

The Bancroft Library

University of California • Berkeley

University History Series

August Frugé

A PUBLISHER'S CAREER WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS,
THE SIERRA CLUB, AND THE CALIFORNIA NATIVE PLANT SOCIETY

Includes an Interview with
Susan Frugé

With an Introduction
by Harlan Kessel

Interviewed by
Suzanne B. Riess
1997-1998

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of northern California, the West, and the nation. Oral history is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between a narrator with firsthand knowledge of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of preserving substantive additions to the historical record. The tape recording is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The corrected manuscript is indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and in other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

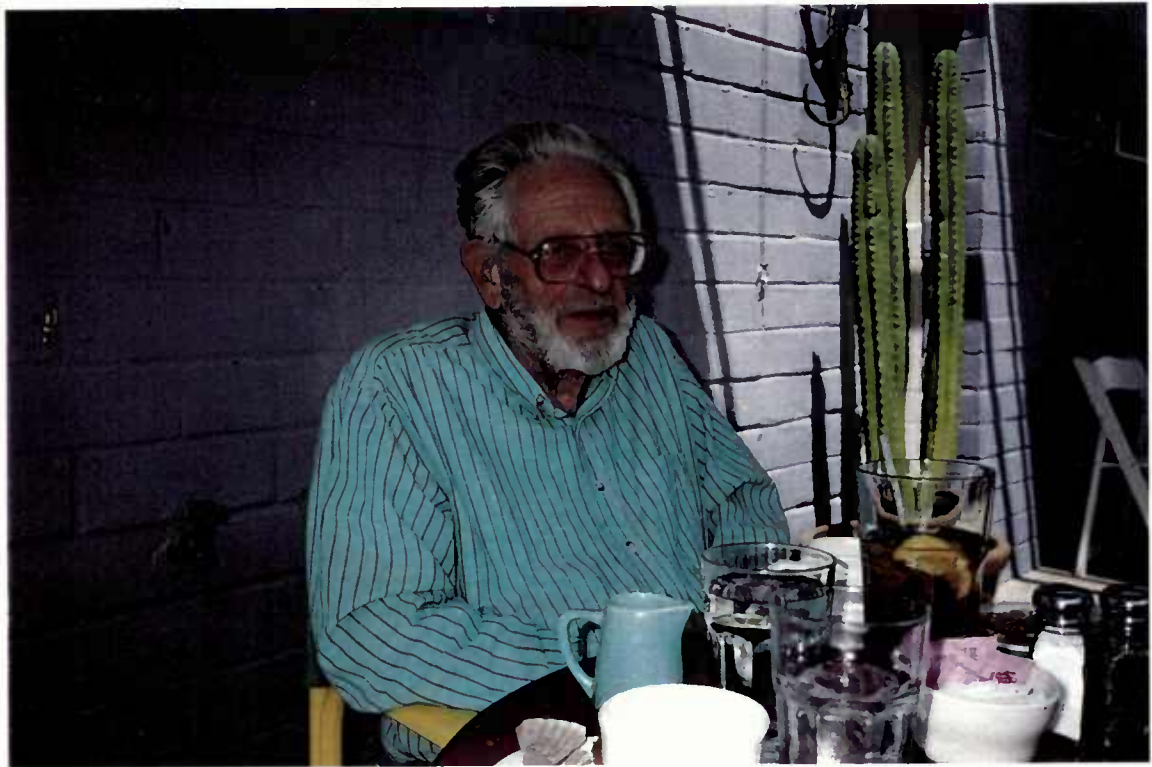
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August and Susan Frugé
at lunch at the 29 Palms Inn March 2000

Photograph by Suzanne Riess

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August Frugé (b. 1909)

Publisher

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Background in Idaho and Oregon, education at Stanford University; early jobs, UC Berkeley librarianship degree, 1937; marriage, library work in Sacramento; University of California Press: 1940s, under Sam Farquhar, early mandate; under Frugé, Editorial Committee meetings, sponsoring editors, new directions, paperback publication; UCLA office of the Press; finances, inventory, Board of Control, marketing; comments on George Stewart, Max Yavno, Ansel Adams, Franklin Murphy, others; American Association of University Presses and university publishing in Latin America, 1950s, Centro Intramericano de Libros Académicos; Sierra Club: Publications Committee, 1960s, and connections with UC Press, David Brower, creating Exhibit Format Books, internal conflicts. Includes a joint interview with Susan Frugé [1926-2001] on the California Native Plant Society, CNPS activists and field trips, plant sales, *Fremontia*, August's role in CNPS, Jim Roof, Ledyard Stebbins and others. Appendices include extensive correspondence, and writings by Frugé.

Introduction by Harlan Kessel, former marketing director, UC Press.

Interviewed 1997-1998 by Suzanne Riess, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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PREFACE

When President Robert Gordon Sproul proposed that the Regents of the University of California establish a Regional Oral History Office, he was eager to have the office document both the University's history and its impact on the state. The Regents established the office in 1954, "to tape record the memoirs of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West," thus embracing President Sproul's vision and expanding its scope.

Administratively, the new program at Berkeley was placed within the library, but the budget line was direct to the Office of the President. An Academic Senate committee served as executive. In the four decades that have followed, the program has grown in scope and personnel, and the office has taken its place as a division of The Bancroft Library, the University's manuscript and rare books library. The essential purpose of the Regional Oral History Office, however, remains the same: to document the movers and shakers of California and the West, and to give special attention to those who have strong and continuing links to the University of California.

The Regional Oral History Office at Berkeley is the oldest oral history program within the University system, and the University History Series is the Regional Oral History Office's longest established and most diverse series of memoirs. This series documents the institutional history of the University, through memoirs with leading professors and administrators. At the same time, by tracing the contributions of graduates, faculty members, officers, and staff to a broad array of economic, social, and political institutions, it provides a record of the impact of the University on the wider community of state and nation.

The oral history approach captures the flavor of incidents, events, and personalities and provides details that formal records cannot reach. For faculty, staff, and alumni, these memoirs serve as reminders of the work of predecessors and foster a sense of responsibility toward those who will join the University in years to come. Thus, they bind together University participants from many eras and specialties, reminding them of interests in common. For those who are interviewed, the memoirs present a chance to express perceptions about the University, its role and lasting influences, and to offer their own legacy of memories to the University itself.

The University History Series over the years has enjoyed financial support from a variety of sources. These include alumni groups and individuals, campus departments, administrative units, and special groups as well as grants and private gifts. For instance, the Women's Faculty Club supported a series on the club and its members in order to preserve insights into the role of women on campus. The Alumni Association supported a number of interviews, including those with Ida Sproul, wife of the President, and athletic coaches Clint Evans and Brutus Hamilton.

Their own academic units, often supplemented with contributions from colleagues, have contributed for memoirs with Dean Ewald T. Grether, Business Administration; Professor Garff Wilson, Public Ceremonies; Deans Morrrough P. O'Brien and John Whinnery, Engineering; and Dean Milton Stern, UC Extension. The Office of the Berkeley Chancellor has supported oral history memoirs with Chancellors Edward W. Strong and Albert H. Bowker.

To illustrate the University/community connection, many memoirs of important University figures have in turn inspired, enriched, or grown out of broader series documenting a variety of significant California issues. For example, the Water Resources Center-sponsored interviews of Professors Percy H. McGaughey, Sidney T. Harding, and Wilfred Langelier have led to an ongoing series of oral histories on California water issues. The California Wine Industry Series originated with an interview of University enologist William V. Cruess and now has grown to a fifty-nine-interview series of California's premier winemakers. California Democratic Committeewoman Elinor Heller was interviewed in a series on California Women Political Leaders, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities; her oral history was expanded to include an extensive discussion of her years as a Regent of the University through interviews funded by her family's gift to The Bancroft Library.

To further the documentation of the University's impact on state and nation, Berkeley's Class of 1931, as their class gift on the occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, endowed an oral history series titled "The University of California, Source of Community Leaders." The series reflects President Sproul's vision by recording the contributions of the University's alumni, faculty members and administrators. The first oral history focused on President Sproul himself. Interviews with thirty-four key individuals dealt with his career from student years in the early 1900s through his term as the University's eleventh President, from 1930-1958.

Gifts such as these allow the Regional Oral History Office to continue to document the life of the University and its link with its community. Through these oral history interviews, the University keeps its own history alive, along with the flavor of irreplaceable personal memories, experiences, and perceptions. A full list of completed memoirs and those in process in the series is included following the index of this volume.

September 1994
Regional Oral History Office
University of California
Berkeley, California

Harriet Nathan, Series Director
University History Series

Willa K. Baum, Division Head
Regional Oral History Office

INTRODUCTION by Harlan Kessel

AUGUST FRUGÉ, THE ALFRED KNOPF OF UNIVERSITY PRESS PUBLISHING

As American university-press publishing flourished from the 1930s through the present day, August Frugé set the standards of excellence that made the University of California Press one of the great scholarly publishers in the world. More than anyone else, August Frugé is responsible for that impressive achievement, and he spent thirty-five years of his life in the doing.

Frugé completely reorganized the Press, often amidst bitter power struggles, and he defined, once and for all, the relationship between a great university and its university press. He established the sponsoring editor system wherein editors worked in more or less specific fields and obtained the best scholarly manuscripts from around the world. He brought in great editors, such as Philip E. Lilienthal and Robert Zachary, and great book designers, among them Ward Ritchie and Adrian Wilson. In so doing, Frugé established the system of freelance "manuscript" editors (as distinguished from "sponsoring" editors) as well as the system of freelance book designers, thereby abolishing the old, in-house, bureaucratic system. The result? The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, became a major resource for California publishers, book designers, graphic artists, authors, and manuscript editors.

In his work with the Association of American University Presses, including a term as president, Frugé stressed the importance of university presses across the United States, Canada and Mexico included, to serve as publishing/printing/marketing resources to encourage regional publishing over which--at that time--the eastern seaboard publishers, particularly New York, held a stranglehold. Today, American regional publishing is alive and healthy, due in no small part to the visionary work of August Frugé.

A librarian by education, Frugé's first position at the Press was as Sales and Promotion Manager--a role in which he felt somewhat insecure, and yet he laid the groundwork for a strong marketing department that in due course effectively distributed the Press's publications around the world. Like all great publishers, he had a strong sales sense. "A book has to be good or it has to sell," I heard him say many times. I spent twenty-one and a half years of my publishing career at UC Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, New York, and London, as Marketing Director and also as Paperback Editor. In talking about my years at the Press, I still say from time to time that when I attended the Press's Editorial Committee meetings--taking marketing

notes usually--I was listening to seventeen of the greatest faculty minds the University of California had to offer. And I was watching the finest scholarly publisher I had ever met, August Frugé, in action. He played that powerful committee like a performer at Carnegie Hall.

I know a great publisher when I see one. During the five years I worked in New York publishing, 1958 to 1963, I made the acquaintance of the leading publishers, editors, authors, and marketing people in the book industry. Even before I arrived in Manhattan in 1958 I already knew such publishing luminaries as Blanche and Alfred Knopf, Bennett Cerf, and others, from their visits with me as book buyer for the Emporium department store chain in San Francisco. At that time, the Emporium was the largest outlet for books in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Meanwhile, Frugé guided the Press into just about the forefront of everything. For example, in 1958 the Press was the first American university press to launch a line of quality paperbacks (drawn from its backlist of hardcover publications), following the launching of the trail-blazing Anchor Paperbacks by Doubleday. When I first joined UC Press as Marketing Director in 1963, the Press had just published *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* by Theodora Kroeber, a book that in due course sold over a million copies--mostly in paperback--in all editions.

Early on in my years at the Press, when the Press's then-paperback editor declared that the Press had insufficient backlist to draw upon for its paperback list, I expressed my concern about the potential drop in sales. Frugé agreed and asked me to take over the paperback program and turn it around. He observed that the selection of backlist titles for paperback publication was essentially a marketing decision--and so it was! "A book should be good or it should sell" became my guidepost. A few years later, paperbacks comprised over one-fourth of the Press's sales. Frugé also encouraged me to sponsor new titles, and to the extent that I could squeeze them in, I scouted the manuscripts and sponsored the books through publication. This was the period of the greatest growth of the University of California Press.

Clearly a man of parts, Frugé also guided the Sierra Club publications program for many years and was a major player in the Sierra Club/David Brower battle (and Brower's ultimate dismissal). Now, for the first time, Frugé's role in that dramatic story is revealed in this oral history. When Brower departed, Frugé brought me in to reorganize the marketing of Sierra Club publications. I served for eight years on the Club's publications committee, during which time we realized that the Club had no environmental books for young people, schools, and libraries--this at a time when the environmental movement was gaining tremendous momentum nationwide. I was able to persuade the Club to launch a publishing program for younger readers, and I am indebted to August Frugé for giving me the opportunity.

My life, and my family's life, have benefited and been enriched in a number of ways because of August's friendship and professional support. Let me give some examples. A few years after the Sierra Club stint, I sought to be appointed to a vacancy on the Board of Directors of the East Bay Regional Park District, Oakland, the greatest urban park system on the North American continent. August's environmental reputation and his enthusiastic letter of recommendation carried the day. I was appointed and then re-elected four times, serving over seventeen years during the greatest expansion of this grand open space system in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. During this period we passed a bond measure for \$225 million exclusively for open-space acquisition in the two counties. I feel it is one of the great accomplishments of my life. History might have been otherwise had it not been for August's support.

August Frugé also looms large in the history of the California Native Plant Society. His wife Susan was a co-founder and August an early member and, eventually, the Society's president. His reorganization ("I did the administrative dirty work") of the California Native Plant Society transformed the Society into a leading California environmental organization and set the standard for other native plant organizations around the country. Here, too, Frugé asked me to take on the Society's publication program, which I did and then served as vice president of publications for about eight years. Today, the California Native Plant Society's headquarters is in Sacramento, where it has significant influence upon environmental legislation as well as liaison with government agencies to protect rare and endangered species of flora.

And today, August Frugé and his wife Susan are lifetime Fellows of the California Native Plant Society and remain involved from their home base in Twentynine Palms. Their awesome compound, built after August's retirement, includes a 3,200 square foot house with the addition of a lap pool, a spa, a beautiful desert garden, and the guesthouse that also serves as August's library and work center.

Even after Frugé retired from the Press and started building his desert aerie, he helped me at a critical time. Jim Clark, August's successor at the Press, had received an anonymous, scurrilous letter about me. It contained scads of false accusations and had been copied to the Governor and Attorney General of California as well as to the Board of Regents. New kid on the block, Jim Clark, the present director of the press, was worried and flew to Twentynine Palms to seek August's counsel. August was horrified that an anonymous letter could be accorded any credibility whatsoever and he wrote one of the most moving and principled letters I have ever read in my life. I wish there were space to quote it here.

Shortly thereafter, Clark let me know that he would toss the anonymous letter in the wastebasket, where it belonged. Bless his heart--and August's. August Frugé is a man of consummate wisdom, not to mention decisive action.

