to think in terms of bulldozing the earth. [laughter]

Lage: That's right.

Wayburn: So you do have a paradox in Alaska.

Lage: It's a very different scene.

Wayburn: A very different scene.

Changes in Size, Complexity, and Clout for the Sierra Club

Lage: Shall we go on with the Sierra Club and the changes you've seen in the club in the eighties? And Ed's role.

Wayburn: The very philosophy that we were discussing in Alaska has pervaded the whole country, and there has been an incredible loss in the last ten years in terms of the environment. You know, just again like the oil spill, incalculable. At the same time, I think there's been a great flowering of the whole environmental awareness, which we see as we approach Earth Day in 1990, with all the celebrations that are occurring. I was interested in Newsweek, where they have a whole center section on Earth Day, and how their feature story of this week is on the environmental disasters on the Mississippi River.

Lage: It really has pervaded the consciousness a great deal.

Wayburn: Oh, it has just enormously, and I think that's very exciting. I think it's meant an interesting change in the Sierra Club that I see. Doubling and doubling again, almost, in this last decade, to an organization of over a half a million members. I think the membership--

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Wayburn: That was an interesting comparison you just made, [during the change of tape]. The Sierra Club is actually larger than the population of the state of Alaska, with 560,000 members.

Lage: That's really gratifying.

Wayburn: It has obviously changed the composition of the club from being --I guess in 1980 it was what? Around 100,000, or it may have been 180,000.

Lage: A hundred eighty thousand was a big mark, I remember [1978].

Lage: It got up to 300,000 following the petition drive in 1981 against James Watt. [Membership was 625,000 in October 1991.]

Wayburn: This has meant that from being a modest size, the club has become really very large, very powerful, and much more bureaucratic. More and more decisions have necessarily to be made by the staff because with a volunteer board of directors and a volunteer president there isn't the manpower there to make all the decisions. This changes the character of the club also, and while the same principles prevail and pervade everything, I think



we're seeing the kind of things that happen with any place when there is enormous growth.

Lage: The kinds of tensions and realignments.

Wayburn: And differences. Just really differences in--. Of course it gives the club a power that is really considerable now. Politically, I've seen a great change in the political clout, and it's probably coming both from the club and outside, too, as environmental awareness increases, so that you have an upward spiral. We were talking earlier about the downward spiral of poverty and environmental destruction, and the two feeding one another. But with the Sierra Club you have the growth in the club making more people aware of what's going on and at the same time backing up that awareness with a powerful role to play in society. So that you sort of spiral upwards. The more powerful you are, the more people know about you and support you.

Lage: And it continues to grow.

#### Changing Roles for Volunteers in the Club

Lage: Now, Ed is really the father figure on the board, and with a lot of new members of the board with the rules limiting terms of board members, does this give him a different role to play?

Wayburn: Well, of course, he's absolutely unique. I don't think there's ever been anyone quite like it in the history of the club. The club has become the focal point of his life--after me.  
[laughter]

Lage: That's right.

Wayburn: She quickly said. [laughter] And after his family.

No, I think his tremendous interest in the whole field of conservation, having expanded to include the international scene so that he is spending more and more time on international matters, which is, I think, wonderful, because this is a global problem and we're all part of it. The pollution in India is ultimately going to affect the ocean, which is ultimately going to affect us. I mean, we're all in this together, and to try to isolate a country or to isolate a part of a country and say that that's the problem is not taking in the full picture. That's just putting a little corner of the painting into focus. So I think the international is very important.

Ed, as you doubtless know, gave up the practice of medicine --now this will be five years ago--in order to devote himself fully to the conservation effort. He treats it as a profession, just as he treated medicine as a profession, and dedicates himself to it even as he had dedicated himself to medicine. So the role he plays in the club, as I said, is absolutely unique.

Lage: Because he almost combines the volunteer with the professional.

Wayburn: Yes, he does.

Lage: The unpaid professional.

Wayburn: The unpaid professional. Because certainly he knows his way around as well as any professional in the field.

Lage: Does the club use him effectively, have you been able to observe?

Wayburn: Oh, I think so.

Lage: Because this is a new thing for the club as well.

Wayburn: Yes. I think so. I think there's bound to be a certain amount of resistance on the part of the staff, but I think that resistance is there for any volunteer who plays a leading role. That's got to be one of the things that has evolved out of this last decade, that you see as there are more staff members. While there is necessarily emphasis on the volunteer, there's also the emphasis on the professional that is expanding. When I spoke of the changing character of the club, I think that's part of it.

Lage: Do you notice the change in character of the board members?

Wayburn: The fact is that with this rotation that we presently have where the directors have to take a year off after six years on the board, there has been a tremendous increase in turnover. This has both its pluses and its minuses. Without the linchpin of Ed on the board, many things would have gotten lost simply because there were not people around who remembered what had happened. I think he's invaluable in that he can provide the continuity, and he has a marvelous memory.

Lage: That's right. That helps.

Wayburn: So he can recall things that the club had done or stands that the club had taken that tend to be totally overlooked otherwise. And I think it's important to a board to have this kind of continuity, because when you have this great turnover it takes a

while for a new director to really get into the job and to understand all that's involved. I think it's very foolish to talk about extending the time off the board to two years, because you'll have even more of a turnover.

Lage: That's a by-law amendment on the current ballot. [It did not pass.]

Wayburn: There's a current by-law change on the ballot, and of course we'll know this weekend what's happened to that. But the fact of the matter is that it's difficult to find people even now who will undertake to be a member of the board because it demands so much time and so much energy, apropos of the changing character of the club. I can remember so well when being a member of the board of directors was something that was very important, yes, but it was not all-consuming at the time. I think now that the pressures are on the directors to spend--they could spend full time, all of them, as directors.

Lage: That's incredible.

Wayburn: It really is, but there's so much going on in so many places. You realize that the Sierra Club is not just in the United States now; it's also very active in Canada. You have all these fronts that need to be addressed, and if a director is going to be a wise director he or she really has to know what's going on everywhere in the club, and this is a monumental task.

Lage: So if they can't do that, this then would feed again into more power to the staff.

Wayburn: This is absolutely true. There is just no question. Because the staff has the continuity, and therefore steps in, and more and more plays the role.

Lage: When you say the club is more bureaucratic, does that imply more than just more staff-directed, which wouldn't have to be bureaucratic? Do you feel it's more difficult to get things done?

Wayburn: It does have to be bureaucratic. I mean, this is a \$35 million-a-year enterprise, and there's no way in the world you can run something like that without the bureaucracy. I think that the big challenge here is to keep the volunteer in the club, which is so terribly important and what makes the club different from the National Audubon Society, Wilderness Society, any of the other active groups. Because you do have a volunteer-run endeavor going on.

But it does require a tremendous amount of time and dedication to really stay abreast of what's happening. Ed receives the publications from all the chapters, and he reads them, but he takes the time to do it. I don't know how many of the directors can take that kind of time, because if they have a full-time profession where they're earning their living--. I know one of our best directors, Ruth Frear, refused to run for the board again for her second term because she had to spend so much time. She's a very conscientious person; she had to really prejudice her own job as a librarian. So there is this balancing that's going on. It will be interesting to see how this ultimately comes out.

Here is an example of one of the things that I think is being lost. I can remember very well when a local volunteer was able to go into the Sierra Club office and say, "I would like to help with something," and they would be given a task to do. Now if a volunteer--and I know someone who went through this whole thing. She lost her husband, an older lady; she wanted to be involved in something. She went to the Sierra Club office and she was met with this bureaucracy--who would talk to her, and who would tell her that she could stuff envelopes, and who would say that she could man a phone, or who would give her something to do.