Ever the life-long scholar in the Berkeley tradition, Frugé found the time to write and publish extensively on university-press publishing over the years. Further, two of his books are classics of their genre: the most recent is his translation and editing of one of the most important works of early California history, *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, and Around the World in the Years 1826-1829* (1999) by Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, the French voyager and the only observer who systematically visited and described every California mission and pueblo at the peak of their powers, just prior to their disastrous secularization by Mexico. Frugé's book on university-press publishing, *A Skeptic Among Scholars: August Frugé on University Publishing* (1993) ranks as one of the fundamental works on university-press publishing. There is a somewhat "brooding" quality to that book, something Frugé himself created by describing himself as a "skeptic," and thus always holding a bit of himself in reserve. Yet, the book remains the most insightful account of university-press publishing ever brought to press.

"Brooding?" My wife and I visit the Frugés in their desert compound, at least once a year. We luxuriate in their guesthouse, their spa, the pool, and August's library. From time to time August has remarked, "I've only got another year or two to live." Concerned, I once asked Susan whether August was ailing. "Oh, don't worry about that," she said. "He's been saying that for twenty years."

Enjoy August Frugé's oral history. You will share in the life of a great American publisher, scholar, writer, and environmentalist.

Harlan Kessel, Colleague, Fellow Publisher, Friend

December 4, 2000

INTERVIEW HISTORY by Suzanne Riess

August Frugé was born in Idaho in 1909, graduated from Stanford University in 1933, and after three years of employment as an accountant--where his tolerance for what he remembers as intensely boring work was severely tested--he returned to school and in 1937 graduated with a degree in librarianship from Berkeley. For two years he practiced the library trade at the University Library at Berkeley, and for five more years at the State Library in Sacramento. It was work on a publishing project with the Sacramento Book Collectors Club that led him to a job at the University of California Press in 1944. By 1949 he had been made director of the Press, and he retired from that position in 1976. It was a great career; the University of California Press grew mightily and its mission was expanded and redefined in those years.

Frugé also, and more or less at the same time, took on two other missions--and they did require missionary zeal--that used many of the same managerial skills and forbearance that he had honed at the Press. This oral history, intended primarily to allow Frugé to give a fuller account of some aspects of his years with the Press, and to say more about what made him "a skeptic among scholars"--as he named his autobiography, published by the University of California Press in 1993--has developed into three separate, sometimes interlocked stories of the University of California Press, the Publications Committee of the Sierra Club, and the founding years of the California Native Plant Society.

Telling a story in conversation is different from writing a life for eventual publication. The voice of this oral history is necessarily not that of *A Skeptic Among Scholars*. In interviewing, much of the control is in the interviewer's hands, and the interviewee is often stuck with the mundanity of the chronological approach to life. Such that, within the initial few pages that open the oral history there is a bemused quality to this business of looking back: About his father he says, "Where they came from I don't really know... I guess there are still a bunch of them in Louisiana because there were a lot of them..." Because it is oral history there is a note of ordinariness, offhandedness, and often a revelation of personality. And understanding that difference from the outset, Frugé chose not to labor over rewriting the dialog of the transcript, instead adding occasional very substantial discussions on the subject under consideration that are indicated in the text.

Whereas by contrast readers of the crystal-clear prose of *A Skeptic Among Scholars* know they are in the hands of someone with a sharp wit that is completely under control. The opening chapter, titled

"Fin de Siecle," evokes in its first paragraph Samuel Clemens, "about to lose his shirt in a publishing venture;" Sam Farquhar, Frugé's predecessor as director of the Press; and a "third Sam of this story, the diarist Samuel Pepys." The reader starts to look for development of plot, and rightly expects to revel in fine writing. And elsewhere, here is Frugé writing *Reflections From a Publishing Career*, in a revealing metaphorical mode:

"I fear that I have been speaking in a highflown way about character and ambiguity and purity and other abstractions that I don't understand all that well. It may be that I am merely putting fancy dress on the banal observation that life is difficult and that we sail our publishing boat on a sea that is filled with sharks on one side and rocks on the other. Or we can change the metaphor slightly and remember what Ortega once said: That human life is forever shipwreck--not drowning but shipwreck--and that the movement of the arms to keep from drowning is culture. And that the awareness of shipwreck as the truth of life constitutes salvation." (*Scholarly Publishing*, Oct. 1976.)

I recommend the appendices of this oral history as providing both an obviously important supplement to the text by virtue of the material, and also another chance to enjoy the writer's hand at work.

In the fall of 1996, after a meeting between Willa Baum, director of the Regional Oral History Office, and Harlan Kessel, former marketing director of the Press and a good friend of the Frugés, it was decided that if August Frugé were willing to do an oral history, it would fit well with our continuing mission to document University of California history, as well as Sierra Club history, and we would invite Frugé to be an interviewee. Harlan Kessel would head the funding effort. Frugé, although living in Twentynine Palms, California, was actively involved with The Bancroft Library because he was in the process of turning many of his Press records over to the Archives, and he accepted the invitation. But he asked, when told who the interviewer was to be, "Who is Suzanne Riess?" This to me startling although reasonable question I answered by sending him a list of the oral histories I had completed. But it was not without a certain alarm that I set out to meet this skeptic living in the desert.

The introductory visit and first meeting took place over two hot days in July 1997. Given the routine of flying from Oakland to Palm Springs, or Riverside, and another hour or more of driving, an overnight in a local air-conditioned motel and two days of interviewing was the best strategy. Our second meeting coincided with a spectacular desert downpour in September. The third and final interview was on a brilliant day in January 1998. It was pure pleasure to head out to the Frugés' desert address, in the shadow of Joshua Tree National Park, reached via Palm Springs, but remote in every way from that other oasis. As Harlan

Kessel described it in the Book Club of California Quarterly Newsletter, September 1999, "The main house...comprises some 4,000 square feet and commands a sweeping view of the great valley. The walls provide a virtual gallery for Susan [Frugé's] oil and watercolor paintings... A solar-heated pool separates the main house from the guesthouse and library. Surrounding the buildings is a superb desert garden--showy species of Joshua tree, cactus, cholla, yucca, buckwheat, Palo Verde, pomegranate, creosote bush, fig, olive, grape, and many more."

Welcomed by Susan and August, I exchanged a little small talk about the drive, et cetera, and August and I began to interview, locating ourselves in the guesthouse/library, away from the telephone. Between the interviews, which came at two-month intervals, August Frugé wrote to me extensively, good correspondence, very thoughtful and helpful for me, and for him an opportunity to put in my hands some of the questions he thought needed answering, particularly regarding the Sierra Club Publications Committee. That story, and its ties with the Press in matters both of publishing and personnel--David Brower, at that time the Sierra Club's executive director and often Frugé's opponent in club publication matters, was employed by the Press before he was employed by the Sierra Club--was a story Frugé wanted to tell. The oral history takes a look at Frugé's dedication to the Sierra Club and his willingness to take on the hard and often confrontational work that in some cases resulted in agonizing memos and misunderstandings--several of these are among the appendices.

Susan and August Frugé married in 1959--prior to that Susan had been a book editor at the Press, in the Los Angeles office--and Susan brought a knowledge of botany and an interest in native plants to August's life. Soon after they married they found themselves involved in the nascent--it was founded in 1965--California Native Plant Society. The activities of CNPS took both Frugés on field trips pleasantly afield from the occasional battlefield that was Berkeley, and the "issues" of the Sierra Club. As the intense time spent on club issues ended in the early 1970s, and as Frugé retired from the Press in 1976, it was the native plants, and life on the desert, and a variety of writing projects, including *A Skeptic*, that colored Frugé's life.

The jacket of the paperback edition of *A Skeptic* reads, "During August Frugé's thirty-one years as director, he transformed the University of California Press from a modest branch of the University's printing department into one of the largest and most distinguished university presses in the country. [Here] he tells the story as it happened, with a wealth of personal remarks about the people who came into it and the mishaps they survived." In the earlier quotation from Frugé about sharks and rocks, the sense of life as shipwreck echoes "mishaps they survived." So it is interesting that Frugé, and his friend Neal Harlow, took on, and the Book Club of California published in 1997, the translation and editing of *A Voyage to California, the*

Sandwich Islands, and Around the World in the Years 1826-1829 by Auguste Duhaut-Cilly. All those many years behind the mast of the Press, and at times paddling the arms to stay afloat, much less to create culture, make the metaphor of the ship and pilot very apropos for Frugé.

I hear a great snort of skepticism from Frugé, and a raised eyebrow at the self-indulgence of all this. A raised eyebrow behind his magnifying glasses, as he reads these words from his computer that enhances the size of the print. Frugé's vision is very much impaired. But that is only one of the senses, and no doubt makes the others more acute. I count myself very lucky to have had the opportunity to interview August Frugé, to see how he and Susan live, down there in the pungent desert, in rain, in sunshine, surrounded with books and projects, with friends, and Susan's beautiful paintings of wide open spaces. The great number of people who know August and Susan from the Press, from the Sierra Club, from the Native Plant Society, from the book clubs, and the university, are to be thanked for responding so generously to Harlan Kessel's funding letter. But Harlan, of course, we thank first and last for being an enthusiast for oral history, for being such a good friend and admirer of the Frugés, and for his very fine introduction. Thanks also to Willa Baum, for her persistence in keeping August Frugé's story among the "must gets," and to J.R.K. Kantor for his proofreading of the oral history.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to augment through tape-recorded memoirs the Library's materials on the history of California and the West. Copies of all interviews are available for research use in The Bancroft Library and in the UCLA Department of Special Collections. The office is under the direction of Ann Lage, and is an administrative division of The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley.

Suzanne B. Riess, Senior Editor
Regional Oral History Office

The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley
February 2001

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name AUGUST FRUGÉ
 Date of birth 12-5-09 Birthplace Weiser, Ida
 Father's full name AUGUST FRUGÉ
 Occupation ~~Retired publisher~~ Birthplace Weiser, Idaho
 Mother's full name ORION Kirkpatrick FRUGÉ
 Occupation — Birthplace Odessa, MO
 Your spouse Susan Jean Frugé
 Occupation Editor Birthplace Long Beach, CA
 Your children John Frugé by former marriage

Where did you grow up? Head River & the Dalles, OR
 Present community 99 Palms, CA
 Education B, Stanford; MA, UC Berkeley

Occupation(s) Librarian, publisher

Areas of expertise None now.

Other interests or activities Reading

Organizations in which you are active None now

SIGNATURE

August Frugé

DATE:

1-24-01

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION *

(Please print or write clearly)

Your full name August Frugé

Date of birth 5 Dec 1909 Place of birth Weiser, Idaho

Father's full name August Frugé

Birthplace Louisiana

Occupation Marine engineer

Mother's full name Orion Kirkpatrick Frugé

Birthplace Odessa, Missouri

Occupation school teacher, government clerk,

Where did you grow up ? Hood River and The Dalles, Oregon

Present community 29 Palms, CA

Education AB, Stanford; MA in Librarianship, UCB

Occupation(s) Order Librarian; Asst Mgr, UC Press; Director UC Press

(at Press from 1944 till retirement at end of 1976.)

Biography in Who's Who in America--but dropped after retirement

Special interests or activities Have been involved with Sierra Club, California Native Plant Society, and other outdoor/conservation groups.

* This biographical information was provided in 1984 when the oral history office was contemplating interviewing Frugé in a series on Robert Gordon Sproul and university history.

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Susan Jean Frugé

Date of birth 8/17 26 Birthplace Long Beach, CA

Father's full name Martin Allen Haver Slick

Occupation Deceased Birthplace Ohio

Mother's full name MARGARET LUCINA CAREY

Occupation Postmaster Birthplace Denison, Iowa

Your spouse August K. Frugé

Occupation University Book Publisher Birthplace Wester, Idaho

Your children none

Where did you grow up? Iowa

Present community Twenty nine Palms, CA 92277

Education BA, English

Occupation(s) Retired from Book Publishing, UC Berkeley

Areas of expertise English, ART, Book Publishing

Other interests or activities Gardening; cooking; hiking

Organizations in which you are active California Native Plant Society;
Herb Society of America; Mental Health Assn BOARD

SIGNATURE Susan Jean Frugé DATE: 1/25/01

INTERVIEW WITH AUGUST FRUGÉ

I BEGINNINGS: EDUCATION, EARLY JOBS

[Interview 1: July 9, 1997] ##¹

Family and Childhood

Riess: Let's start with family history. I'd like to have you tell me about the Frugés. Can you begin at the beginning?

Frugé: Yes. In the book I've got something about myself, but I didn't start with that.²

My mother and her family were from Missouri--pronounced "Missoura." Near Kansas City. My mother became a school teacher, and I don't know why, but she must have gone down to Louisiana or east Texas.

My father's family were living there. They were French Cajuns. Where they came from I don't really know, except I know that one of my grandmothers had come from French Canada--you know, when people were thrown out of there and were going to Louisiana. Anyway, they were Cajuns. I guess there are still a bunch of them in Louisiana because there were a lot of them. But I don't know them. My father died when I was a child.

My father and mother lived in east Texas, in a little town called Palacios. I don't know what he did, ran a motor boat of some kind.

Riess: Your father ran a motor boat? And your mother was a teacher at the time?

¹## This symbol indicates that a tape or tape segment has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

²A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, August Frugé on University Publishing, University of California Press, 1993.

Frugé: I guess so. They were married down there, anyway. You see, I don't know very much about my father's family. I have a little genealogy of part of my mother's family.

Riess: What was your mother's maiden name?

Frugé: Kirkpatrick. They were largely Scots. I have that as a middle name, which I don't use much because it's so awkward with the other two names.

One of her grandfathers or great-grandfathers came from Scotland. Her family were from the border states. I think we had relatives on both sides of the Civil War. Her father came from Tennessee, which is a border state. He was a carpenter. What the rest of them did I don't really know. I was back there once as a child. But the whole family were from somewhere around Kansas City. Why she as a young school teacher went south I don't know. I should have asked her.

Riess: And you're the only child.

Frugé: I'm the only child.

My father was ill. He had some kind of tuberculosis, I think. I'm not sure it was lungs, though. I mean, I never really have got this straight in my mind. But he was ill.

My mother's father and mother had come to Oregon. Her father was never very successful financially, but he and some other members of the family were in Oregon, Hood River. And my father and mother were in east Texas, and when my father got ill they came out. In those days it was thought that dry country was good for anything of this kind.

They went to Idaho, actually, to the town of Weiser, Idaho, which is just across the Snake River from Oregon. It's very dry. It's desert country. That's where I was born.

My father died when I was no more than two years old. That's why there are no other children. Then my mother picked me up and went to Hood River to her parents.

Riess: When were you born?

Frugé: December 5, 1909. So, you see, I'm getting pretty old.

Riess: Your mother didn't talk much about the past?

Frugé: Some, not much. I should have done more asking, especially in her later years.

Riess: Does it smack of something romantic, the whole story? Or sad?

Frugé: Thinking about it, I feel sad, but I'm not sure it's either one, actually.

We were never very well-to-do. She was a single parent. She didn't get married again. She worked in a department store, dry goods store, in Hood River. And my ne'er-do-well grandfather traded off the house they had there and went off to Filer near Twin Falls, Idaho, with the idea that he was going to make money. My mother had a brother who was over there, and my mother picked me up and went over and followed them. We didn't stay long, it didn't work out very well. All this seems unimportant, but I'll go on if you want.

Her older brother had died a few years earlier. His widow was working in The Dalles, Oregon, so she got my mother a job there, and we went to The Dalles. You know, this must have happened to thousands of people, maybe it still does. One job doesn't work out, you find somewhere else to go--you don't have a huge amount of control over what you do.

Riess: But it's a little harder to visualize it in 1911.

Frugé: Well, it wasn't quite that early. I was born at the end of 1909, practically 1910, and I think I was in the fourth grade when we went to The Dalles. I had lived in Hood River as a child for several years. That's right, her mother died, and then her father went off to Idaho and sold the place and got nothing much for it. He always had good ideas, but he never had much practical sense.

Riess: That's probably how she described him to you.

Frugé: Yes, yes, and I think she was probably right.

In the little town of Filer, Idaho, my uncle and grandfather ran an ice harvesting business of a kind that once existed. In winter they cut huge slabs of ice from a lake or pond, then buried them in sawdust in a kind of warehouse building. In the summer they dug them up, cut them into smaller pieces, and sold them. I used to go with my uncle on his delivery route. The [University] Press once published a little book on this kind of business.

Riess: Did the family have a religious affiliation?

Frugé: Not much. My family were not irreligious, and if you were to ask my mother, "Do you believe in God?" she would say, "Oh, yes, of course"--and so on. I was sent to Sunday school for a while. But we didn't bother to go to church--in those days a working man or woman had only one free day a week.

My mother was a little strange--[laughs] ask Susan about her. She kept me out of school until I was nearly eight years old, I think. I knew how to read, she taught me. By the time I went to school, I already knew what you learn in the first and second grade, and I jumped a few grades, and so on. But--I guess I was sort of a mama's boy in a way.

When we got to The Dalles we lived with my aunt and these cousins of mine, two girls.

Riess: In your book you have a picture of Indians fishing.³ You chose that picture, and I wondered whether they were people you were involved with.

Frugé: No, I wasn't involved with them, but I was involved with the landscape, the physical country. I still feel rather strongly that it's too bad to destroy things--you know, here's a huge river, the Columbia, as big as the Mississippi, that goes over a waterfall, and they destroy it all. There's a whole series of dams on the Columbia now; I took a boat trip up there a few years ago, and you just go through one after the other. I have very mixed feelings about it.

As a boy scout we went to places like that, and I think I was very much affected by the country. It's semi-desert, The Dalles. Do you know Oregon at all? It's right at the edge. Portland is quite wet, and Hood River which is, say, twenty-five miles or so west of The Dalles, is still very green. And then just between Hood River and The Dalles, you go over the--you've gone past the crest of the mountains [the Cascades], and it turns dry. Eastern Oregon is more or less desert.

Anyway, the Columbia is a big river. It may not be terribly long, but it's huge. Half a mile, three quarters of a mile wide, and high hills on both sides. The physical country was sort of absorbed into me, was part of me, still is, in a way.

Riess: Was there any controversy about damming when you were growing up?

Frugé: No, it wasn't done until after I left.

³A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, p. 13.

Riess: Were you free to wander around?

Frugé: Well, I suppose so, because my mother worked. I don't know that I wandered very far, but I don't think they took care of children the way--well, you couldn't. I mean, as young kids growing up we just wandered around town, did what we wanted to. It didn't seem dangerous the way it is now.

Riess: How did you begin to shape up into what you are now? Were you surrounded by books at home?

Frugé: No, but my mother was very literate, and she, as I say, taught me to read early. Then I started going to the library--this is all very ordinary--and I did a lot of reading there. I was always rather good in school. When I went to the university, I was very much in the literary and historical studies type of thing. It was foolish of me because we didn't have any money, and I should have taken something practical.

Riess: You've written about yourself that you're a snob.

Frugé: Did I use that word? That's all right. I might have.

Riess: You probably said "a bit of a snob." But I wondered where that notion came from.

Frugé: Came from my mother, I think, and from the fact that, generally speaking, say in a high school class of one hundred people, there would only be two or three that were really as literate as I was, let's say. I don't mean that I was so much, but mostly these were farm kids and--nothing wrong with being from a farm, most of my family were. But somehow I guess I felt different from most of them, except for a handful.

In fact, in those days I don't suppose out of a high school graduation class of nearly one hundred--we drew from all the round-about country there--I don't suppose that more than half a dozen ever went to college. Of course, it was always understood that I would. My mother was very ambitious for me in that way. That's what I mean by sort of snobbish. She was always very nice to everybody. Socially, we couldn't be snobbish, we didn't have anything!

I shouldn't use the word "snob." It suggests a social or monied class looking down on their inferiors. That doesn't fit. But like many poor people, we felt ourselves better than most of those who had money. More decent, more intelligent. Perhaps this was not entirely wrong. The son of my mother's employer went to

Stanford when I did, and quickly flunked out. A nice kid, but not very bright.

My four years at Stanford I pursued a very--just general education. I didn't know what the devil I wanted to do.

Schools

Riess: Did you have high school teachers who were big influences? Took you aside, said, "Young Frugé, you can be anything."

Frugé: No, no. I mean, some people said that, but I didn't have any--I can remember a few of my high school teachers, but no one that was really much of an influence.

Riess: How did you decide on Stanford?

Frugé: That's what I meant by being a little snobbish. We thought we were a little too good for the Oregon universities. It was crazy. I wouldn't think that now, but we thought it then.

Riess: Did Reed exist then?

Frugé: I think so, but I didn't know much about it. Stanford, even in 1928, had a big reputation up there. Much more than [University of] California, strangely enough. Of course, I didn't think much about going to a state university in another place. But that's what I meant by the snobbishness. My mother and I, we had to go there instead of to the University of Oregon or whatever.

I was totally impractical. I just took the courses I wanted to take 'til the last year when, "My God, I better think of a major!" As a matter of fact, I majored in French because I happened to have enough units. To major in English you needed a lot more units than you needed in French, where you could get by with just a few, that is--these are quarter-units--forty-five instead of sixty-five or something like that. So that was more or less accident.

Everything was accident in a way, so it seems to me.

Riess: Did your mother come here to be with you when you went to Stanford?

Frugé: No, not when I was in school, not until later.

I graduated right in the midst of the Great Depression and I didn't have anywhere to go. I went home.

Riess: How did you afford Stanford?

Frugé: It wasn't that expensive then. It's \$20,000 a year tuition now? Tuition was \$85 a quarter or \$250 a year, and I signed notes for that. They let you do that. So I didn't have to pay it. I paid it ten years later or something like that. I did pay it.

Riess: You lived in a dormitory?

Frugé: Lived in a dormitory, and I had a job for my meals. I waited on tables, and during the summertime I would work to make a little money. I was very poor. I didn't have any social life.

Riess: You didn't join clubs?

Frugé: No, didn't join any fraternities or anything like that.

Riess: Did you meet people at Stanford who were important people for you?

Frugé: Well, I had one professor at that time--I didn't have so much of a personal relationship with him, but I had a very high opinion of him. I think intellectually he helped form me--intellectually, really, that's where I was formed, although if I go there now it seems strange, it's as if I'd never been around there. But I think my tastes were formed there. I guess I did it myself, really.

Riess: Did you spend a lot of time in the library?

Frugé: Oh, yes.

Riess: Reading widely?

Frugé: Yes. Nowadays they teach modern literature in the classes. In those days they didn't, you read that by yourself. In classes you read the older literature; the more or less current literature, you did that on your own.

Riess: Where did you develop your critical faculties?

Frugé: [laughs] I don't know. How would I know?

Riess: You might remember a professor who was hard on you and kind of made you see yourself for who you were.

Frugé: Well, there was this one professor. I don't think he was hard on me, but I liked the way he thought. I think I learned to think about historical and literary subjects just by listening to him. There were others, of course.

Riess: Do you remember his name?

Frugé: Oh, yes. His name was Frederick Anderson. In spite of that name, he was a professor of French--he was widely educated. I was amused, in the French department at that time Johnson, Anderson, Schwartz, and Smith were the professors! It's quite different now, I'm sure.

There were a couple of others whose thinking influenced me. Albert Guérard, senior, a noted professor of English and author of many books. And a young instructor of English, named John McClelland, who was very knowledgeable about the European novel, and who was very sharp and critical. You could say that he was hard on me and others. I never heard of him afterward and have wondered what happened to him.

I really don't know. You know, it's not like it was with people I knew later from the East who were raised in rather intellectual families, given a path and so on. I just sort of wandered, it seems to me.

##

Frugé: You're a bit skeptical about it [Frugé's report of his education] and you're probably right. Outwardly it was without form until later on, but I suppose inwardly, as far as interests were concerned, they were pretty much the same all the time. I mean, the things I was interested in were semi-intellectual: literature and history and so on. More interested in that than I am now, actually. But I think my interests remain pretty much the same.

But I had no idea what I was going to do with my interests. In fact, even two or three or four years out of the university I didn't know what I was going to do with myself. Of course, that was in the Depression and there wasn't much you could do.

Riess: People didn't just drift into graduate school like they do now when they don't know what they're doing.

Frugé: Well, if I would have had a little more money, I might have. Actually, I think I had one quarter after--I stayed at Stanford for one quarter after I graduated. But life was kind of desperate.

I didn't really want to go to graduate school. It's funny, I had all these interests, but I didn't want to plod through graduate school, and I didn't want to teach. (That's in the book.) I didn't know what I wanted to do. I went home, and I guess my mother got a job for me in the furniture store. I worked there for a couple of years. Obviously, I didn't want to go on with that.

Riess: It's interesting to hear you talk about it. It's very different from reading the sentences on the pages of your book. It really sounds like there was no pleasure at all in any of this.

Frugé: Oh, sure, I had good times. But I guess you may be right. I remember various times. I had pneumonia when I was in college, and I had to go into a rest home, and the woman who was running that, she said, "You're awfully serious." She said, "You're so serious." Then, some years later, I remember I was at Princeton, and the wife of a friend of mine drove me around town. She said to me, "You're so terribly serious." Solemn, she might have meant. I don't know. Maybe there wasn't as much--I probably didn't have very good times.

Riess: [laughs] I just went to my fortieth college reunion, and I felt very disconnected from the whole thing. Have you ever gone to a college reunion?

Frugé: No. I went to one of Susan's once. Where did you go to college?

Riess: I went to Goucher.

Frugé: Baltimore. I used to know Baltimore a bit.

You know, I never really want to go back. I never felt--I have almost none of that "old grad" feeling, wanting to go back and redo your college days. In recent years I know more people that I went to high school with than I went to college with. There are not many, only a handful, but I remember almost--well, I had some very good friends, but they've all sort of disappeared in a way. I lost touch with them.

I get the Stanford alumni magazine--I get the California one, too--and I look at the names, and I don't recognize the names. It's been a long time ago. Actually, I have more feeling about Berkeley than I have about Stanford. Of course, I lived in Berkeley a long time. I still feel very strongly about the "old" Berkeley. I don't care much about the present Berkeley, I guess, but the old Berkeley was quite a fine place.

Belonging

Riess: Did you have mentors? Was there anyone you could have modelled yourself on?

Frugé: Gosh, I never thought of that.

Riess: Lacking a father.

Frugé: Well, that had effects on me, bad effects, I'm sure, but no, I don't--I'm just trying to think. I've always been attached to someone, usually people my own age. No, my mother never got married again, and so far as I know she had no social life with men. I don't know why. Strange.

Riess: People for you to admire and to look up to were few, except the occasional professor?

Frugé: Yes, the occasional professor and, I suppose, people out of books, maybe.

Riess: What books do you remember? [laughs] You gave me that question.

Frugé: I know, I trapped myself. I don't remember much about my reading in high school, or as a kid. I did a lot of it, and I remember I was very fond of Kipling. But I remember more about my reading in the university. As I mention in the book, I read heavily in Russian literature. Not in the Russian, in English. Russian and French literature more than English. Some English, too, of course.

Riess: Such a different world view than the British or American.

Frugé: Yes, and my tastes became rather European in a way, my literary and historical tastes. Not so much English, but more Continental. I'd never been there, anything like that, but I read some German, too. Not as much, but I had three years of German in school. So I guess it's true, my tastes became more Continental. They still are, in many ways.

Riess: Your view of the world. A bit of the dark Russian soul?

Frugé: [laughing] I didn't think of it that way, although, Lord knows, I read Dostoevski and so on. I don't know. I think this is true, that my tastes and so on are pretty Europe-centered, and you're not supposed to be that anymore, are you? Although I dispute that strongly. Not entirely un-English. And at the same time, I'm very American, I think.

People always nowadays talk about being hyphenated one way or the other, Japanese-American or Asian-American, African-American, whatever it is. I'm just plain American. Although my tastes--my tastes are also American. I mean, my reading tastes are pretty much European, but, you know, I was raised in a small American town, a rather midwestern town. That part of Oregon was settled mostly by midwesterners, I think. So I'm a mixture that way. But I don't think of myself as anything but western American.

Riess: Western American? You've hyphenated it.

Frugé: Yes, I have, haven't I? But I haven't gone out to another culture for it.

Riess: That's true, it's sort of California American, and California is different.

Frugé: Well, California is a mixture. California isn't anything in a sense, it's so many different things. I have something in the book, that when I'd go to Texas--I had a lot of friends there--I was struck by the fact that they were loyal to Texas. Not necessarily foolishly so, but they felt they were Texans, they belonged to it in a way. I don't think anybody thinks he belongs to California, really. I like California, I don't think there's anywhere else I want to be, but the sort of sense of belonging I think is very weak here.

I have a feeling of belonging to Berkeley. I'm not sure I have it to anywhere else, really. I spent half my life or more there. Even though I'm annoyed with a lot of it now, I still have that feeling of belonging--well, to the whole Bay Area, maybe, but mostly to Berkeley. That's still home, in a way, more than anyplace else. Although I thought of myself as an Oregonian.

I'm just wandering now.

Riess: After graduation you went back, and you had a variety of jobs in Oregon. What got you into librarianship?

Frugé: After school I went back to Oregon. I was lucky, you know, in 1933 to get any kind of a job. I worked in the furniture store for \$15 a week, sixty hours a week thereabouts.

Riess: Selling?

Frugé: No, not selling, I was the bookkeeper. I had a high school course in bookkeeping once upon a time. But it was simple enough. In those days, I could learn things like that very quickly. I was quick at taking examinations.

I was no good at selling, actually. That was one of the things I learned. I should have known it before, but I was no good at selling. I don't have the personality for it. I don't have Harlan's personality, the optimist.⁴ I'm a pessimist, really. I don't think I'm a lugubrious pessimist. I may have been--I probably was when I was young. But I don't have the cheerfulness, the optimistic attitude that a salesman needs.

Anyway, I worked there for two years, and it was very good for me in the sense that I had been going to school and was totally out of touch with any sort of actual life of any kind, I think.

You know, I had no social life at Stanford. It was utterly the wrong place for me to go in many ways, because it wasn't so expensive to go, but if you wanted any social life, if you wanted to have dates or anything, you had to have a car. The campus is a mile out of town. Really, as far as social life or going out with girls or anything like that, I had nothing, nothing.

I started getting some social life when I was back in The Dalles. And all that was good for me. But then, after a couple of years of that, I went down to San Jose and worked in the--it's in the book. I worked for one year as a bookkeeper again.⁵

I was still wondering what the devil am I going to do? And it just happened. Two people suggested library school. Mabel Jackson, whom I'd met in The Dalles, was one. She was not my girlfriend, but she was close to it--a roommate of my girlfriend, actually. She had been to library school at [University of] Washington. She came to Berkeley and she suggested I do that.