Lage: Maybe the chapters probably have that kind of operation, but she wanted to be in San Francisco.

Wayburn: But she lives in San Francisco. So that this very personal aspect is gone.

Lage: She could try the Colby Library if she's still interested. They look for volunteers.

Wayburn: All right. But, see, there's nobody--if she goes in, she meets the girl at the switchboard. There is a director of volunteers on the staff, someone who is assuming much greater importance but usually deals at the chapter level and not personally with the volunteers. That's, as I say, that's an exaggerated example, but that's the kind of thing that's happening. It makes it a different organization. It's much less personal. Much less personal.

Lage: I guess that is inevitable.

Wayburn: I guess.

Lage: If we could find a way to balance the old-style club atmosphere with this big, influential--

Wayburn: --monumental organization--

Lage: --we'd be doing something. Maybe there is a way.

Wayburn: Well, I think on the local level, as you mentioned, with chapters and with groups, that this does continue. An interesting thing is how many chapters and how many groups want professional help now, because they find that things are too big for them to handle alone. So that we have demands for more Sierra Club representatives in different parts of the country. This is, as I said, it's a balancing that is interesting to watch.

Lage: But it must make it a formidable organization on the political scene.

Wayburn: There is no question. One of the things that's been interesting to me, I think, is in the past decade how, along with environmental problems, the Sierra Club has been identified as a player in the environmental field. So that you no longer have to explain to somebody what the Sierra Club is. If you meet someone and you say you work with the Sierra Club, why, they know what you're talking about. The club has become very well known, and respected, and feared in many cases. Whereas in the past it was kind of brushed aside too often.

Lage: That's something you could certainly comment on, since you've had this long-term reaching out and meeting people in Washington.

Wayburn: This is true. And also, I said the club is feared; the club is also detested by certain groups, as we know. We've seen some horrendous examples of that in Alaska. One particular group there where the vice-president or president of Shee-Atika Corporation--he was a non-Native person who came from Oregon--had been in the timber business, and hated the Sierra Club so much that he deliberately tried to engineer the logging of areas that the Sierra Club was trying to save. This kind of sick thinking is unfortunately with us, but at the same time, in Alaska, I think more and more people are sympathetic to the Sierra Club. Certainly when something happens like the oil spill, people change their minds about a lot of things and they begin to turn again toward the Sierra Club because it is so big and because it is becoming so much better known.

Lage: Did you notice over the years a lot of animosity? Did you run into personal animosity a great deal in Alaska?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. You know the great bumper sticker that was on in Southeast Alaska when we were in one of our numerous efforts to

save the forests of the Southeast from being logged for pennies a board foot (or whatever it is in logging). The bumper sticker simply said, "Sierra Club Kiss My Axe." [laughter]

Lage: I hadn't heard of that one. Was that disturbing?

Wayburn: Oh, no, that was funny.

Lage: I don't mean just that, but the general animosity.

Wayburn: I don't know. I don't think so. Not really. I never found it too personal. But that was one of them, and then another bumper sticker was, "Let the Bastards Freeze in Hell" when we were fighting the pipeline and the road beside the pipeline, which is the really devastating part of the pipeline.

Now, this past decade has been a milestone in many ways, and certainly in the environmental movement. So I think we can thank Jim Watt for some of it.

Lage: He started it off, anyway.

#### Other Family Members Working for the Environment

Lage: One thing we missed was picking up on your son-in-law and his contribution to your seeing Alaska.

Wayburn: We never could have done what we did in Alaska without Jim Roush. Actually, it was Denny Wilcher who found Jim. Denny Wilcher was at that time working for the Sierra Club as a fundraiser, and one summer he called up and asked Ed, who was chairman of the Alaska Task Force, if he would like to have someone fly him around in Alaska, into some of the areas that we were exploring and that were threatened. Of course the answer was yes, and this was how Jim Roush came on the scene. Jim is a wonderful, wonderful pilot and a wonderful person, and very dedicated, and willing to give of himself, and also, of course, flying an airplane is a major contribution--providing the airplane and flying it.

Lage: That's right. In Alaska, especially. Had he flown in Alaska much before?

Wayburn: No. No. But we had some wonderful experiences. Because the weather is so unpredictable in Alaska, we would often plan to visit a certain area and find that we couldn't visit that area because it was socked in. So Jim would get the weather reports,

and wherever it was clear and there was an area that we needed to see, we would change our plans and he would take us. This meant that we saw a tremendous amount of the state. We used to land on gravel strips. Jim's Beech Baron--we called it the Red Baron because it was trimmed in red--was not as good a bush plane as some of the smaller planes that are flown in Alaska, because they could land on a short gravel strip. We needed a long gravel strip. [laughter]

Lage: So you had to be aware of what the gravel strip was like.

Wayburn: You had to be aware of it, and you had to be pretty sure before you started out. I remember in some of the places that we landed we would hold our breath, but Jim is a very skillful pilot. He made a tremendous contribution in terms of our understanding and our actions in Alaska, and has continued to do so. This summer, you know, we plan to run a river with Jim and Cynthia and our two grandchildren.

Lage: Oh, no, I didn't know that.

Wayburn: We're hoping to run the Sheenjek River.

Lage: So he met Cynthia through you.

Wayburn: He met Cynthia on one of the trips in the summer when Cynthia was doing paralegal work for Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and had been working on Alaska, where the Legal Defense Fund has done so much, and was kind of strung out, having worked very hard. So we asked her if she'd like to see some of the places she'd been working on, because Jim's plane could comfortably carry four, and that would make the four of us, with Ed and myself and Cynthia. So she came along, and that was the beginning. Which was totally unanticipated.

Lage: Yes. How nice, though.

I don't think we've talked about your daughter Laurie. It's Laurie who's working at the Point Reyes Bird Observatory. Why don't you tell about what she's been doing?

Wayburn: This has been a wonderful thing in this past decade. Our daughter Laurie, as you may know, worked for UNEP [United Nations Environmental Program] in Africa for four years.

Lage: Was she the one that went to Santa Cruz, in environmental studies?

- Wayburn: No. That was Cynthia. Cynthia was the first graduate in environmental studies at UC Santa Cruz. Laurie graduated in geology from Harvard, from Radcliffe.
- Lage: I see. And then how did she happen to find her way to Africa?
- Wayburn: She had a friend whose father worked for UNEP, and the father had taken the friend and Laurie to lunch. Laurie had told him that she was interested in working for UNEP, United Nations Environmental Program, and he said, "I'll remember that if something comes up." And something came up, and Laurie was able to go to work for UNEP and learn the ropes of the international scene, and incidentally has been very helpful to us; when we visited Laurie in UNEP in Nairobi, we met some of the players in the international scene, and we've gone on to meet the same players in the international scene because they tend to stay around, which is kind of interesting. It's kind of like when you go to Alaska and you meet the people who run things, and those are the players, the establishment, and now we have this with the international establishment and the players in this.
- Lage: So whatever conference you go to--
- Wayburn: You see the same people, become friends with them. Laurie did this, of course, with UNEP, and then she also worked for UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] and has been stationed in Paris and in South America, and has traveled all over the world, is really an extraordinary traveler. She finally decided she wanted to be in the Bay Area, and she came back and started looking for something to do. I think it was Amy Meyer who said to her, "Laurie, you know, the Point Reyes Bird Observatory needs a new executive director," and I think almost incidentally Laurie applied for the job, and got it, and has made a tremendous difference with the Point Reyes Bird Observatory. She also has been instrumental in the establishment of the Central California Coastal Biosphere Reserve because she had worked for UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Program and was familiar with this kind of international classification. She felt that the Bay Area offered a marvelous opportunity, and was able to put this Biosphere Reserve through. So we're very--
- Lage: What's involved in putting that through?
- Wayburn: Well, it has to go through the United Nations. And it has to be designated by the group Man and the Biosphere in UNESCO.
- Lage: She had the connections and the knowledge.