At the same time, I was still going back to the Stanford employment office, where they tried to get jobs for people. And the woman there suggested it, about the same time. So I went to library school, and everything kind of flowed from there on, in a way. But until that time I had no idea what to do with whatever half talents I might have.

⁴Harlan Kessel, University of California Press marketing manager.

⁵"In the last desperate depression year at Stanford, when all ways seemed closed ahead, I had taken the civil service examination for accounting clerk in state institutions, work I knew nothing about. More than two years later in Oregon came a form postcard telling of an open job near San Jose. It was no better than what I had in The Dalles, but it would get me out of a spot with no future. I drove down and took it. And was soon intensely bored with the routine, far deadlier than life in the furniture store." *A Skeptic Among Scholars*, p. 16.

Riess: In *A Skeptic Among Scholars* you say something about "what sleight of hand, what wand of fortune had transplanted me--"

Frugé: I got a little poetic there.

Riess: "--from The Dalles, where I belonged, to the halls of Berkeley."

Frugé: "The Dalles, where I belonged," yes. But eventually I belonged in Berkeley. In a way I felt that here I was, a country boy from The Dalles, and I often had a feeling that even though I had all these European tastes, I didn't belong anywhere else, really. And yet I hated the place--had a low opinion of the town.

Riess: Was that a persona you put on when you were out in the publishing world? "A boy from The Dalles?"

Frugé: I don't think so. No, when I was in the publishing business, I was a Californian.

Riess: You didn't let yourself get quaint or countryish.

Frugé: No, no. I know people who did, and did it very successfully. Joe Brandt, whose picture is in that book, Joe did this. He's from Oklahoma. Joe was always an Oklahoma boy. No, I didn't. I think I dropped that pretty much. I became a Californian.

Library School

Riess: Library school. Was Sydney Mitchell one of your professors?

Frugé: Only later, when I took another library degree, an M.A. Mitchell was on leave that year, so I didn't really know him when I was in library school. The entire faculty at the library school were women. All of them, four or five. There were no men at all that year.

Riess: And fellow men students?

Frugé: Yes, yes. At that time they wanted men. The library profession was almost all women, they wanted men.

This was good luck, you know, in a way, that they went out of their way to get you. Out of fifty in the class, there were probably fewer than ten men, something like that. I'm guessing, but it's approximately right. No, they wanted us. Then, when it came to the job market afterwards, most people didn't get jobs,

even with that degree. But I think it was a little easier for us to. Some of the women did, too. My first wife was in that library school class. She got a job immediately. So did I. Different places.

Riess: Harlan mentioned a story from your library school days, the Susan Smith connection?

Frugé: [laughs] This was when I was in library school. (I'm not sure we're going to add anything to the story that isn't in the book.) Was it during the Christmas vacation or the Easter vacation? One or the other. We were all told as library school students to work as volunteers for a couple of weeks in a local library--Cal had long vacations then. We didn't expect to get paid, we were just working for the experience. And we were told to go to various places.

Well, I went down to the Berkeley Public [Library], and the librarian was named Susan Smith. I didn't know that Harlan knew that because I don't think I named her in the book. That's when she told me that they didn't have a men's rest room. So instead I went down to a branch of the Oakland Public Library down around 50th and Telegraph, somewhere down there, where I worked for a while.

Riess: It was just one year, library school.

Frugé: Yes. At the end of that, you got a certificate. I actually took a second year. Not in residence. In pieces. I went on and got a master's degree. It took me two years, part-time, to get a master's degree. I think now, in recent years, they give a bachelor of science in one year. All we got was a certificate, but what we got was a union card to get a job.

Riess: You learned the Dewey Decimal system, and so on.

Frugé: Yes, we learned that, and the Library of Congress system, and we learned cataloguing.

You know, the library school is really no longer a library school. It's a computer school now.

Riess: "Information Studies."

Frugé: They don't even know what information is. I'm very cynical about that. There is too much trivial information, we are swamped with it. In the old school we learned the basics. It was very practical, professional, not very philosophical. There was a little bit of that, I suppose, the history of libraries and that

sort of thing, but mostly you learned reference work, how to answer people's questions in a library, how to look up information.

You know, we were right in the library building, at that time right on the main floor, at one end of that. Here we were, right in the middle of a very great library. We learned a lot. And I was working in it, too, for that matter.

I worked in the RBR, the reserved book room, and my boss was a Mrs. Lee, a Chinese-American woman. Later, when I moved upstairs and worked full-time in the order department, I had another woman boss. And then two of them in the state library. You can see why I am skeptical of the claim that women and minorities were liberated in the Great Revolution of the 1960s. Ignorance about the past, that's what it is. At Stanford in 1930 there were at least three women professors, two of them stars, in a small English department.

It was pretty much a practical course. They were concerned to train people to work in libraries. We had book arts, you know, what fine books, fine printing is like and all that sort of thing, but it was practical. We were able to take jobs.

Riess: Was there a Bancroft Library?

Frugé: Yes. I don't think I knew The Bancroft so much then, but after I graduated from library school I worked right there in the library for two years, and I knew some of the Bancroft people. I knew Eleanor Bancroft. The Bancroft Library was on the fourth floor of the main library building at that time. I knew them somewhat.

And then a little bit later my friend Neal Harlow--he had gone from library school into The Bancroft. And when he and I became friends in Sacramento, we would come back, and I know I was up there quite a bit. I remember Eleanor [Bancroft] in particular. And [Herbert Eugene] Bolton, yes. An old fraud, I thought.

Riess: Why?

Frugé: "Fraud" is too strong a word, I suppose. But he set himself up as a sort of guru or patron saint of western history. He paid no attention to the rules about manuscripts, I was told; they were for his use. He was a man of medium talent who by drive and self promotion--like some other noted people--made himself a great reputation. There were at least two festschriften edited in his

honor. One, *Greater America*, was published during my first year at the Press.⁶

I suppose I am influenced by the remarks of Eleanor Bancroft and Neal Harlow, who worked more or less with him. They preferred [Herbert Ingram] Priestley, whom they called "Pop." I think Priestley was the real librarian, while Bolton was the great icon, who worked for his own glory.

I once heard Bolton say that he wrote reviews of his own books--put them in the preface where lazy reviewers could find them!

Riess: And the rare books collection? That was housed separately?

Frugé: I don't know if they even had a rare books room, did they? They had a Case "O" meaning "obscene." I don't know whether--I'm sure they had some rare books, but I don't know where they were kept.

I knew that library pretty well. I worked in the reserve book room during library school, so actually I had three years there. I practically lived in that building, and I knew it pretty well.

Riess: Where did you live? What was life like in Berkeley for you?

Frugé: [laughing] I earned \$50 a month working in the reserve book room, and that's what I lived on. A friend of mine who is still alive--actually, he's in San Luis Obispo--he and I lived together down on University Avenue and then on Walnut Street, where we had some rooms and a sleeping porch and so on.

Riess: What's his name?

Frugé: Vincent Gates. He was a high school friend of mine. He went back to the University of Oregon after that, and then he became a professor of journalism at San Luis Obispo, Cal Poly. He's still there, but he's got Alzheimer's or something like that.

We just sort of lived from hand to mouth. That was the year in school. But then, after that, I think I got \$125 a month, and that was enough to live on fairly well.

Riess: And enough to get married on.

⁶ *Greater America; essays in honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, University of California Press, 1945.

Frugé: I didn't get married right away.

Riess: Your wife's name was Grete?

Frugé: Grete, yes. She got a job in Sacramento, so she lived in Sacramento, I lived in Berkeley, and I used to go up there for weekends and so on.

Riess: Did you have a car?

Frugé: Yes, in The Dalles I bought a little Model A Ford. This was part of learning how ordinary life goes on, you know. At Stanford I didn't have a car, I didn't have anything.

Riess: It sounds like you immersed yourself in the same way that you sort of disappeared into the system at Stanford when you were there for four years.

Frugé: Not in Berkeley, really. Before that I sort of went in and out of my shell. During the first two years of high school I went to class but did nothing else. Then, by the accident of being elected class president, unexpectedly, I came out of the shell and for two years was more active than anyone else.

At Stanford I went back into it. I had my own little circle of friends, my books, and nothing else. At the furniture store I broke out again--the accident of having to work with non-academic people. Those were real accidents, although I may have known how to take advantage of them. I am not Hiroshige--was he the one?--who when asked about the unplanned effects that occurred in his paintings said they were accidents that happened only to him.

Summers, while I was at Stanford, I'd be back in The Dalles, working in a cannery or something like that, but, yes, I was just immersed at Stanford. Maybe that's why I didn't want to go to graduate school. I didn't want to become one of these permanent students.

Riess: You could see this inclination?

Frugé: I could see that. When I got the job in the furniture store I was really rather pleased with it for a year or two, because it was so different. Being at Stanford was sort of a monkish existence, in a way.

With the job I was managing, and I was living my own life. I really came alive there, although I probably wasn't getting over being too serious. But I came alive at it.

Wife Grete, and Son

Riess: Tell me about Grete. You said she went to Sacramento?

Frugé: She went to Sacramento and got a job in the public library there. She was one of those who got a job immediately. And I had one in Berkeley.

I worked in the University Library for two years, I think. Toward the end of that time we decided to get married, which we did. Then strangely enough, when we got married Grete came down from Sacramento, quit her job there and came back to Berkeley. And just a few weeks after that I got a job in Sacramento, so we went back to Sacramento!

My mother had come down by that time. She didn't have much of an existence in The Dalles, and she came down and lived with us for a while. She got herself a job. It was getting toward the war, and she got a job in the Air Force where she worked until she was age seventy-nine. She lied about her age for thirteen years-- she didn't have a birth certificate. (As a matter of fact, I'm not sure I have one, except that she went up to Idaho and swore to it, or something like that.) But she lied about her age. I think she was seventy-nine when she finally retired.

Riess: She stayed in Sacramento?

Frugé: Yes, she stayed there after I came back to Berkeley. Then she bought herself a house in Berkeley to retire in. But she was a remarkable woman in some ways. A strong woman.

Riess: What year did you and Grete get married?

Frugé: We were married when I was still in--it must have been '39. It doesn't seem--let's see how I can figure that out. It might have been '38. I don't know. I got out of library school in '37, worked for two years. That would be '39, wouldn't it? And I went to Sacramento. I was still in Berkeley when we were married, so yes, we must have been married early in '39 or late in '38. It was the wintertime, I guess, because our son was born in December of '39. Almost on my birthday. So that's about the way it was, yes.

And then I was in Sacramento for five years, five and a half years.

Riess: Were you called up for the army?

Frugé: No, I was a little too old to be called at the beginning. And when I was in Sacramento, toward the end of the war, I was in my early thirties, thirty-three, thirty-four, something like that, and I was called, but I wasn't passed. They were getting pretty persnickety at that time.

I tried before that to get into the navy. A lot of my friends had become naval officers. I didn't want to be a buck private in the army, or anything like that, so earlier in the game I tried-- this fellow Vincent Gates was in the navy, and another friend from The Dalles was in the navy, and so I tried that, but I didn't make it. On my eyes.

My eyes were never terribly good, and when they gave me the examination, I knew I'd have trouble with that. I memorized the chart as I was standing in line, and I got by on one eye, and then they flipped the chart, and I was lost. So I didn't make that. And after that, certainly I didn't want to be drafted.

Riess: Well, and you did have a wife and child.

Frugé: Yes. I probably wouldn't have gone in anyway.

Riess: Your son has been ill all of his life?

Frugé: Yes, he was born retarded. We think it was a birth injury. It was a very, very difficult birth, went on for hours, and I don't think they did it very well. We didn't know. He seemed all right. We didn't know until he was several years old that he was retarded.

You can't always tell, really. At least we couldn't tell, because he always looked bright and happy. Unlike many retarded people who look kind of apathetic he never did, so that we were fooled until he was four or five years old. One thing was, he didn't talk. He didn't start talking until very late. Some people said, "Oh, well, he'll start all of a sudden and just go." But we began to get worried about it, and finally found out that there was something wrong with him. I think it was a birth injury.

Riess: Probably nothing that you could have done about any of it.

Frugé: Couldn't do a thing.

Riess: Though you probably wouldn't have gotten very good medical information at that time. I interviewed someone whose son was autistic, and the understanding of autism was so dim that the family was left to feel in all ways terrible, and responsible.

Frugé: Well, I guess it was somewhat that way for us. I remember trying to find out things about it and getting books and so on. It was rather bad for a while.

My wife wanted to keep the child at home, which was probably a mistake, although how can you say? I mean, he eventually went into an institution. Adolescence knocked him over. He not only was retarded, but whether it came before or after, he was somewhat psychotic, I think. When he got into adolescence, he started flailing away at people, at his mother and so on, and he had to go into an institution. He's been there ever since. "There," I say. He's been I don't know how many different places.

Riess: With an expectation periodically of cures?

Frugé: No. We might have thought so at first. They gave him some shock treatment and it seemed at first to have sort of cured him, but it didn't. Then they came on with the drugs. The first one was Chlorpromazine, I think, but that didn't do it. No, it's just a matter of--that's what it still is.

He's in his fifties. His mother still goes to see him. I saw him quite a bit when he was in Atascadero, which is a little bit prison-like, but it was one of the best places he ever was. I used to go up there quite a bit. Then he went to Stockton, which is almost out of reach. I don't drive anymore. I did go up once last year.

We have friends in Los Gatos, or right near there, and my former wife and her husband live in Santa Cruz, which is close by. We all got together, and I went with her to see him once last year. But, you know, it's just a matter of trying to keep him as comfortable and content as possible. She's very devoted to it, and--possibly too much, I don't know. Anyway--.

Riess: Well, thank you for filling me in on that.

Sacramento Book Collectors Club

Riess: Please tell me about the Sacramento Book Collectors' Club. Was this a place where people spoke your language?

Frugé: Well, yes. We were bookish, you might say. Grete was, too. She's from Germany, by the way. Very bright, very intelligent. Later on she taught in the library school at Berkeley.

Riess: What was her maiden name?

Frugé: Wiese. W-i-e-s-e.

Let's see. Where was I? In Sacramento this book collectors' club included a lot of librarians, of course, because we knew librarians, and she had worked in the public library and I was then working in the state library. Two in the same place, two libraries.

And so there was this book collecting club. Not all the people were librarians, but quite a few of them were. We had meetings. We published a book now and then. I don't know why we had a book collectors' club. I always bought books, as much as I could, but never really had the spirit of a collector, I don't think. I thought I did for a while, but I didn't.

Riess: This is how you would look at it in retrospect.

Frugé: Well, it's the way I still feel. I have quite a few books around the room--I had a lot more, I've given away a lot--and I like to acquire them. But I never had the collector's feeling of caressing books or being very much taken with fine printing and so on. Of course, part of this was from becoming a publisher in a book society that's dominated by printers, and I kind of reacted the other way.

Riess: Aren't there two kinds of book collectors anyway? I mean, the kind that are mad about the bindings and the production, and then the other kind who are buying everything they can on World War II.

Frugé: Yes, exactly. I would be the second kind, the same way that many professors used to have huge libraries. Of course, the university libraries weren't always that good. They had to have their own. But most professors, in the humanities at least, always had a lot of books. I had books in the same way, really. I've got some fine printed books, but I never was that much taken with caressing the bindings and so on, that sort of thing.

Riess: Was the Sacramento group the binding caressers?

Frugé: We had both kinds. Some people were not necessarily collectors. It was called a collectors' club, but really it was a book club, people interested in books, interested in one way or another, so it didn't need the word "collectors" in the title.

Boredom Leads to A New Job

Frugé: The thing about my shift there was that I got bored in that job, terribly bored. This was typical of me. This may be part of what I said was something like snobbishness--I got bored with something as soon as I knew it very well. You know, for a while it was very pleasant at the state library. The people were good to work with. But I don't know, I never could get my teeth into it. I got terribly bored.

I'd been bored before. That year in San Jose I was so bored-- I ran a complex bookkeeping machine. They liked me because I could run the damn thing, where the previous man just couldn't do it, and I could run it in half the time. I got so bored I'd just get up and walk out and be gone for an hour or two, or go in the next office and talk to the women there. You know, do something. I couldn't stand to just sit there making entries.

At the end of each month you had a huge, complex thing to put together. Well, that was all right, you had to think about that. But the rest of it was just taking invoices and whatever and tabulating them. I couldn't stand it.

Riess: You could have been reading a novel.

Frugé: I suppose. I don't know. Anyway, reading at my desk? With my boss standing ten feet away?

I couldn't stand it. I got out into library school. And then the job in Sacramento--as I say, I was there five years. That was way too long. I learned the job. It didn't get any more complicated. There wasn't any--I had to get out.

So it just happened. I think that's in the book. Neal Harlow and I--he's the one who had worked in The Bancroft Library--he and I had to put this book through the publication process, edit it and so on. That gave me the idea of asking for a job at the University Press.

Riess: Now, that must have been a steep learning curve, putting a book together.

Frugé: It was. This guy [Allan R. Ottley] had written a biography of John Sutter, Jr., the son of the famous John Sutter, to be printed with an edited version of Sutter's manuscript in the state

library.⁷ Anyway, this man [Ottley], who was a librarian, had the information but he didn't write very well. He put together this biography, and I'm afraid that Neal and I just tore it apart, really. He [Ottley] was off in the navy by that time. We did more than you should do to somebody else's work. But it was fun. Neal and I liked it.

Riess: This was your first time dealing with a printer? You took it to completion?

Frugé: Yes, we took it to a local printer, a man who ran a school-type printing shop--there had been one in The Dalles High School, although I had taken no interest in it. But there was one in Sacramento--the printer, George Smith, had an intellectual interest in ancient Mexico actually--and we sort of played around with type with him a little bit. He printed the book.

It was a learning experience, yes. It gave me the idea of doing something else, and so that was it.

Once I got to the Press, I was hooked, I never got away. Because it was always a struggle. Nothing was ever the same. It was always somewhere to go, something bigger or better, or whatever. You know, a continual struggle and ambitions about doing this, that, and the other things, so I never got bored to death. That was lucky.

Riess: It was always a struggle. What do you mean? It was always a challenge, or was it really always a struggle?

Frugé: Well, it was both. It was both.

If you read [Albert] Muto's book, there's a piece in there.⁸ We had this huge fight within the university, so it was that kind of a struggle. At the same time it was also a challenge to make something out of the place. So it was both. You know, after the first ten years, I guess, the internal struggle was over. Too damn long, but anyway.

Riess: By then you were how old?

⁷John A. Sutter, Jr., *Statement Regarding Early California Experiences*, edited, with a biography, by Allan R. Ottley, Sacramento Book Collectors Club, Sacramento, 1943.

⁸*The University of California Press, The Early Years, 1893-1953*, University of California Press, 1993.

Frugé: Thirty-four or -five. I came to back to Berkeley in 1944.

I didn't know anything about the place [the Press]. I didn't realize how amateurish it was at publishing. As a printing house it was pretty capable, but the publishing side was pretty amateurish.

Riess: You valued yourself highly enough to negotiate a good position.

Frugé: Yes, I did. I don't know how I got away with that, but I did. I did. I'd been a librarian--let's see, two years in Berkeley, five in Sacramento. Seven years. And I was head of a department. I'm sure that if I had tried hard I could have got back into the university library business and become an assistant librarian, and then eventually a head librarian of a university library someplace. I could have done that. It might have taken a few years to get there, but I could have done it. So I didn't have to devalue myself, in a sense.

Riess: Would your heart have been in it? It's interesting. Libraries these days are very ambiguous institutions.

Frugé: They weren't that then. They were really libraries. Now they're information places in a sense. Well, they're both, of course. As you say, they're ambiguous. Bancroft is a real library, of course.

Riess: Did I read that you were offered a job at Chapel Hill?

Frugé: Yes. After I had been at the [University] Press two or three years I was offered the job as head of the University of North Carolina Press, at Chapel Hill, which I foolishly turned down.

Riess: "Foolishly?"

Frugé: I'm glad I turned it down, I didn't want to leave California, but it was foolish in the sense that the man ahead of me at the Press here was still only, what was he? Only in his late fifties at the time. So I didn't have any immediate prospects here. I don't know, career-wise it was probably a foolish thing to do, but it worked out. I mean, it happened to work out.

Out of Doors, The Sacramento Chapter of the Sierra Club

Riess: Given that eventually we'll be talking about the Sierra Club, I'm curious about how much of an outdoorsman you've been.

Frugé: Oh, quite a bit. Nothing like Dave Brower and some of the others, but in Sacramento they formed a local chapter of the Sierra Club, just about the time I got there, actually, and we were very active. We went all over the place. I mean, all kinds of camping trips and things of that kind.

We went down to Rainbow Bridge in 1940, and we had to walk fourteen miles across the hills to get there. Now you can go there by boat, but we--first of all we had to drive across some crazy Navaho roads. Sometimes the roads were painted across rock, huge rock surfaces. They'd just paint the road on the rock. It was quite a distance from any paved highway. There was a lodge there, which has since burned down. And you had to walk the fourteen miles, up and down, so not very many people had been there at that time.

We got out of there just in time to hear that the Germans had occupied the Scandinavian countries. It must have been 1940.

Riess: What was the spirit of the group? Did they have issues on their mind, conservation issues, or was it just a hiking club?

Frugé: It was mostly hiking.

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Frugé: It was a sort of folksy little group, like the [California] Native Plant Society when it first started. I don't know how many of us were in this group. Probably not more than, oh, thirty or forty members, something like that. We went skiing. You know, Sacramento is very close. We could get up to the Norden or the other, Echo Summit. We could get up there very easily. And we went on little trips around the Mother Lode country and so on.

This and the book collectors club, I guess, were really our social life, in a way.

Riess: Did they overlap at all?

Frugé: Not much. Not very much. We overlapped, but I don't know that there were many others in the Sierra Club group--well, it included a man who became a professor at Berkeley, Tom Jukes. He's a physicist or something like that.

Riess: Did you meet national Sierra Club people in those early days?

Frugé: Not much. I think Dave Brower came up and gave a talk one time. He wasn't in the club the way he became later on. It must have been in the early forties.

We did go on a few of their [Sierra Club's] summer trips. We went on one of the first or maybe the first of the very early base camp trips, which was led by a man named Oliver Kerlein. His wife had been in library school with us. I think Ansel [Adams] showed up. I don't think he was on the whole trip, but he was there part of the time. It's the only one I remember for sure. I know I went on some other trips, but it may have been later.

I was quite interested, but I got so busy at the Press later on, I gave up skiing entirely. Of course, it's harder to get there from Berkeley [than from Sacramento]. Before I went to the Press, we went on a trip with the Seattle Mountaineers, the Canadian Rockies. We were welcome to go because we were Sierra Club members, so we went as guests of the Mountaineers.

Riess: And that's where you ran into I.A. Richards?

Frugé: Yeah!

Riess: Yes. We'll footnote that.⁹

Forward to Early Days at the Press, Bill Everson

Riess: A couple of our oral histories, one with Brother Antoninus [William Everson], and the other with Adrian Wilson--both referred to being impressed with the library at the Press.

Frugé: Well, it was nice. That's where we had meetings. Sam Farquhar really had very good taste about things. Although they had an architect, Sam had a lot to do with that building. And one end of the second floor was a library. The books of the Press were there, and other books, too, and a big meeting table.

Lord, the editorial committee met there for years! It was a very nice, paneled room, not as long as this room, maybe two-thirds as long, and wide enough to have a big table down the center, with chairs on both sides and bookshelves on both sides. So it was a book-lined room, but it wasn't all that big.

Riess: Was it all Press books?

Frugé: Mostly it was. See, the Press had been doing these university series since eighteen ninety-something or other, and there must

⁹A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, p. 20.

have been three or four thousand individual papers. But there were a lot of those things that were bound. Plus the Press books. And then there were some books on printing that Farquhar owned. I think that's what they were thinking of.

It was a very attractive room. I don't know where it is now. I think the head of the printing department, W[illiam] J. Young, eventually made that into his office. I don't think he cared anything about books anyway.

Did I mention Brother Antoninus in the book?

Riess: No.

Frugé: That's kind of interesting. Bill Everson. When was this? Was Farquhar still alive? God, I think he must have been because I had my office up on the second floor, and Bill was the night janitor. He said that he didn't want any kind of intellectual work; he didn't want his work to occupy any of his mind that he could use for poetry.

I worked nights a lot. I was very ambitious, and I was really sort of caught up in the work, and I'd be in the office evenings.

Anyway, I might have a sack of bottles of beer there, and Bill was pushing a broom out in the hall, and he didn't want to work very hard [laughs], and he'd come in and put his broom somewhere and sit down beside my desk, and we'd drink beer and talk. This went on for quite a while. He gave me, at the time, some of the books he had done up in Waldport, Oregon, when he was at whatever they call that place, detention camp for conscientious objectors. Adrian Wilson was there too.

I knew Bill pretty well. He printed a book or two about that time, and I bought them. Eventually I gave those to a library, to Santa Cruz, the university library there. I knew Bill pretty well there for a while, and then I never saw him for years and years until when he was at Santa Cruz as a printer in residence, or whatever they called him there.

They had something called the Limekiln Press, and the librarian and assistant librarian asked me to be on sort of a board for that press. I may still have a file, I don't know, for the Limekiln Press. This must have been in the late sixties or seventies. There I saw Bill for the first time after all those years. He had a huge beard and so on--somehow it wasn't the same person. I don't know what year Bill was our janitor, but it must have been in the 1940s.

I enjoyed talking to Bill, I liked him very much. I never liked his poetry that much, but I read it. It was too much Walt Whitman for me. But that was when he was young.

II EARLY ISSUES AND OUTCOMES AT THE PRESS

[Interview 2: July 10, 1997] ##

The Press in the 1940s

Riess: Yesterday you described yourself working late at the Press--that's when you and Bill Everson ran into each other. You were then assistant manager. What were you working on late at night? What would you have been doing?

Frugé: You know, when you know you're going to work at night you get into the habit of putting things off during the day--I suppose all kinds of paperwork. It's a long time ago.¹

Riess: Did you think from the outset that the Press was an institution you could change?

Frugé: Yes, very soon. I don't know how soon. Certainly within the first year or so. It seemed to me that compared to the eastern university presses--by the way, that's another subject if you ever

¹[added in editing] While I don't believe in amateur psychoanalysis, and I have my doubts about the professional kind, I can speculate if need be--at my own expense. Yes, I was caught up in the work as never before, but who knows? Many years later my then wife, Grete, told me something I had never known, that when she was first convinced that our son was hopelessly retarded--he was then five or six and not obviously dull--she was not only advised to put him in an institution, but was also told that if she did not give up her son she would lose her husband. A man cannot stand that sort of thing, the psychologist said. She did not believe this, or she could not then bear to put away her child. So perhaps I was running away from the problem. I don't like to think this about myself, even fifty-some years later.

need one, I don't want to talk about it right now, but the whole [American Association of] University Press[es] is something that's not in the book at all. As soon as I began to find out something about the eastern university presses I thought that we could become much more of a publishing organization than we were.

Riess: What would you say were the first moves that you made to make a difference? Had you been given authority in the very beginning?

Frugé: I was given some, and I took some. Farquhar and I got along very well, actually.

What happened was that when I was first offered this job he was firing the sales manager and he wanted me to take that job. I didn't think I was a salesman, but I was willing to take it temporarily. Also, the war was still on at the time. The previous sales manager had rights to the job when she came back, a woman named Dorothy Bevis--she became a professor of librarianship at Washington.

I wanted something more than that [sales manager position], so it was understood that when Dorothy came back I would move into more general work. I was not on the printing side. The two, printing and publishing, were fairly separate organizations. I was not on the printing side at all. So when Dorothy decided not to come back, we hired Tom [Thompson] Webb. That much is in the book. We hired Tom and put him in as sales manager, and I moved down the hall, trying to figure out what to do for a while.

We didn't schedule anything in those days. The Press was 90 percent the old university monograph series anyway, which were distributed on library exchange. And there were a few books, ten or twelve or fifteen a year, something like that. Two or three good things.

Riess: What you could do was print from the backlist. But was there a backlist?

Frugé: There wasn't much. We did more of that later on, I think. When we started doing paperbacks, we started combing the backlist. Of course, at the time when I first went there some of the better backlist titles were out of stock because we didn't have a paper allotment.

Paper was scarce. We had a long series of Japanese language textbooks which was really supporting the place, and we could get paper for those easily enough. But we didn't have paper to do our

best seller, which was a book on Cezanne by Erle Loran.² Of course, when we could get paper, we reprinted and that sort of thing.

No, I started looking for books, and we started trying to schedule. This, of course, got us into all kinds of trouble, and all that's in either my book or Albert Muto's, so you probably don't want that. You know, back then a book was just taken in; Farquhar would take it in, turn it over to Harold Small [the chief editor], and that was that. Small did it just when he wanted to.

Riess: Farquhar would take it in because it had been given a push by whatever was the committee?

Frugé: Well, not necessarily. The committee had to approve everything, but not that many actual books came up through them. One of our prize books, which was done before I was there, *Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians*, that came up through Sam's connections.³

Riess: Does this mean that books were going elsewhere, or are we talking about a different time in academic publishing?

Frugé: They were going elsewhere, mostly. Oh, there's a difference, of course. There were not so many being done, maybe. But they generally went elsewhere.

I have a big folder on that book, *Ceremonial Costumes*, and Harlan wrote a piece about it someplace or another. The book has a long history. It was recommended to Sam by a bookseller in Pasadena, as I remember, Charles Yale. The woman [Virginia More Roediger] who wrote it--I think they started to print it in Germany, and then the war came along, and it got pushed aside. But evidently she got in touch with this Pasadena bookseller, who sent her up to Sam--telling him, by letter, that the lady was very handsome! It was a prize book, one of our first books to win design prizes.

Most of the books that Sam did came to him some way or another. He had various connections. Of course, a lot of the books, I don't know how they came--they didn't all arrive through the committee.

²Erle Loran, *Cezanne's Composition*, University of California Press, 1943.

³Virginia More Roediger, *Ceremonial Costumes of the Pueblo Indians*, University of California Press, 1941.

Riess: When he made you assistant manager, he was giving you power similar to his.

Frugé: Yes. I think Sam knew that he was primarily a printer, though he was not a hands-on printer. He could see ahead pretty well. I think he knew that there would have to be more publishing after the war was over. Those Japanese language books, which did very well, I think that kind of stirred him up.