Wayburn: She knew exactly how to go about doing this, and to whom she should talk, and what should be said, and how the proposal should be written, so to speak, and has been able to bring this off, which is, I think, pretty exciting. She's also been able to bring the Point Reyes Bird Observatory into the mainstream locally, into the conservation mainstream, as it never was before.

Lage: You hear much more about it, just as an outside observer.

Wayburn: Yes. Well, she's been able to do that. She has a series of interviews coming up on public TV. I think she's going to be on KQED in June, so you must be sure to look. This is just typical of the kind of thing she's been able to bring off. She's full of energy. She just astounds me with all she can do. For example, she went to Washington two weeks ago, I guess it was, spent a week or ten days working with the various bureaucrats in Washington who are involved in Point Reyes Bird Observatory because, you know, United States Fish & Wildlife and so forth are involved. Also to do some fundraising. She came back a week ago, and she was not too well; she had the flu. And then she was called back to Washington, so she went back to Washington Sunday night, and returned last night, and was able to do this--

Lage: Tuesday.

Wayburn: Tuesday, yes. Was able to do this and to go to work today. It is very exciting to see her carrying on.

Lage: It must be very gratifying for you. It's really a family affair.

Wayburn: Yes. And of course, Cynthia's greatly involved too. She's been involved in Aspen--was president of the Aspen Center for the Environment--and continues to be very involved with Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, in doing things. And with Jim, she continues to be strongly involved in the whole environmental effort.

Lage: And Jim is now on the Sierra Club Foundation Board, is he not?

Wayburn: No, advisory council. He was a trustee of the foundation for quite a while, but he is now a member of the advisory board. He's no longer a trustee.

Lage: They have a rotating policy for board members also, I believe.

Wayburn: I believe you're correct, yes.

Lage: Okay, well, is there anything else? I think it's a nice way to end, with the children carrying on.

Wayburn: Yes, that does make a lot of sense.

Need for Global Awareness

Lage: Your reference to the biosphere declaration reflects a greater consciousness of the environment, the total picture, the interrelationships on a worldwide scale.

Wayburn: Yes, I think so, too. I think part of this is a general awakening, and then the other part of it is that we can see on TV, for example, graphically how the tropical forests are being removed, and you can see the pollution in areas. You can see the animals that are being slaughtered. You begin to have a firsthand experience, and I think this has developed enormously in the past decade. And the programming on public television and public radio gives a graphic demonstration of what we're doing to the earth, and you have to get involved.

Lage: It hits home.

Wayburn: Because you identify, I think, with the happenings much more closely than we could when we would read in the papers and it might just be a statistic that we saw, and now you can see. In fact, it's like when you see the people starving in Ethiopia, you begin to understand the horrendous magnitude of what overpopulation means. This is unavoidable.

Lage: The global village aspect of television.

Wayburn: Yes. I always remember someone on one of the public television programs on Ethiopia saying, "We've provided the medical know-how to keep people alive, for children to survive. We owe it to those children to see that they have enough to eat." Morally, I suppose this is absolutely true, but there isn't enough to eat. It's like people who refuse to look at this, people who say the distribution is skewed in the world. Consumption of our natural resources is terribly skewed, and there's no question; the industrialized countries, particularly the United States, are consuming far more than their share of the total natural resources of the earth. We in this country are profligate with them.

At the same time, if we are going to unskew this kind of skewed distribution, we're going to have to make major sacrifices. I don't know how many of us are really ready to make

those sacrifices. I mean, are we all willing to become vegetarians so that everyone on earth can eat? Because that's what ultimately we're looking at. We cannot afford the luxury of the extra conversion of energy from herbs into animals. We simply can't afford it if we're going to feed everyone. But how many people are going to be ready to embrace this kind of thing? It means a major change in our lifestyle.

Lage: That's right. It's probably not something people are going to do voluntarily.

Wayburn: No. It's one thing to talk about feeding the world, but it's another thing to really come to grips with what it means to feed the world.

Lage: And even then, I don't believe that that would work. If everyone switched to vegetarianism, it may work for a few years, and then--

Wayburn: Exactly. But ultimately that won't work either, no. There's no way that we can continue to expand our population--what is it?--95 million people a year, ad infinitum. The resources are limited. And that's the other thing that I think has become more and more obvious to people--that the planet is limited. It is, as Adlai Stevenson put it, Spaceship Earth, and we're all here on it, dependent on it, together.



## TAPE GUIDE--Peggy Wayburn

Interview 1: February 27, 1990	1
tape 1, side A	1
tape 1, side B	11
tape 2, side A	22
insert from tape 5, side A [3/21/90]	27
tape 2, side B	36
Interview 2: March 6, 1990	43
tape 3, side A	43
tape 3, side B	55
tape 4, side A [side B not recorded]	69
Interview 3: March 21, 1990	79
tape 5, side A	79
tape 5, side B	90
tape 6, side A [side B not recorded]	100
Interview 4: April 4, 1990	110
tape 7, side A	110
tape 7, side B	121
tape 8, side A	131
tape 8, side B	142
Interview 5: April 11, 1990	148
tape 9, side A	148
tape 9, side B	158
tape 10, side A [side B not recorded]	169



## APPENDICES--Peggy Wayburn

- A. "O Tempora! O Mores!: Recollections of a High-Trip Tenderfoot," by Peggy Wayburn (Sierra Club Bulletin, March 1975) 183
- B. "Bulletin Board," by Edgar and Peggy Wayburn (Sierra Club Bulletin, February, December 1959, June 1962) 186





# *O Tempora! O Mores!*

## *Recollections of a High-Trip Tenderfoot*

PEGGY WAYBURN

**T**HE HIGH TRIP was a particular Sierra Club invention. It was never meant to be purely a pleasure trip that moved crowds of humans and mules through the mountains just for the fun of it. It always had another purpose. The High Trip was designed to take as many people as possible into John Muir's Range of Light, to acquaint them with its beauty, and to send them back as fervent, and hopefully articulate, disciples of his wilderness.

From its inception in 1901, the High Trip prospered. Not only did it make many converts, but it acquired a devoted coterie of repeaters who filled its rolls every summer. Since it was a large trip and covered a lot of ground, the High Trip always had an inevitable impact on the mountain terrain. As other people and groups moved into the Sierra Nevada, this impact became more critical. By the late 1940's, the Sierra Club was becoming sensitive to the problems the High Trip posed: already the trip was taking fewer mules, and the packers were carrying extra feed; and already the itinerary of the trip was being planned to avoid heavily used or fragile areas. Still the Club Fathers had to question whether the High Trip was really worth it. Had it outlived its purpose? Was it time to end its sunny days? David Brower presented the club's decisions on these matters in a graceful apology for the High Trip, which appeared in the March, 1948 *Bulletin*. "Are Mules Necessary?" Brower asked. The answer was "yes." In 1948, the High Trip was still a valued Sierra Club institution.

I was unaware of any of this when I went on the High Trip that year. I had recently married a man who loved the mountains, and I embarked on that summer's outing with him only because I was trying to be a good wife.

It was my first outdoor venture and secretly I thought the whole idea was crazy. I was also scared. I was a New York City girl who had grown up thinking that a mile's walk on the level was a good hike. I had never slept outside. Until I married, I had never seen a sleeping bag, let alone owned one. For many years, in fact, I had thought a sleeping bag was something, well, a large laundry bag that you got into and tied around your neck.