And we had a series of volumes called the United Nations Series, which were symposia, each on an Allied country. Those got a certain amount of attention. I think he saw that there needed to be more of this, and he had been to meetings with the other university presses and saw that they were doing a lot more of it than we were. So he could see that he needed some kind of help.

Riess: He went to the American Association of University Presses meetings? He didn't exist in a vacuum here.

Frugé: No, he went to them. They weren't very big in those days, but he went to them. He took me very quickly, very soon, a year or so after I'd been there.

California-ness

Riess: It seems as if a lot of things happened at the Press in 1947. I'm interested, now that we're in a sesquicentennial year, to read about the publication of Bolton's *Chronicles of California*, which apparently wasn't a success. Do you remember anything about that?

Frugé: Yes. That wasn't Bolton's. That was John Caughey. I don't remember for sure. We may have had a board of editors, and Bolton may have been one of them.

But the person who was really kind of the general editor of it was John Caughey [professor of history at UCLA]. Did you ever know him, or know of him? He was the editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Is that what they call it? Yes. And he was at one time on the editorial committee. He was a friend of Sam's, became a friend of mine. It was John who wrote the first book in it, for that matter, and I think he found the authors, probably. We did six or seven books that weren't absolute failures, but the series never really took off. Neither did anybody else's.

This fits in with what I said about California, that there isn't a loyal audience in the sense that there is in Texas. Even

if this was the centennial of the gold rush. Alfred Knopf started a series, and they dropped it after a little while. I don't mean there's not a market for California books, but I mean that kind of loyalty I don't think exists.

There is the tribe of book collectors who collect California things and so on. There are a number of those, but they number in the hundreds. You need more than that. I know that presses at Texas and other places found big audiences for their books about their home states. We never did, really. There are big audiences for natural history books, for things of that kind, but for general historical books we never did, particularly. It's strange.

Riess: Maybe it's because people don't really feel that their roots were ever in California.

Frugé: Well, this is the way that I had it figured out, that everybody came to California from somewhere else, and they might like it, but they didn't have a feeling of belonging, really. I was very admiring of the feeling when I went some other places. Of course, also there were an awful lot of--I mean, the bookstores might be full of popular books on California of one kind or another. I suppose in a state where there weren't a lot of books that a new one would sell better. But we never did very well with them. Except the special kinds of things, as I say, natural history and the floras and the faunas and that sort of thing.

Later on, we did quite well. A book like [Elna] Bakker's book, for example.⁴ We had many others in that general area.

Riess: As you got to know other university presses, one of the big ones was Oklahoma. Did it have a list of Oklahomiana?

Frugé: Oh, yes, it sure did. They weren't one of the biggest presses, but they're very successful. They specialize in western books, not so much California, although to some extent, but the whole western area. Indians, American Indians, and so on. They did very well with it.

⁴Elna S. Bakker, *An Island Called California*, University of California Press, 1971.

McIntyre Translations

Riess: Also in 1947 you published the McIntyre translations.

Frugé: Yes. McIntyre's first book, the *Fifty Selected Poems* [by Rilke], was done before I came to the Press.⁵ There were some difficulties about it--I don't know what you'd find in the editorial committee minutes. Maybe because of what it was. McIntyre had his troubles in the university, and maybe that was it. But it was published, and it did well enough to be reprinted fairly soon thereafter, in cloth. This was well before paperbacks.

When I was looking around for things to publish, one of the people I talked to was Larry Powell, the UCLA Librarian. Larry had been in my library school class in 1937, so I knew Larry. He was kind of an entrepreneur, and he said, "Why don't you go see McIntyre. He's got a lot more translations in his trunk." At that time, McIntyre was living in Berkeley. He first taught at Occidental, which is where Larry and Ward Ritchie had gone to school and they were friends and admirers of "Mac." And then he went to UCLA to teach. And UCLA pushed him out and sent him up to Berkeley. At Berkeley they managed to get rid of him.

Riess: What was wrong with him?

Frugé: He was traded like a baseball player. [laughter] The story I always knew was when he was traded from UCLA to Berkeley. He was sent to Berkeley, and a man named Ross--but I may have the name wrong--went to UCLA, out of the English department.

The English department at UCLA at that time was dominated by a woman called Lily Bess Campbell. She was really a tyrant. She and Mac didn't get along. One story is that she wanted Mac, and he couldn't see it. I'm not sure that's true or not. But he managed to put things in his books--he did a book of his own poems which I have somewhere, published by Oxford, actually, and one poem is about a frustrated old red camel in Egypt, c-a-m-e-l. And at the bottom of the poem, it says, "For Lily Bess Campbell." He was very childish in many ways. In the Rilke book he's got various--is it the Rilke one?--anyway, he's got hidden references to her here and there. Mac was kind of vindictive. And he was very funny about it.

⁵Rainer Maria Rilke, *Fifty Selected Poems*, English translation by C. F. McIntyre, University of California Press, 1940.

Anyway, he was traded to Berkeley, and the then-chairman of the Berkeley English department, Ben[jamin H.] Lehman, managed to get rid of Mac. They didn't fire him. They just didn't give him any courses to teach. Very strange.

Riess: It's not clear to me what was really wrong with him as a teacher.

Frugé: Oh, he was a very good teacher. He was not a researcher. He didn't have the research publications to back himself up, but he was a very good teacher, I think. But he was kind of a troublemaker. He saw himself as a bad boy poet, in a way. He was notorious for going after girl students. I don't think he did as much of it as people thought he did, but--. And he didn't play ball with the rest of the department, he didn't become a team member. That had happened to other people. Anyway, they got rid of him.

When I first met him, he had a stack of checks about so high [demonstrating an inch]. They sort of pensioned him off at \$50 a month or something like that. He had tried to get [University President Robert Gordon] Sproul to overrule the English department, and Sproul wouldn't do it. Mac wouldn't cash these checks, until I think there came a day when he needed the money, and he cashed all of them. He was living up on the hill, next to Harold Small, our editor.

He did have other translations in his pocket, so to speak. We did a big Baudelaire, and we did a Verlaine, and we did some more Rilke. We did a lot of things. I think he was better at Rilke than he was at the French.

Riess: Your French was good. Were you involved as an editor on these?

Frugé: Small did the editing. I took them in.

This is strange. I don't really speak French very well, I never lived anywhere where I had to, but I'm good at reading. In fact, I have something for you, it's about a book of mine that's coming out, a translation from the French.⁶ I xeroxed that, just so you'd know what it is.

No, it's very strange. Small lived next door to this guy. Small was very much interested in these things. He spent a lot of time on them. I took them in, and then he and Mac together edited

⁶ *A Voyage: To California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World, in the Years 1826-1829*, by August Duhaut-Cilly; translated and edited by August Frugé and Neal Harlow, The Book Club of California, San Francisco, 1997.

them and got them in shape. Chose them and edited them. But Small never would have done it without me.

You see, in a sense, neither he nor Farquhar were really--I used the word "predatory" in the book somewhere. They were not out to get things. I don't think Small came up with much, anyway. I think most of the things they did before me were--Farquhar took them in and handed them to Small to finish off.

Expediting

Riess: In 1947 Bertrand H. Bronson was the chair of the editorial committee. He complained that everything was so slow. At that point you made David Brower "expediter." Was this a new title? Expediter?

Frugé: Oh, yes. It wasn't an official title, it was just my name for it.

Bronson was chairman of the committee for I guess just one year. He was quite antagonistic. I speculate that Small or somebody had mutilated one of his books at one time. Because he was something of a stylist, himself. But the business of slowness went back before that. As I've looked at the minutes, as early as 1939, somewhere along in there, there was a big blowup between the Press and the committee. The committee held up some of Farquhar's books. Wouldn't approve them because the monograph papers were going through too slowly.

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Riess: Small having been a newspaperman, you'd think would make him speedy.

Frugé: You'd think. It didn't. He actually was a book review editor of the [*San Francisco*] *Chronicle* for a while before Joseph Henry Jackson. As a matter of fact, Small was pushed out in order to make way for Jackson. He never could stand him, and there was no communication between Jackson as book review editor and the Press because of this.

It was only later that I tried to--I got acquainted with Jackson, and we got along all right. But Small didn't give much authority to the other editors. He called them editorial assistants. (One of them was Anne [Hus] Brower, by the way.) And if an editor didn't do a manuscript the way he thought it ought to be done, instead of calling in the editor and saying, "Go back and

do this, that, and the other thing," he took the manuscript and he'd put it on his desk until he could do it over again. He always said, "It will get done when it gets done."

This might have worked for monographs, but you can't publish that way. And it didn't work for monographs either, because sometimes these things would go on and on and on. The author and the committee would get mad, and the faculty members would. As I say, they had this revolt in '39 or thereabouts. As far as I can tell from the minutes and all that, when things got bad enough Farquhar would hire another editor.

My interpretation is he never had any control over Small. As you know, control of a boss over an employee is never complete. In this case, I don't think he could get Small to--I think he had given up before I ever came. Of course, that was part of my trouble. I didn't give up with Small.

Anyway, they had this big blowup in '39. Then, in '47, I guess it was, it just shocked me. I was sitting in this editorial committee meeting, and suddenly it blew up. Same cause. It was the fact that we were so slow in getting out these monographs, and nobody ever knew when they were coming. They came when they came.

The editorial committees had gone to all the rule books and they were going to take over. They just came right down on Farquhar. From the minutes, I have noticed that in previous times he stood up for himself, but this time he didn't. I don't know if he wasn't well or what, but he didn't. The whole thing was kind of thrown in my lap.

I sympathized with the committee on some of that. That's when I said, "Well, look, we'll appoint somebody to spend a good deal of his time looking over these schedules and seeing that they get out when promised, six months on small papers and a year on long ones." Which isn't very fast, but we promised it. And it worked.

Riess: Brower had already been at the Press?

Frugé: He had come back from the army in '46, '47, I forget just when. He was editing.

I chose him to be the expediter. It's not much of a title, but that was what the committee wanted. Of course, it put Dave in a kind of a fairly difficult position in relation to Small, who was his boss, but he seemed to manage. In fact, I think they always got along well.

Riess: You thought he could deal with it.

Frugé: And he did. He did very well with it.

There were two things. The committee would take in things that weren't in good enough shape, and Small would just let them sit, and then he'd rewrite them. And so part of Small's complaint was that they took in things that weren't in good enough shape to be taken in. Well, part of Brower's job was to look at things before they came in, and the committee had to agree that if the expeditor said they weren't in good enough shape, they'd throw them back to the author. There was that.

And there was the matter of watching the schedules. And then we started using freelance editors, which Small would never do. Only people on the staff could do these things. But I didn't think so.

Riess: Did Small and Brower come to editorial committee meetings?

Frugé: Small did. In those first days, Small went to the ones at Berkeley. I went to them all. We were the only two staff members who went to them, besides Farquhar, of course. Later on, we opened them up to other staff members, but not at that time.

Small was stubborn. He's a very bright man and very well educated. He could work fast on the manuscripts himself if he wanted to. He loved to do McIntyre's translations. He loved to fuss with those and go to the library and look up things. He had very good qualities.

You know, after that book of mine came out, Anne called me, Anne Brower, and said, "You were very gentle with Harold Small." She thought that after all the trouble I had had with him that I would take out after him in the book. But she said, "You were very nice to Harold." [laughs]

Riess: Well, your book is a gentle book, I'd say.

Frugé: I never intended to go after anybody.

Riess: In Ed Strong's oral history he says that in 1961 they wanted to have a journal of the history of philosophy, and they wanted to publish with the Press.⁷ The stipend [subsidy] budget for learned journals was \$6500 a year. The editorial committee wanted to see

⁷Edward W. Strong, *Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965*, Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1992.

two or three copies before agreeing to the application, and that put publication so far into the future that the philosophy committee found money to get the journal out themselves for a year. By the time the Press was ready to take it on, the stipend budget had dried up. So the journal came out by itself and was self-supporting.

I guess publication lag would always be a problem in a university.

Frugé: Well, it's always a problem, it certainly is, especially with journals. In the book, if you remember, along in the early seventies we--of course, what kicked it off then was computer trouble, but we were very slow. That's when I fired all the journal editors, I mean the staff editors. I told the faculty editors that they had to do it themselves. Then we got on time. But we should have done that twenty years sooner, probably.

Yes, it has always been a problem, and not just at Berkeley, I think other places, too. Small may have been an extreme example, but university presses in this country have tended to be very slow with copy editing, tended to take in things that weren't ready, much more so than in England. I suppose English scholars write better, but I remember at Cambridge they told me that an editor was expected to do a book manuscript in about two weeks. We had a woman once who took two years on one.

Later on we got tough about it, and if the thing wasn't good enough we used to say to an author--maybe his first language wasn't English--we'd say, "Look, we know a man you can hire to work this book over, but we're not going to do it at our expense and on our time." I think I was more radical about this than any other university press director.

As a matter of fact, I eventually got rid of all the staff copy editors and did it all freelance with one person in Berkeley and one in Los Angeles to manage it. In Berkeley the editors were doing six or seven books a year, maybe. One of them did seventeen or so, that was Sue Peters, so we kept her and got rid of all the rest of them. And it worked. They've now gone back. I don't think they've held to it the way I did. I was meaner, you know?

The Entrepreneurial Role

Riess: In Muto's book on the history of the Press in the period from 1949 to 1953 he describes your job as entrepreneurial.

Frugé: Yes, I think the publisher's job is basically entrepreneurial. It's a word I have used. It's entrepreneurial in the sense that the publisher is going out and finding a manuscript, and getting it in shape to sell, and then selling it to somebody. He's working between authors and public, between authors and salesmen.

It wasn't that way when I first came to the Press, but that's what a commercial publisher is, an entrepreneur--"entre" meaning between. And I think what makes it respectable, what makes it mean something, is to really choose with a conscience, for one thing, and with sense, for another.

This is hard to say--and I'm wandering a little bit--but if your motives are all commercial that may work or may not work, but it doesn't give a very good result. If you have no commercial motives, as in our old university monograph series where they were hardly sold at all, they were all given away on exchange and so on, practical commercial motives were not considered--.

I think actually you get a better, more intellectual collection of books if you use the two motives, in between, not letting either one override the other. Because if you have no concern whatsoever for the market, strangely enough you don't get very good things.

On the other hand, if you have too much regard for the market you take in trash. I've written about this someplace, probably not in the book, that the double motivation of the need to sell and also the desire for quality, the two together work pretty well. But you can't just say, "We're going to consider quality and nothing else." [laughs] The good academic authors won't have anything to do with you, for one thing, because they want to see their books sell.

In so many ways, in publishing, it seemed to me that we were steering a middle course. This was true in our relationship with the editorial committee, that we had a balance of power. If the committee had had all the power, or if I had had all the power, it wouldn't have worked very well either way. But we set it up to balance, deliberately. It may have been more my idea than anybody else's, but it seems to me that what we tried to do was to not just get in the middle and have no opinions but to--you may have strong opinions, but you balance them.

The Editorial Committee

Riess: You described it succinctly when you said, "Find the book and get it out." But that describes someone who has pretty much control over his editorial committee.

Frugé: Yes and no. You had to be equal to them. I had no use for what some other university press directors did. They treated the editorial committee as just sort of a rubber stamp. They'd say, "We're professionals. We know what we're doing." Well, I never thought that that worked properly.

On the other hand, the old Press, before Farquhar, it was all the editorial committee, and the so-called manager was just an errand boy, really, in a way. I philosophically believed that it works best if--I think the director has to be equal to his committee, you know, they have their specialties, he has his.

[tape interruption]

Riess: Did you wine and dine the editorial committee?

Frugé: Oh, to some extent. Not much, because the university is so spread out, so many campuses and such a big place, we never thought we could do with a little closely-knit committee. It's much easier to handle, of course, but you get much less out of them. We deliberately tried to make it a pleasant and a happy committee. After Bud Bronson and George Stewart, I think we did.

Riess: When you say, "get much less out of them," did you really want them to be a check?

Frugé: Yes.

Riess: You needed that sense that you were going in the right direction that they could provide.

Frugé: Well, yes. You lead them, in a way, but you let them lead you a little bit, too. You need their help. After all, you're trying to publish in different areas. Gosh, all kinds of academic fields and so on. And you can't know all these yourself. We tried to make it sort of a discussion group.

That little article of Hugh Kenner's that's tacked on in my book, he says something about--we made it a kind of an intellectual discussion group.

Riess: He said [reading], "It was the nearest thing at California to what we kept saying was the idea of a university, the free and ebullient exchange of ideas."⁸

Frugé: That's what we tried to make of it. We tried to make it that instead of just a little committee that would do what the director wanted them to do. Of course, this takes managing. The director has to be both strong and flexible to play an equal game with a roomful of top professors.

We didn't do a great deal of wining and dining, but we sometimes spent the night before together. And toward the end of the time (I'm not sure they would have allowed it in the university at first), but in later years I brought in sherry toward the end of the meeting.

We had mostly all-day meetings. This horrifies people at other presses, too. They like to have a one-hour meeting where they would just get all the business done and go back to work. But we tried to make it into what Hugh said there. Around three or four o'clock in the afternoon, I'd have somebody bring sherry in.

We didn't overdo the wining and dining, but we had occasional dinner meetings. I'm not a great one for social life. And occasionally Kenner, for example, when we were at Santa Barbara, he'd have the whole group at his house the night before.

It was a good committee. I theorize that one reason it was good was that most university committees meet and make recommendations. This committee met and made decisions, and then a while later the books came out, and they could see the result of what they had voted on. They liked it, and I think it was partly my doing. I tried to make this out of them.

What I wanted them to be is not watchdogs to see that I wasn't doing the wrong thing, I wanted them to be part of it. If we decided we wanted to go in some new direction, we'd discuss it. I might make the decision, but we'd discuss it. I wouldn't decide to do something that they were all against.

It's a give and take. It's hard to put your finger on it. And it takes mutual trust.

Riess: You met at each of the campuses, in rotation.

⁸Hugh Kenner, "God, Swahili, Bandicoots, and Euphoria," Addendum in *A Sceptic Among Scholars*.

Frugé: When I first came to the Press, I think they had had one or two meetings somewhere else, in Los Angeles. Farquhar was very aware of the fact that the university was spreading out. Then, later on, we just about alternated, north and south, and that didn't mean just Berkeley and Los Angeles. Most of the meetings were there, but we met around. By that time we had members from every campus. That became more difficult.

Riess: How did they make it a balanced committee, since the committee members were chosen by the committee on committees?

Frugé: That was very difficult. It was never a perfect arrangement. Not only by the committee on committees but by ten committees on committees. Because if you had nine campuses, each committee on committees wanted to have a say. Then there was one committee that coordinated it. And they would usually ask me what fields we needed to cover. That was quite imperfect, but we made it work.

Riess: You were given the opportunity to say what was needed.

Frugé: Yes.

Riess: How important was your academic senate position? Talk about that.

Frugé: I suppose it helped, yes.

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Frugé: At the beginning we had a chairman and a vice chairman. The vice chairman was from Los Angeles. Later on we made it co-chairmen, north and south, and they weren't always from Berkeley and Los Angeles. We had a chairman from Davis for six or seven years. But I tried to work very closely with them, just take them in and make them partners, in a way. And they would talk to the committee on committees, too, about what we needed. Usually I didn't recommend any individuals--I did once or twice, it didn't always work very well, and I made a couple of mistakes.

I was usually asked who should be chairman. We'd choose the chairman out of the experienced members and I was usually able to recommend the chairman from among those who were already on the committee, and as I say, I worked very closely with them.

During a good deal of the time we were in various equivocal positions within the university, and there were all kinds of university negotiations of one kind or the other. We were of primary interest to the faculty, but we were an administrative department. Until Clark Kerr came along, we and the printing department were half together and half apart. There were lots of

university negotiations. I'd have been foolish to try to do all that by myself, when I could get the chairman of the committee to help. We'd go together.

Later on, after Kerr came, we got a board of control in addition to the editorial committee. This board [of control] was made up of mostly vice presidents plus two members of the editorial committee. So I was always trying not to be alone, trying to use faculty power. And it worked very well, generally speaking, until that big fight in the seventies. We came out of that all right, but it was a bad one.

Riess: Who were some of your best chairmen, and why? Hugh Kenner?

Frugé: Yes, but he wasn't chairman very long. He was from Santa Barbara at the time.

The first ones way back that were very helpful--there was Jim King of the history department. He was mixed up in Bancroft, I think, to some extent. He was in Latin American history. And Bob [Robert] Usinger, who was an entomologist.

Riess: I know Usinger was published by the Press. That must have happened, that your committee were your authors. That wasn't a problem?

Frugé: No. Some people think, well, you should never publish a book by a member of your own committee, but, you know, if you have a big committee of good people, you're ruling out a lot of good authors. No, you just have to have sense. Once in a while, if you have trouble, you have to handle it somehow or another. We turned down a manuscript by President Sproul one time.

Riess: President Sproul? What had he written?

Frugé: Well, it was his speeches, mostly.

Riess: How awkward!

Frugé: It was awkward. But we did it. The committee wouldn't have it.

We published some of Usinger's things, but that was after he had been on the committee a while. We didn't go out and get authors to be committee members, but if you had a committee member who was a good author, you'd try to get his book. You'd be foolish if you didn't.

I think I mentioned in my book that Usinger and Foster Sherwood of Los Angeles were our two mainstays during the most

difficult early times. And later on, we had a lot of good people. Frank Pitelka. He was a zoologist, I guess, yes. Mortimer Starr, a biochemist or something like that from Davis, was chairman for a long time. He was very, very useful. [laughing] We had to turn down something by his girlfriend one time, but we did.

Riess: So it doesn't take a man in the humanities, then, to do it.

Frugé: No. We had a couple of chairmen from the English department. We had Ralph Rader of Berkeley, who was very good. We had quite a few life scientists.

In the early days the university monograph series were strongest in zoology, botany, and entomology, so we always had quite a few of those. We tried not to get too many English department people. You want one or two, but if the committees on different campuses were left to their own with no advice, you might get a whole committee full of English professors, which wouldn't do.

There was a man named Michel Loève, who was a mathematician. He was perhaps the most brilliant man we've ever had on the committee. We had a physicist from UCLA. I don't know. We had a lot of them.

Riess: To ask you to think of names that are highlights is a terrible imposition on your memory.

Frugé: Well, I thought afterwards I should have been more careful to get some more of the names in my book than I did.

George R. Stewart

Riess: George Stewart was on from the English department here. I've forgotten what the situation was. Was there a story?

Frugé: He was appointed because we were in trouble with the printing department and so on. I wasn't so active then, but the outgoing chairman had told the committee on committees that we ought to have a strong chairman. Well, they picked George.

The trouble with George was that he's a loner. They told me in the English department, other people in the department, that he was simply not a team player. You couldn't work with him. He could work beautifully by himself, but they said, "We just surround him with cotton," or something like that, because he was

always going off in some direction or other, and he just made an impossible chairman.

Perhaps the worst thing was that he started insulting the UCLA people, telling them that they were from an inferior campus and so on. George was very good, but he didn't always have as much common sense as he might have had. Anyway, the other Berkeley members got him thrown off, because one thing we would never allow was inter-campus dissension, just wouldn't allow it, because that would have turned the committee members into representatives of their campuses.

I always said to them, "You don't represent the campus, you're representing the whole Press, the whole university." We couldn't have inter-campus competition. We bent over backwards to make everybody equal. We wouldn't allow that kind of dissension. Disagree about intellectual matters, yes, but not about that.

Riess: The thing that set George Stewart apart in the English department was that he was a fiction writer. So he would have been an odd person to represent the English department.

Frugé: Yes, that's right. He wouldn't even do that. George represented George. He would also equivocate.

Riess: Did you ever publish his books?

Frugé: We did a thing or two. We didn't do any of his popular books, he had these commercial connections. But we did a couple of things. I forget what they were, collections of diaries, that sort of thing. I could find one over there if I looked. *The California Trail* or something like that.⁹ He had several specialties, as you know.

And, of course, George had a lot to do with that big place name book that Erwin Gudde did, you know--*California Place Names*.¹⁰ Farquhar was interested, too, and Farquhar's brother, Francis, who knew George quite well. They were all sponsors of this big place name book that Gudde did. So we had connections with him that way.

⁹George Rippey Stewart, ed., *The Opening of the California Trail*, University of California Press, 1953.

¹⁰Erwin Gustav Gudde, *California Place Names, A Geographical Dictionary*, University of California Press, 1949.

Stoicism, Entropy

Riess: Hugh Kenner also said that he saw you as a stoic patiently patching a crumbling world.¹¹

Frugé: I think he says that in part--I wrote a number of articles in a magazine called *Scholarly Publishing*. And I remember--they say, or I said, everything deteriorates, and in a sense it does. Hugh is not wrong on that. I'm not sure I know precisely what a philosophical stoic is, but "crumbling world," yes.

Riess: Is it partly your readings in Greek that brought you to this?

Frugé: No, probably not, because I came late to that, at least to try to learn a little Greek. I was in my fifties before I tried to learn some of that. I didn't have time before.

But it probably comes from reading, all right. I am philosophically a pessimist. It's not quite the same as being a stoic, maybe. I think that goes back to--I can't pinpoint it, really. You get some of that out of Voltaire, Montaigne, and such, which I was reading when I was in school.

I don't know. I don't know whether that pessimism comes out of one's own genes or whether it comes out of your reading. I think when you read you take to things that fit you, so that--I think it's a combination of the two. But I don't think of pessimism as being sour-tempered. I think of it as just a belief that things aren't going to go that well.

Riess: There's the notion of "entropy," too, the crumbling world.

Frugé: Sort of. I never have quite known exactly what "entropy" means. We did a book that had "entropy" in the title one time.¹² We had a very good author named Rudolf Arnheim, who was a gestalt psychologist, I guess. He did eight or ten books with us. He never was a teacher at Berkeley, he was somewhere else. But some of them were very successful. *Art and Visual Perception* or something like that.¹³

¹¹Hugh Kenner, "Light on August," in *Reflections: A Selection of Frugé Writings*, University of California Press, 1977.

¹²Rudolf Arnheim, *Entropy and Art, An Essay on Disorder and Order*, University of California Press, 1971.

¹³Rudolf Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception, a Psychology of the Creative Eye*, University of California Press, 1954.

Pierian Spring

Riess: I want to go to the subject of *Pierian Spring*. I read the collection of issues, and the tone reminded me of *The New Yorker*.

Frugé: I suppose I was reading *The New Yorker* at the time, probably.

Riess: They started in 1941.

Frugé: Dorothy Bevis did the first two or three or the ones that were printed on long sheets of paper. Those were Dorothy's. I took it up again when I came to the Press, the little folded yellow sheets? I've got a file of it here somewhere. That was fun. That was in the early days, when Farquhar was still alive, and I was just kind of learning what it was all about. I don't know, I don't think I was consciously imitating *The New Yorker*, but I know that I read it at that time.

Riess: *The New Yorker* in the sense of *The New Yorker's*, "We are in the possession of a letter from a little old lady."

Frugé: Oh, yes. Sounds familiar. The old *New Yorker*, not the present one.

Riess: Who received *Pierian Spring*? I have no idea what the mailing list would have been. This is from 1941 to 1953.

Frugé: It was as late as '53?

Riess: Yes, though very sporadic at the end.

Frugé: It didn't fit the times then.

Riess: To whom was it mailed?

Frugé: I know it went to librarians. And we got a lot of correspondence from university presidents and various kinds of people who were taken with it at the time, even more than I was. I don't know where we got the mailing list. I know it would have gone to libraries. You know, there are mailing list companies, and I suppose we probably chose from some of the categories in those. We didn't send thousands and thousands of copies out.

Riess: It wasn't your catalog, though.

Frugé: No, it was meant to be just kind of a commentary on catalogs and books. Later on, when we were hard at work trying to publish as many books as possible, it seemed to be unnecessary. It was a

different world by then. But earlier there were a few other publishers who had little informal news sheets, sort of a way of communicating with book buyers and librarians and book collectors and so on.

Riess: You wrote disquisitions on interesting topics, like translations, or what a librarian is.

Frugé: Well, I had been a librarian.

Riess: And you discussed issues like pricing.

Frugé: Yes. Pricing and book titles.

Sam wanted me to do this, you know. Awhile after I had come he said, "Why don't you try doing that?" So it was his suggestion.

Book Arts Club

Riess: You wrote in 1948 about something called the Book Arts Club.

Frugé: Yes. The Book Arts Club was Sam Farquhar's baby, he and the library school professor, whose name was Della [J.] Sisler, who taught book arts.

You see, Sam was very much a book arts person, very much into fine printing, and a devotee of the book. He also read. I'm not saying he just liked the outsides of books. Sam was educated. He and Della Sisler, they started this club, and the club was simply the members of the library school class, so every year it was a different group. There was a course in book arts at the library school, and this was kind of attached to that.

The group would go down and visit the Press. Sam would show them the plant and the printing presses and so on. Then they would choose, one way or another, one book each year--small, they had to be small--which they would publish. Actually, the Press published them. Two or three hundred copies, something like that. It worked all right.

I was a member only when I was in the library school. I didn't pay much attention to it then. Strange that I didn't pay much attention to it, and yet I was the one who landed at the Press.

Riess: Would one be able to find it as a series?

Frugé: I've got a few of them here. They all must be in the library.

Anyway, this went on for maybe a half a dozen years. Then, of course, the war put an end to it, temporarily. When I was at the Press Sam said, "Well, let's revive the Book Arts Club." And we did and did a couple more books. That didn't last too long. I mean, after Sam died.

Then we got into trouble. We were accused of using the printing plant to do books free for a club that we belonged to, that sort of thing. Sam had gotten Sproul's permission to do this with the library school, actually, so he was in the clear, but he was dead by that time, and it came down on me. I guess at the end there I had the records and so on. I think I threw them away.

It was just one of Sam's favorite kind of things, a small, finely printed book on a topic that had to do with books. One of them was called *Fifty Printers' Marks*, for example.¹⁴ And there was a bibliography of northern California fine presses at one time. We redid the *Philobiblion*, which is something like a 15th century classic on the love of books. That sort of thing. I had some interest in that, but not a great interest, and I went off in the other direction.

Fine Printers, Book Designers

Riess: Let's talk about people like Adrian Wilson and Wolfgang Lederer and Ward Ritchie--the Press's association with printers whom you could think of as fine printers.

Frugé: Well, we used them as designers, rather than as printers. There's quite a bit in one of those pamphlets. There's one on "Printing at the University Press" and so on.¹⁵

Actually, the way it came about was, when I came to the Press, the Press had been very successful in competition for finely

¹⁴Edwin Elliott Willoughby, *Fifty Printers' Marks*, Berkeley, Book Arts Club, University of California, 1947.