As it happened, a sleeping bag was



*Cedric Wright*

the first piece of High Trip equipment that I acquired. I was surprised and not entirely pleased one evening a few weeks before the trip when my husband came home with an Army surplus mummy bag, which he gave me for my own. It was an ugly shade of mud-brown, stuffed with feathers, and both limp and lumpy. My husband also brought me a long narrow plastic air mattress. (He had an old, beloved and obsolete Hodgeman, a big tan rubber waffle that was as heavy as lead but better than a Beautyrest.)

In those days, outdoor footgear was a problem. Virtually no shoe manufacturer made boots for women. I was advised to get Boy Scout shoes, but they didn't fit me. For weeks I persevered until I finally located a pair of Bass ladies' boots in Spiro's Sport Shop on Market Street. They were five inches high, a smooth and genteel leather, and they had cuffs. The salesgirl, also city-bred, was pleased for me. "At least your feet will be stylish up there," she said.

There were a lot of other things I had to get for that trip. My husband and I—and most of the people on the High Trip—took along pine-tree chiffoniers to tie around a tree near our camp. These contrivances, something like outdoor shoebags, held our combs, brushes, mirrors, toothpaste, and other miscellanea. We also took canvas basins and buckets and khaki-colored towels. We had light underwear, heavy underwear (wool that itched), pajamas, sheets for our bags, numerous changes of socks and shirts, sweaters, jackets, extra jeans, gloves, hats with brims, day packs, bandannas, and raincoats. I had to get them all. We also took lots of rope, a medicine kit, a mattress-repair kit, a sewing kit, and a large groundcloth and tarp. (We took no tent because it never rained at night in the Sierra Nevada, my husband told me.) After a good deal of packing and repacking we ended up with exactly 30 pounds of dunnage apiece, the amount allowed each person on the High Trip. For some reason, it was a point of honor for every High Tripper to weigh in at precisely the limit, no more and no less.

We left for the 1948 High Trip on a sunny July evening and stopped in Palo Alto to pick up a friend and have dinner with his family. Our hostess, a veteran mountaineer, looked at me

and knew at once that I was a tenderfoot and a coward. "I hope you're prepared for the ants," she said pleasantly. "That's one thing about the Sierra. The ants are everywhere."

After dinner, we drove through the warm velvety valley night. Our windshield got plastered with flying insects. Some time around midnight, we found a schoolyard and rolled out our bags. The insects thrummed and fiddled around us. My bag was extraordinarily hot and I spent the night on top of it trying to balance on my air mattress. When I slept, I dreamed of ants.

The next day we made it to Zumwalt Meadows with only two stops for the engine to boil over. Although we left the car where the meadow was quiet and waist-deep in grass, the trailhead of that High Trip was bedlam. The air was full of sunshine, noise, and dust. People were milling about everywhere, except for a few weatherbeaten men in boots and Stetson hats who were lounging around looking like characters out of a Western movie. Strings of mules and several horses were tied to trees nearby. There were piles of rope, slings, pack boxes, crates of lettuce and eggs, more pack boxes, nests of enormous kettles, stoves, metal boxes of assorted sizes, guitar cases, fishing rods, rolls of canvas, and many other odds and ends, including two large shellacked wooden boxes, which were curiously shaped like truncated pyramids and had holes on top. Throughout, there was a sense of happy and total confusion.

That was deceptive. For although I did not know it, this was the staging area of a highly organized and thoroughly equipped traveling camp that would have put many an army to shame. Indeed, the old High Trips provided quite a few of the simpler comforts of home. We took along two privies (the wooden boxes I had seen) with a commissary member to set them up. (These sanitary facilities were called "burlaps" after the burlap curtains that were strung from trees to provide them with privacy.) We carried a large and fully utensiled kitchen, whose capacious wood-burning stoves required a specially trained mule to haul them lengthwise on her back. We also had a cook, a cook's assistant, and other kitchen-crew members. We took along huge tarps for rainy weather. We had a cobbler's



*Cedric Wright*

box to repair boots that might give out. We had enough food to dish out a quarter of a ton of it a day, and tin plates and silverware to eat it with. We had a first-aid tent with medical supplies, and we even had a doctor (on this trip, it was my husband). Fishing gear and musical instruments were carried for anybody who wanted to take them along. Added to all this, of course, were a few tons of dunnage for the guests as well as for the packers and commissary. It was a formidable array.

That was the 43rd High Trip, and that night 173 guests, a couple of dozen commissary members, and as many more packers gathered around the leaping flames of a big, bright campfire. Francis Farquhar, then the club's president, had driven down from Berkeley just to wish us Godspeed. Eivind Scoyen, superintendent of Kings Canyon Park, had come over for the same reason. Dave Brower was our leader. By the light of the fire we all set our watches with his, and then we listened to him tell where we were supposed to go the next day. I was bemused. It was all too much. Everyone seemed to know my husband. And while they were all nice to me, I thought the other High Trippers looked oddly at my stylish boots, my stiff jeans, and my new shirt.

The next morning, while it was still dark, there was a terrible screaming

and beating on pots and pans. I thought the camp had been invaded by bears and leapt from my sleeping bag to find a way to escape. But the noise stopped and nothing happened. It was cold. I stood there shivering in my pajamas and, in the ensuing moment of quiet, I thought I heard a large hissing sigh all around me. My husband said that it was everybody letting the air out of their air mattresses. The screaming and banging on pots was the get-up call.

We packed up our dunnage bags and weighed them in on a hanging scale slung between two trees under the watchful eyes of a weighmaster, one of the guests. Then we had a breakfast of stewed fruit, hot cereal, toast, fried Spam, and coffee strong enough to pave a road. I had envisioned that we would move out of camp all together, like an army advancing up the trail. But people left in twos and threes and my husband and I traveled by ourselves. It was just as well. The morning was one of pain and misery for me and I told him so—frequently. It started out well enough as we walked beside a stream through cool, gentle forests. But by the time we reached the switchbacks to Paradise Valley, the sun was up and it was getting hot. It grew hotter as we made our endless way up that steep rocky slope. My feet hurt dreadfully, and as I put one cuffed boot in front of the

other, I resigned myself to dying young.

But Paradise Valley proved to be incredibly lovely, with aspens twinkling their leaves, great cliffs soaring upward, and the pure bright waters of the Kings River racing beside us. I was for camping at the first grove of trees, but Dave Brower took us to the upper limit of the valley. (Dave always took us to the upper limit of places, I soon found out. Before long we got to measuring our travels in "Brower-miles," and the altitude we climbed in a day's hike in "Brower-feet.")

At Paradise Valley, I learned some of the niceties of the High Trip. There was a separate men's camp, a separate women's camp, and a married couples' camp, usually in between. You found your camp site, dropped your cup to mark it, and then waited for the mules to arrive with your dunnage bag, which you would now haul yourself. The "burlaps," one for each sex, were set up as far from camp as possible. This could mean a long walk or even a scramble in certain places. And during popular hours, there was an inevitable wait, and queues formed. Next to meals in camp, this was one of the best places to get acquainted with your fellow campers, albeit of the same sex.

In that first camp, we put down our groundcloth where we could see the high rocks outstretched above us like the wings of some great bird. Ed went off to help chop wood, and I lay down on my bag and started to cry. But I soon became aware that a tide of darkness was rising in the valley. Commissary called for dinner, and we had marvelously hot and salty soup. That night the skies swarmed with stars. I heard a rock avalanche roll down the slopes like thunder. More tired than I had ever been in my life, I closed my eyes and was immediately asleep. I had forgotten to worry about the ants.

That was only the beginning, of course. We stayed at Paradise Valley for a layover day while the mules went back for another load. I took my first teetering steps on talus, and inched my way across a wet log above a stream. I felt like a child learning to walk. We had steaks for dinner that second night, and we sang around the campfire until it burned down to embers and the shadows crowded around us. We sang a lot on that trip, songs that I'd grown up with—Oh, Susan-

nah, I've Been Workin' on the Railroad, Swing Low Sweet Chariot, Danny Boy, Greensleeves. They had never sounded so sweet.

After leaving Paradise Valley we went over a high, windy pass to Twin Lakes. That day I saw my first high-mountain meadow with a stream-like pure liquid glass curling through it. I felt the springy turf beneath my feet and had my heart stopped by the wild beauty of the shooting stars that stood in the wet places. We slept cold at Twin Lakes, and I remember the scum of ice on the water in my cup the next morning.

Twenty-six years later, I remember many other things about that High Trip. Even for those days, it was a strenuous trip: I expect we hiked close to 100 miles and climbed a total of nearly 20,000 feet before the two weeks were over. One day we climbed 4,000 feet straight up out of Simpson Meadows and then did another 2,000 feet of ups and downs before we finally made camp at Granite Pass. I remember that a private party camped next to us at Simpson Meadows had deck chairs and tables, and they had ice cream flown in and air-dropped for their children. Alongside them, we felt like virtuous Spartans. That was the only party of any size we encountered on that trip. Two young men doing survey work were the only other people we saw. We asked them to dinner and campfire, and they came, grateful for some company.

We camped two nights at Bench Lake and I will forever remember the reflections of Arrow Peak catching the first soft glow of morning light. I don't recall in which camps the mules wandered around us all through the night—it happened more than once—but the sound of their bells is still with me. So is the clank my Sierra Club cup made on the rocks as I first learned to scramble. I remember the cold, utterly delicious taste of pennyroyal and bourbon crushed together in snow. More painfully, I remember the ascent and descent of Cartridge Pass, a wicked ordeal for people and mules. Going down that impossibly steep pass, two ladies twice my age sped past me, as fleet and sure-footed as deer. I hated them as I picked my careful way among the huge unstable boulders that formed the trail. Later I came to count them as dear friends. One was Ollo Baldauf, whose rich haunting voice heightened the beauty

of the mountain stillness each time she sang for us.

I remember many other people on that trip. Cedric Wright was one of them, gentle genius, artist, and mountain spirit. He loved to travel ahead of the crowd and wait at the foot of a pass with hot tea, or the offer of a foot bath for a weary wayfarer. Cedric was a violinist as well as a photographer: he called the "burlap" a "Straddlevariarius." Jim Harkins was the cook, and Charlotte Mauk his assistant, and between them brewed hundreds of gallons of coffee and they fried thousands of pieces of bacon and flipped twice as many pancakes. We never ate better.

The packers on that High Trip have a special place in my memory. Some were college boys working through their summer vacations, but others were old-timers like Bud Steele, who claimed he helped the Devil pack in the rocks for the Devil's Postpile. Bud nearly lost his life coming down Cartridge Pass and said he stayed alive to feed the mosquitos at Marian Lake. Tommy Jefferson was another full-time packer, a smooth-faced young Indian with the sweetest smile I'd ever seen. He sang for us at campfire and he had a voice like dark velvet.

There were a number of ladies of uncertain age on that trip, veteran High Trippers who traveled together. They might wear hats with enormous brims, rubber bathing shoes on the granite, or old-fashioned (unstylish) knickers, but they were true mountaineers. Before the trip was over, all of us had become acquainted, and some of us had made friendships that would last for lifetimes. We gathered together on the last afternoon for the traditional bandanna show, art exhibit, and what was called the social tea. We shared what was left of extra goodies people had brought along, and we began to share reminiscences, too, of the days behind us, which had ended far too soon.

The High Trip is no more, of course, and never will be, the world having become what it is. But it fulfilled its purpose for me. As I expect it did for many other people, it changed my life. When we made our way 6,000 feet down from Granite Pass to Zumwalt Meadows on the trip's last hot day in July, 1948, I had never felt more alive or free. I could skip over the talus and walk a log across a stream. I had drunk the waters of cool, clear mountain streams,

skinny-dipped in an icy mountain lake and sun-dried beside it. I had drowsed in a mountain meadow breathing in the sweet smell of wild grasses. I had seen the Sierra's pale granite peaks stained apricot and gold and blue as the sun's afterglow swelled and faded. I had awakened to the song of mountain birds. The love of the wilderness had entered into me. I was, and forever would be, one of John Muir's disciples.

*Peggy Wayburn, a long-time Sierra Club member, is co-author of the recent Sierra Club Book, Alaska, the Great Land.*

## Bulletin Board

**I**N THE two months since the 86th Congress reconvened, there has been loosed a flood of bills affecting conservation. Important positive measures among these include:

**The Wilderness Bill.** This is essentially a reintroduction—with minor changes—of the bill on which field hearings were held last autumn. While weaker than the original bill, this much-needed legislation remains a congressional declaration of policy to dedicate an adequate system of wilderness to the needs of the people. It specifies the areas involved and provides measures to administer them. Principal opposition comes from within lumber, grazing, mining and power industries. The Sierra Club continues its strong support of this measure.

Present sponsors of the bill are:

*Senate* (S. 1123)—Humphrey (Minn.), Neuberger (Ore.), Byrd (W. Va.), Clark (Pa.), Douglas (Ill.), Langer (N. Dak.), Mundt (S. Dak.), Lausche (Ohio), Mansfield (Mont.), Martin (Iowa), Morse (Ore.), Murray (Mont.), Proxmire (Wis.), Randolph (W. Va.), Mrs. Smith (Maine), Scott (Pa.), Wiley (Wis.), Williams (N.J.).

*House* (H. R. 1960)—Saylor (Pa.) and Baldwin (Calif.), Metcalf (Mont.), Reuss (Wis.), O'Hara (Ill.), George Miller (Calif.), McGovern (S. Dak.), Gubser (Calif.).

**Bills to establish National Parks and Monuments:** noteworthy are proposals for a Cape Cod National Park, Massachusetts; a C & O Canal National Historical Park along the Potomac River, Maryland; an Indiana Dunes National Monument on the southern shore of Lake Michigan; a Fort Jackson National Monument, Alabama; a Padre Islands National Park, Texas; and Congressman Henry Reuss's proposed Ice Age National Park, Wisconsin. Congressman John Saylor and Senator Gordon Allott (Colorado) have again introduced a bill to change the status of Dinosaur National Monument to that of National Park. The Sierra Club supports this change.

**Bill to set up Youth Conservation Corps:** Senator Humphrey (Minn.) proposes such a Corps to accelerate federal conservation programs—in timber, soil, range and recreational resources—while providing healthful training and work opportunities for 150,000 young men between 16 and 22, in areas away from centers of population and existing work programs. Congressman John Blatnik (Minn.) has introduced identical legislation in the House.

Other important conservation developments on the national level include:

*Cut-backs* for the National Park Service program, Mission 66, as well as reductions in U. S. Forest Service appropriations for recreational use.

**Exclusion** from the list of roadless areas in Indian reservations of the 350,000 acre Black River Wilderness Area in the San Carlos-Fort Apache Reservation. Purpose is to make this land available for economic development.

### On the California scene:

The State Park Commission has once more directed the Division of Beaches and Parks to proceed with immediate acquisition of lands long advocated by the Sierra Club for the protection and enlargement of Mt. Tamalpais State Park.

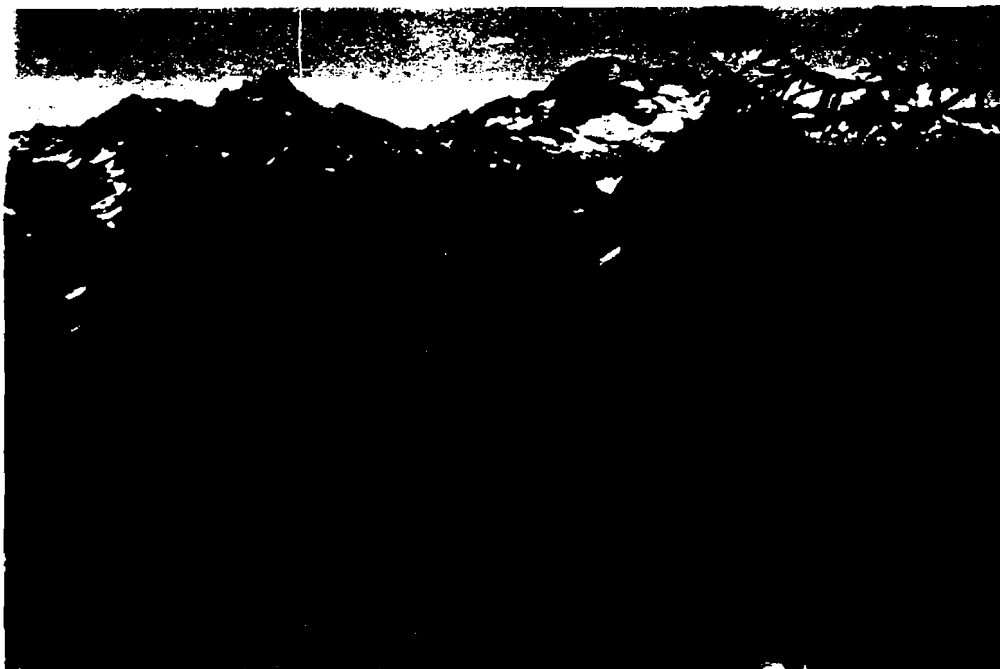
The Sierra Club favors a strong, policy-making State Park Commission, and is opposing bills before the Legislature which would weaken this important body.

Riverside County has bulldozed a two-lane road into Joshua Tree National Monument to tie in with an existing, abandoned road. In between washouts, it would link Twentynine Palms to Riverside County, effectively bisecting the monument.

Two bills and a joint-resolution have been introduced into the state Senate to revise Highway 89 into a low-level route along Lake Tahoe. Such revision would mutilate two of our finest State Parks, D. L. Bliss and Emerald Bay. The Sierra Club continues strong opposition to such measures.

EDGAR AND PEGGY WAYBURN

## NOW READY "Wilderness Cards from the Sierra Club"



*Mount Lyall and Bonanza Peak from Seven Sisters Ridge. By Grant McConnell*

Here, in the geographic center of a great potential Northern Cascades park, the Forest Service proposal (see pp. 10-15) would leave the high places relatively safe, but would doom the valley gateways to logging.

### Cards to help the Cascades

*The first ten Northern Cascades cards are now ready.* This and the cover are from the series. The large size, 10c; regular size, 5c. Quantity discounts: 30% on orders of \$5 or more, 40% on \$25 or more, 50% on \$50 or more, 60% on \$250. Beyond that come in and let's talk. In any event, all excess over cost goes to conservation. Order from your chapter or from Mills Tower.

Sierra Club Bulletin  
February 1959

# Bulletin Board

*Starred items need your special help now.  
Ask your chapter conservation chairman.*

## ON THE NATIONAL SCENE

### Far-flung hearings

★ The club was represented not only at the Oregon Dunes hearing (see pp. 3, 4), but also at December hearings on the proposed Great Basin National Park (Ely, Nevada), the proposed Cape Cod National Seashore (Orleans, Mass.), and the proposed Knowles Project, directly involving Paradise dam and indirectly involving Glacier National Park (Missoula, Montana).

Samuel Houghton, vice-chairman of the Toiyabe Chapter, spoke in Ely; Louis Di Paolo, Atlantic Chapter member from Tenafly, New Jersey, traveled north to testify at Orleans; and Executive Director David Brower flew to Missoula to make a statement at the Senate hearing there. The January *SCB* will report more fully on these peregrinations.

## ON THE CALIFORNIA SCENE

### Redwoods Threatened

Several conservation problems of national importance have erupted in California. Most striking is what is happening to some of the Coast redwoods which individuals all over the nation contributed more than \$14,000,000 to save:

The California Division of Beaches and Parks is attempting an all-out effort to save perhaps the finest stand of giant redwoods in the state, the Rockefeller Grove in Humboldt Redwoods State Park. These irreplaceable *Sequoia sempervirens* are threatened by the rapidly advancing erosion of the Bull Creek watershed, set into motion by the logging off of the natural protection of trees and undergrowth. Before logging started in 1947, Bull Creek was a mild stream, 40 to 60 feet in width; in 1959, it had become in times of heavy rainfall a ravaging torrent as much as 300 feet wide. This year, it destroyed 25 virgin redwood trees, ranging in height from 310 to 340 feet.

The Division plans call for acquisition of 18,000 acres of logged-over land in the Bull Creek watershed, reforestation of this area, and the construction of small dams to eliminate floods. Further development of this land for recreational use is also envisioned.

The Sierra Club Board of Directors sup-

ports this far-sighted planning by the Division of Beaches and Parks.

### San Jacinto Again

★ A Park Commission hearing, requested by conservation groups spearheaded by the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, will take place in Los Angeles, January 15, to discuss the application of the Winter Park Authority for a new contract to construct a tramway up Mt. San Jacinto.

The previous contract, between the Park Commission and the Winter Park Authority, expired January 1, 1957, when the Commission unanimously refused to grant a second 5-year extension. Because of recent changes in Park Commission authority, any new contract would have to be between the Director of Natural Resources and the Winter Park Authority.

A tramway up Mt. San Jacinto, already one of southern California's most heavily used recreational areas, would deface and ultimately destroy another of our rapidly vanishing spots of natural beauty.

### Bodega Head

★ Renewed interest has been expressed by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in the acquisition of land for development of a power plant on Bodega Head, one of northern California's most picturesque beach areas. (The P. G. and E. has the right of eminent domain.) The Sierra Club has gone on record opposing any commercial development of Bodega Head, which was originally included in the five-year plan of the Division of Beaches and Parks as an area of high scenic value and recreational potential, worthy of inclusion in the State Park system.

The Sierra Club is protesting an application by the Calaveras County Water District to the Federal Power Commission to construct reservoirs and power houses in Calaveras and Tuolumne counties, California, which would alter the terrain and developments within Calaveras Big Trees State Park.

An alert reader tells us that onetime Sierra Club member Professor Felix Bloch of Stanford University shared a 1952 Nobel prize in physics. Are there any other predecessors to Dr. Emilio Segrè, listed in November *SCB* as our first Nobelman?

### Green for the Golden Gate

At the December meeting of the California State Park Commission, enthusiastic support was evidenced for creation of a Golden Gate State Park, to embrace both sides of the scenic and historical entrance to San Francisco Bay—when, and if, the military relinquishes its holdings there.

The Sierra Club Board of Directors, which had previously advocated national monument status for this magnificent area, has applauded the foresight of the Division of Beaches and Parks in setting forth long-range plans for the establishment of this new state park.

The Park Commission has suggested that the California Legislature memorialize the United States Congress to enlist support of this project.

### Park Funds Scant

★ The California Division of Beaches and Parks program, notable for its many constructive aspects, is in jeopardy because of lack of funds. Budgeted to operate on the basis of \$12,000,000 a year, the Division received only \$7,000,000 last year, may receive only \$5,500,000 this year. Unless the Legislature votes the additional necessary funds, we can look for future rigid curtailment of acquisition and development of our state parks, one of our most valuable assets.

After a United States Forest Service team of experts pronounced the Robinson Valley Ski Development (in the High Sierra Primitive Area, California) of dubious economic feasibility, pointed out the high avalanche hazard, and evaluated the ski potential as "an attractive minor winter sports area," and after careful consideration and study of its own, the Sierra Club reached these conclusions: the boundaries of the High Sierra Primitive Area should not be modified to exclude Robinson Basin; Robinson Valley best serves the people as an integral part of the natural setting of one of the two principal gateways to the greatly used and enjoyed wilderness beyond; other east-side areas, such as the Mammoth-June Lakes region, warrant further sports development.

EDGAR AND PEGGY WAYBURN

# Bulletin Board

## IN WASHINGTON

★ **The Wilderness Bill:** Passed by the Senate nearly a year ago, this vitally important piece of protective legislation has not yet been moved out of the committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives (Wayne Aspinall, Colorado, Chairman). Unless action is taken before the close of the current session, conservationists can look forward to another two-year battle to have this bill enacted. Meanwhile, pressures mount for economic exploitation of our remaining classified and unclassified wilderness resources (see item below).

★ **Point Reyes National Seashore** legislation is stalled in the Rules Committee of the House (Howard Smith, Virginia, Chairman). This important measure, too, was passed by the Senate in the first session of the 87th Congress, but has failed to reach the House floor to date. Meanwhile, more subdivisions are under way in the area to be included in the Seashore, and the Marin County Planning Commission and Board of Supervisors have approved the proposed construction of multiple dwellings near Drake's Beach.

The **Padre Island Seashore** Bill is another piece of conservation legislation currently stymied in the House.

The bill to create a **Great Basin National Park** in Nevada, already passed by the Senate, faces serious alteration in the House. Representative Walter Baring (Nevada) would redraw the boundaries of the proposed park to reduce the area from 125,000 to 53,000 acres. The hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Interior Committee was called off as a result of Mr. Baring's proposal.

★ **Rainbow Bridge:** No funds have been appropriated so far for protection of Rainbow Bridge National Monument, Utah, from Glen Canyon Reservoir waters. (See March-April 1962 *SCB*.) The club testified before the Public Works Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in early May.

**Northern Cascades:** On June 19, Congressman Thomas M. Pelly of Washington asked Secretary of Agriculture Freeman to cooperate "in establishing a moratorium on further logging, as well as suspension of any long-term commitments" within each of several areas until the national park potentialities have been adequately assessed

by the Department of the Interior. The list includes the controversial border areas of what could be a Northern Cascades National Park.

**Mining-claim Threat:** Representative Harold T. Johnson of California has introduced legislation (H. R. 10773) which would allow occupants of unpatented mining claims the right to purchase up to five acres of Federal land simply because they had occupied it. This bill has already been given a favorable report by the Public Lands Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. If passed, H. R. 10773 would largely nullify the 1955 laws which allow the U.S. Forest Service to correct abuses of the mining laws originally passed in 1872. The Sierra Club directors voted to oppose such legislation as contrary to the national interest, believing that any real hardship cases should be handled by private bills.

**Outdoor Recreation Program, S. 3117.** (Anderson and twenty other Senators.) To promote coordination and development of Federal and State programs relating to outdoor recreation, and to provide financial assistance to the states for outdoor recreation planning. It would give congressional backing to the new Bureau of Outdoor Recreation within the Interior Department. The bill has been referred to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee which heard testimony on May 10-11. David Brower

## Annual Will Continue

Members and *SCB* subscribers can be assured there *will be* an Annual issue this year—in December. The Publications Committee in March indicated its belief that the Annual should be retained and improved. The Editorial Advisory Board in May urged continuation of the Annual and offered to work with the Editor in seeking out worthy contributions of the following types: historical, literary, outing, mountaineering, scientific, club history, natural history, long-range conservation, and personality articles and biographical sketches.

Suggestions of specific subjects or authors and manuscripts and photographs should be sent to the Editor, *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Mills Tower, San Francisco. The *SCB* can now offer honorarium payment for articles and photographs used. For details, contact the Editor.

## ★ You have a constitutional right to express your viewpoint on these matters

presented a statement in favor of the bill for the Sierra Club.

The **White House Conservation Conference** on May 24-25 was the first such meeting since Theodore Roosevelt's Governors' Conference on Conservation in 1908. The club's President, Vice-President, and Executive Director attended. Speakers emphasized the role of recreation and of preservation in natural resources planning. Four governors illustrated differences in local outlook and members of Congress made it clear that many legislative battles lie ahead.

President Kennedy summarized the conference by outlining his administration's aims in conservation; he wanted the Wilderness Bill, an enlarged National Park System, greater use of natural resources, and emphasis on the role of science in using resources more effectively.

**Everglades National Park, Florida,** faces one of the most serious dangers in its history. Aerojet-General Corporation has chosen several sites adjacent to the park boundary for the testing of rocket engines. Serious questions are being raised as to the effect of noise, odors, and pollutants on plant and animal life in the park.

## IN CALIFORNIA

**Park and Recreation Bond issue:** California's \$150,000,000 Park and Recreation Bond issue failed to pass (by a narrow margin) on the June 5 primary ballot, causing interested citizens all over the State to urge Governor Brown to put the issue before a special session of the Legislature so that it could be considered again on the November ballot. This effort failed. (See page 15.)

**Bodega Power Plant:** Widespread public concern about the atomic power plant planned by Pacific Gas and Electric Company on Bodega Head has brought about repeat hearings before the California Public Utilities Commission. The construction of this plant would destroy the natural beauty of one of the most scenic spots on California's northern coastline. So many witnesses wished to give testimony opposing the installation that the new hearings lasted for four full days. Sierra Club opposition was presented by David Pesonen, with Phillip Berry as counsel. The club has opposed location of this power plant on Bodega Head since first learning of the proposal in 1957. (See page 9.)

EDGAR AND PEGGY WAYBURN





## INDEX--Peggy Wayburn

- Adams, Ansel, 94, 95, 102-103, 160-161  
Adventuring in the San Francisco Bay Area, 142, 154-158  
Adventuring in Alaska, 110, 139-143  
 Alamo School Mothers' Club, 54-55  
 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, 133, 165  
 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 120-122, 129-131  
 Alaska  
   federal land agencies in, 112-115  
   oil spill, 166-167  
   personal experiences, 110-112, 116-120, 122-125, 127, 134, 136-138, 143-147  
   setbacks in 1980s, 162-163, 165-168  
   state government, 166-168  
   tourism, 145-147, 166  
   wildlife, 143-145, 163  
Alaska, The Great Land, 135-136, 152  
 Alaskan Natives, 120-135  
 Avery, Abigail, 85-86
- backpacking with children, 20-25, 32  
 Bacon, Madi, 19  
 Baldauf, Ollo, 19  
 Barnard College, 3, 6-7  
 Bedayn, Raffi, 96  
 Berry, Phillip S., 95, 96, 100  
 Breckenfeld, Elmer (Breck), 19, 62  
 Breckenfeld, Vivian, 18-19, 62, 88  
 Breed, Arthur, 20  
 Brooks, Paul, 76-77  
 Brower, Anne, 89
- Brower, David, 66, 89, 99-100  
   on High Trips, 18, 22, 88-89  
   as Sierra Club executive director, 44, 61-62, 79, 90-99  
 Bureau of Land Management, 112-114  
 Burke, Albert, 73, 77  
 Burton, Phillip, 107, 164-165
- California State Advisory Board on Conservation Education, 108  
 Calvin, Jack, 143-145  
 Carver, John, 49, 53  
 Chaffee, Kay, 36, 40  
 Charles, Carolyn, 57  
 Christy, Cicely, 80, 81, 82  
Circle of Life, 151  
 Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks, 56-57, 59-60  
 Clark, Lewis, 99  
 Cohee, Jim, 140  
 Conservation Associates, 84  
 Cowper, Steve, 166-167  
 Crumm, Bob, 114  
 Cutter, Robert, 26
- Day, Lincoln, 69, 76  
 Diablo Canyon, 98-99  
 Dingell, John, 74  
 Doerr, Claudia (Owen), 97  
 Douglas, Mercedes, 66-67  
 Douglas, William O., 47, 66-67, 73, 76, 77  
 Drury, Newton, 35, 51-52  
 Dyer, Polly, 80, 81, 82
- Edge of Life, the World of the Estuary, 139, 148-150  
 Edwards, Charlie, 129  
 Elliot, Cornelia Ligon (mother), 1-3, 5-6

- Elliot, Thomas Ketchin, Jr.  
   (father), 1-3, 5, 7  
End of Nature, 70-71  
 environmental education, 108,  
   151-153  
 environmental values, development  
   of, 20, 32-35, 41-43  
 Equinox Publishing Company, 158-  
   159  
 Erskine, Dorothy, 56-57, 60  
 Evans, Brock, 143-145  
 Evans, Rachael, 143-145
- Farquhar, Francis, 86  
 Farquhar, Marjory, 19, 26, 80,  
   81, 82, 83, 86  
 Farquhar, Peter, 26  
 Federation of Western Outdoor  
   Clubs, 32-33  
 Florence Crittendon Home, 54-56  
 Fodor guides, 159-160  
 Freeman & Gossage (advertising  
   firm), 44-45  
 Fritz, Emanuel, 52
- Gamble, Ed, 127  
 Ganapole, Mark, 116  
 Ganapole, Jerry, 116  
 Georgia-Pacific Corporation, 101  
 Gossage, Howard, 45
- Hagood, Jean, 38-40  
 Hammond, Jay, 136-138  
Harper's, 77  
 Hartzog, George, 69-70  
 Hertz, Douglas, 49-50  
 Hession, Jack, 117-118, 123-124  
 Hickok, Dave, 129-130  
 Hickok, Mark. See Ganapole, Mark  
 Hill, Ginny, 111-112  
 Hodel, Donald, 163  
 Hunter, Celia, 111-112
- international environmental  
   issues, 179-180
- Jackson, Kathy, 86, 98  
 Jackson, Henry "Scoop", 107  
 John Muir Institute, 99-100  
 Johnson, Howard, 114-115  
 Jukes, Thomas, 76, 99, 100
- Kauffman, Paul, 27-28
- Lee, Ruth Flo Harper, 40-41  
 Leonard, Doris, 46, 65, 68, 80,  
   81, 83-84, 101  
 Leonard, Richard, 61, 65, 68, 95,  
   100, 101  
 Linn, Max, 100  
 Litton, Martin, 36-40, 41-42, 53
- Mauk, Charlotte, 81, 82  
 McCloskey, Maxine, 80, 84-85  
 McCloskey, Michael, 106  
 McKibbon, William, 70-71  
 Mitchell, John, 150  
 Mott, William Penn, 163-164  
 Murie, Mardy, 85-86  
 Murie, Olaus, 85-86
- National Park Service, 114, 162-  
   165
- outdoor recreation, with families,  
   20-25
- Parsons, Harriet, 82  
 Penfold, Joe, 91  
 Pennyroyal Club, 29  
 People for Open Space (Greenbelt  
   Alliance), 59-60  
 Point Reyes Bird Observatory,  
   177-178  
 Point Reyes National Seashore,  
   49-50  
 Point Reyes National Seashore  
   Foundation, 56  
 population control, 69-71

- Reagan presidential  
administration, and Alaska,  
162-164
- Red Dog Mine, Alaska, 131-133
- Redwood National Park  
campaign for, 36-53  
exploring redwood lands, 36-40,  
42  
first redwoods advertisement,  
43-45  
lobbying Stewart Udall, 47-50,  
53  
local support for, 36, 38, 40-  
41  
need to preserve watershed, 42,  
50-52  
redwood timber companies, 37-38,  
50-52  
redwoods, opposing freeways in,  
35-36
- Reynolds, T. Eric, 72-73
- Robinson, Bestor, 62
- Roush, Jim, 175-176, 178
- San Francisco, California, quality  
of life 1940s-1950s, 8-16
- San Francisco Presidio, 164-165
- Saturday Evening Post, 77-78
- Saunders, John B. de C. M., 66
- Save-the-Redwoods League, 50-52
- Saylor, John, 71-72
- Schumacher, Genny, 75
- Schwartz, Ada, 75
- Sherwin, Janet, 75
- Sierra Club  
advertising program, 43-45, 79-  
80  
Alaskan chapter, 115-116  
Base Camp trips, 25  
book program, 135-136, 139-142,  
150, 154-158  
Conservation Committee, 19, 60,  
61, 62  
and federal land agencies, 74.  
See also under agency name  
High Trips, 17-24, 26-31, 88-89  
internal affairs, 1960s, 90-  
102, 104-105
- Sierra Club (cont.)  
in 1980s, 170-175  
San Francisco Bay Chapter, 60-  
61  
volunteer-staff relations, 105-  
109, 170-174  
women in, 80-87, 116
- Sierra Club Biennial Wilderness  
Conferences, 64-65, 72-73, 75-  
77, 78, 80, 91  
1961 conference, 46-47, 65-68,  
71-72  
1963 conference, 68  
1965 conference, 69-70, 73-74
- Sierra Club Bulletin, 33-34, 62,  
91-92, 99
- Silcock, Burt, 114
- Sill, Richard, 99
- Siri, William E., 93, 101-102
- Stock, Dennis, 150, 151-152
- Taylor, Ethel Rose (Horsfall), 30
- Thompson, J. Walter, Company, 8-  
9, 11, 13
- Udall, Stewart, 46-50, 53, 71
- United States Fish and Wildlife  
Service, 112, 114
- United States Forest Service, 32,  
33, 82-83, 114-115
- Varian, Dorothy, 46, 64-65, 84
- Varian, Russell, 64-65
- Vogue, 4
- Volunteers for Wayburn (1969),  
97-98
- Waldrop, Bob, 105
- Watson, Mary, 58-59, 72
- Wayburn, Cynthia, 22, 24, 25, 27,  
54-55, 73, 176-177
- Wayburn, Diana, 24

- Wayburn, Edgar,  
family, 11-12, 13-15, 17, 23  
conservationist, passim  
personal qualities, 61, 90, 113  
role in Sierra Club, 60-62, 90,  
92-102, 104-105, 170-171
- Wayburn, Laurie, 20, 41, 55, 66,  
176-178
- Wayburn, Peggy  
author, 77-78, 104, 135-143,  
148-161  
conservationist, 32-53, 59-80,  
110-135, 162-180  
outdoorswoman, 13-31, 37-40,  
116-120, 143-145  
photographer, 153, 160-161
- Wayburn, William Elliot, 24
- Wilcher, Denny, 175
- wilderness conferences. See  
Sierra Club Biennial Wilderness  
Conferences
- women, and environmental issues,  
85-86. See also Sierra Club,  
women in
- women's roles, 2-3, 6-7, 9, 54-  
59, 62, 66-67
- World War II  
V-J Day, 12-13  
wartime work, 3-4, 7-9
- Zimmerman, William, 107

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