¹⁵August Frugé, "Design & Printing at the University of California Press," Western Heritage Press, Berkeley, 1991.

printed books. There was something called "The Fifty Books of the Year," chosen by the American Institute of Graphic Arts.

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Frugé: Sam and his first foreman of the composing room, a man named Fred Ross, whom I didn't know, sort of devised a house style. I'm sure that Ross was the practical printer, but Sam was the intelligence behind it. He had very classical tastes. He wouldn't even let me turn my desk at an angle. It had to be straight with the walls. He didn't believe in a lot of decoration. He was more of the style of the Doves Press, or of a printer in Los Angeles, I can't think of his name [Saul Marks], but he was very severely classical. This was pretty much Sam's idea: a little decoration, but not much. Sam and Fred Ross won a lot of prizes.

Then Ross died, and Tommy [Amadeo] Tommasini came in as foreman of the composing room. And Tommy--the books usually said, "designed by Farquhar and Tommasini." Tommasini did most of the work, but Sam provided the taste. Tommy had very florid taste. I heard Sam make him take decoration off of books and so on.

But since Tommy did most of the work, and he was a great self-promoter, everybody got the idea that he was really the sole designer and that Farquhar was riding on his shoulders, which wasn't true. I make that pretty plain in that little booklet.

Anyway, when Sam died, and I was trying to send books to outside printers in order to get them printed cheaply enough so we could sell them, we were immediately accused of trying to destroy the fine printing styles of the previous Press, that we were barbarians and so on. I coined the word "biblio-barbarians" in some book, I think. Anyway, we were accused of that.

There was another thing. When books were printed in the plant, they just went in, and Tommasini and Harold Small figured out a page, and it was all done one thing at a time. But if you had to get bids from printers on the outside, you had to have it designed all ahead of time. Otherwise, you couldn't write specifications. So this is what we had to do.

At this point, in order to counter the idea that we didn't give a damn what the books looked like, I hired Ward Ritchie to begin with. Ward was the first. Ward knew how to do it. He'd give us a whole set of design sheets. He'd draw the cover of the book, and he'd draw the title page. He could do it very fast.

Ward would just go like this [demonstrating] to get the page. He'd do a sample of the text page and the chapter openings and all

of that, and list all the specifications, the size of the type and so on. And then when we had that we could send out and get bids. That's how it came about. As I say, Ward was the first.

Adrian was living in San Francisco. His wife was an actress, Joyce Lancaster. Adrian had a little press, and he was printing little ads for the theater. In fact, he did a big book later on called *Printing for the Theater*. And he did handbills and programs, that sort of thing. One of our people--this was Rita Carroll, actually--said she liked those things so much, why didn't we ask Adrian if he'd do a book. So we actually gave him his first book commission.

He has kind of an autobiographical book.¹⁶ Have you seen that? He's got quite a bit about his working for the Press in that.

Riess: We have an oral history with him.¹⁷ He refers there to a feud between John Goetz and Rita Carroll.

Frugé: Well, there was sort of one, yes. Here we go back to Dave Brower. In those very early days, nineteen fifties and thereabout, in order to send books out, in order to try to keep track, in order to schedule, in order to get some control over what we were doing, we had to have somebody do what we call production work, which is dealing with the printers, making the deal with them. I did this myself for a little while, and then I was too busy and I got--you see, Dave had been my expediter, so I had Dave do this. He wasn't called a production manager, he was still in the editorial department, but Dave was doing this for me.

But there was all this very bad blood. I mean, there might have been a little bit between Rita and John Goetz, but that was mild compared to between us and the printing department. Tommasini complained about Dave to everybody that would listen. Tommy could be pretty mean at times. They did so much of that that--see, there was a committee or board that was sort of supervising or looking over the relations between the Press and the printing department, we were two departments of one Press. This is Sproul's inability to make his mind up.

¹⁶*The Work and Play of Adrian Wilson*, W. Thomas Taylor, Austin, 1983 [a finely printed folio volume that sold for \$600].

¹⁷Adrian Wilson, *Printing and Book Designing*, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, 1966.

Anyway, they were so successful--and as I say, Dave probably made a few mistakes, I made mistakes, but it wasn't nearly that bad. My analysis of this is that Tommy couldn't get at me directly very well, but he could get at Dave. And he so promoted this that Joe Brandt, who was the chairman of that committee, called me up one day and said, "If you don't get Dave out of there I can't support you anymore." He wasn't supporting very strongly, anyway. So I moved Dave to being a kind of assistant to the manager.

At that point, I hired John Goetz. Well, Rita Carroll had already been there, and she worked with Ward Ritchie and others, sort of the go-between, in a way. Somebody had to work with these people, I couldn't do all of that. She had been hiring designers and doing that sort of thing. When John came--well, John was a designer himself, and a very good one, so they didn't get along too well. And Adrian would have noticed it. But somehow we made it work.

Anyway, in those days we had Ward and Adrian and John Goetz and a few others who did design for us, so at this point we had to consciously decide that we were not going to have a house style. All the previous books looked alike. In a nice way, in a good way, nothing wrong with it. But we couldn't do that if we were using various designers, so we decided we had to use different styles. It worked. We won some prizes, too, so they had to shut up about it. Ward won most of them, I guess. John and Adrian too.

Riess: And Wolfgang Lederer did some books for you?

Frugé: That's later. I can't remember whether we used Lederer when I was there or not.

Riess: Bill McClung worked with Lederer.

Frugé: Yes, McClung loved that sort of thing.

Quite a bit later we had a production manager named Conrad Mollath who was a practical printer. Not a designer, but he was a very good organizer. And he had two or three people--there was Bill Snyder, and Dave Comstock, Ellen Herman, I think--two or three people, so when a manuscript came in to be made into a book, it would go to one of these people. And if it were, say, Snyder or Comstock, they might do the design themselves. They were both designers. Comstock was very good, better than Snyder.

It was either that--you know, they might be handling twenty or thirty books at a time--or they also might have to go out. They

would design some themselves and have outside designers do some. There were a lot of books in those days. I think occasionally, as late as that, that Adrian still did a book or two for us, but he was getting very high-priced by that time. Anyway, that's the way it was done.

Riess: Could an author specify the designers, like ask for Adrian Wilson?

Frugé: Well, yes, sure, an author could ask for something. And if the author was important enough, he'd get what he wanted. If he wasn't, he didn't. But, yes, they could. I don't remember anyone asking for Adrian, but they probably did. Adrian was very good. He was also slow.

The nice thing about Ward Ritchie was he was good and he was fast. So was John Goetz. They were both good and they were fast, maybe not quite as good as Adrian, but Adrian would fuss and fiddle and so on. He actually worked for us for a while, he came in as John Goetz's assistant. But he wasn't good to have on the staff. Better to work with him on the outside. Goetz was a perfect staff member. Adrian wasn't.

Wine in California, Max Yavno

Riess: We've got about ten minutes left, and yesterday after we finished taping you said that there's a story in the production of *Wine in California*.¹⁸

Frugé: It goes way back. It was published, I think, in '62, but it goes back way beyond that. It goes back to Max Yavno, who did something called *The San Francisco Book* in 1948 with Herb Caen. Houghton Mifflin published it, and it was very successful. But that was just a one shot.

And it was Larry Powell's idea that we should have a Los Angeles book, too, and would the Press do one? I said, "Yes, we'd do one." He introduced me to Max, and Max and I became very close friends. But Houghton Mifflin decided that they wanted to do the Los Angeles book, so obviously they had first choice because they had done the other one. They did. It was published, I have it there if you ever want to see it. It was not very successful.

¹⁸M. F. K. Fisher, *The Story of Wine in California*, University of California Press, 1962.

Los Angeles is not as photogenic, let's say. And it didn't have Herb Caen, so it was nowhere near as successful.

But I knew Max very well, and we kept thinking we'd like to do a book with his photographs. How he got into wine, I don't remember. I think he had taken some wine pictures. The idea of a wine book, as far as I know, was his. He got the Wine Institute to pay him some money for taking a batch of photographs of the wine industry, with the understanding that he could also use similar photographs for a book. He had us in mind for the book.

So we had a bunch of photographs--I went out with Max a number of times when he was taking pictures--but we didn't have an author. We thought of various people, and I think Larry again suggested Mary Frances [M. F. K.] Fisher, who was an old friend. They both went to school at Occidental, with McIntyre and so on, that all fitted together. He gave me an introduction over the phone or something, and I took Max and one of our editors and went to Whittier where she was living on her family farm, an orange grove in southern California. Her father was still alive. I think he was kind of ill at the time.

Anyway, we went and talked to her, and that's when I first met her. That had to be in the early 1950s, but the book didn't come out till '62. We must have put the thing on the shelf for years. I don't know how it was. Then Mary Frances went off to Europe, and we were out of touch for a long time. I don't remember how we happened to take it up again, but we took it up again somewhere around 1960 or so, and she agreed to write a text.

Mary Frances and Max didn't have much to do with each other. She just took his pictures and wrote a text. And it got put together. Rita Carroll did a lot of the putting together with Mary Frances. It did reasonably well.

We had a certain amount of help from the Wine Institute. They paid for the color photographs and a few things of that kind. But we didn't identify the pictures in the book as to winery, because the Wine Institute was really controlled by the big interests like Gallo, and most of the pictures were from small wineries--from Krug and Martini and so on, and the so-called fine wineries. So we couldn't identify the pictures.

Anyway, a few years ago I was sitting next to Tom Pinney, who is a professor of English at Claremont. He wrote a big book on

the history of American wine which the Press did.¹⁹ I've got it somewhere. It was one of his specialties. He asked, "Do you have identifications for the pictures?" I said, "Well, we did once." "Can we find them?"

So he and I worked to identify the pictures. Max had died by that time, but he found some of Max's papers. And I knew where some of them were from. We used all different kinds of sources, and we got most of the pictures identified.

Tom's particular interest in the book--he says that these pictures show the wine industry just before it changed, became much more technological. Most of the pictures, I think, were taken around 1951 or so, rather than '62. And Max consciously, of course, didn't want just machinery. He wanted the older things. So the book probably gives the impression of being farther back than it is.

Anyway, Tom says it shows the wine industry as it was just before the huge change, and he wrote a rather nice introduction to a new edition, explaining all of this. He's got a list of the identifications and so on. He wanted the Press to publish it, but they turned it down, and I think Tom got discouraged at that point and hasn't tried anymore.

Riess: Why did they turn it down?

Frugé: I don't know. Jim Clark is quite interested in photography, but he had several other things. Maybe they thought they couldn't sell enough of it. I thought with M. F. K.'s name that they could. Maybe I'll try to find somebody to do it. Tom got discouraged at that point and went back to his work on Kipling. I don't know, Jim Clark had it in his office there.

Riess: They have the Muscatine book.²⁰ That's another big wine book.

Frugé: Oh, yes. That was one of Bill McClung's projects. I'm not sure whether it did very well or not, but it was a big, fancy book. And they've done a number of photographic books.

¹⁹*A History of Wine in America, from the Beginnings to Prohibition*, by Thomas Pinney, University of California Press, 1989.

²⁰*The University of California Sotheby Book of California Wine*, Editors Doris Muscatine, Maynard Amerine, Bob Thompson, University of California Press, 1984.

Riess: We have about a minute left. Why don't you finish with anything more you can tell about Max Yavno.

Frugé: Well, when I first knew Max, he was barely scraping out a living in the 1950s. Then he finally gave up being pure, and he went into advertising, and did very well. Mostly color photography, big ads for ketchup bottles and things of that kind. He did that and made enough money to buy himself a studio, and then he gave it up and went back to art photography. Most of what's in that book [that Frugé had given Riess], some of it's early, but a lot of it is later stuff.²¹

Riess: He hasn't had a big reputation?

Frugé: No, although in later years, Lord, some of his prints brought several thousand dollars, just for a print. There's a gallery in Los Angeles called the G. Ray Hawkins Gallery. The last I knew they were selling Max's prints. I think most of them were running six, seven, eight hundred dollars.

Max did quite a bit of social photography. There's a piece about him in the book, which I don't think is very good. But nevertheless--he had a girlfriend in Los Angeles who was a social worker. The Los Angeles book has a lot of, you know, Mexican barrios and that sort of thing.

But then he was also very much an art photographer. Well, he never had the reputation that Ansel [Adams] did or some others.

²¹*The Photography of Max Yavno*, University of California Press, 1981.

III THE SIERRA CLUB, PEOPLE AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

[Interview 3: September 25, 1997] ##

Sacramento, Mother Lode Chapter

Riess: Today we are going to talk about the Sierra Club. You said you were a member of the Sacramento chapter?

Frugé: Yes. The Sacramento chapter was brand new. It was organized in '38 or '39. I moved to Sacramento in '39 and went to work at the state library in Sacramento and stayed there five years. So this was early days.

We didn't, or at least as far as I'm concerned we didn't, do conservation work, in Sacramento, anyway. We had all kinds of little trips, hikes and so on, and we were sort of a social group. We called it the Mother Lode Chapter. I don't know how many members we had, probably seventy or eighty, something like that.

We were there when the war started. I remember that when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and people were afraid they were going to bomb the West Coast, we actually had air-raid patrols, volunteer patrols, and we went around Sacramento at night. I don't remember how long this went on, but I do remember that one of our members, Tom Jukes--he lives in Berkeley now--Tom proclaimed "The Japanese will never intimidate the Mother Lode Chapter." [laughter] That was kind of funny.¹

Riess: The Mother Lode Chapter had volunteered to patrol?

Frugé: I don't know how it was organized. I remember I went around streets at night, some of us did. I'd forgotten all about that.

¹Jukes was later professor of physics at Berkeley. He died in 1999 at the age of ninety-three. [added in editing]

No, it wasn't a Sierra Club activity. That was just part of the war on the home front. Until the Battle of Midway everybody was a little worried that something might happen. After that the black curtains and things of that kind were stowed away. Nobody worried about it anymore.

Riess: Was there a large Japanese-American population in Sacramento?

Frugé: There were a lot of Japanese farmers, truck garden farmers in the neighborhood. I don't remember so many people in town, but there were quite a few of them.

Another amusing little story: you know, a lot of us were furious when the government decided to move the Japanese away, and I remember a story that went around town one day after the Pearl Harbor thing. This little Japanese girl came to school and said to the teacher, "Did you hear what those Japs did to us?" That's the way we felt about it. We thought it was ridiculous.

Of course, here I am talking on the war instead of the Sierra Club!

Riess: So that was your connection with the Sierra Club until you came to the Bay Area.

Frugé: I was pretty active in that [Mother Lode] chapter. I was chairman of it once, and I edited the little bulletin for a while. We had a small bulletin, a newsletter really.

Riess: Was it a way of alerting people to conservation issues?

Frugé: Not so much. There might be some of that, but just mostly about activities and so on. We weren't big enough to get into that. The other chapters, the Bay Chapter, the one in Los Angeles, and so on, they were into conservation.

Riess: I was surprised to learn that until some time in the fifties in order to become a member of the Sierra Club you needed two sponsors. That was your experience?

Frugé: Yes, that was true at one time. I think it was easy enough to get sponsors if you wanted them. But it did show that it was meant to be more of a select group. I think that was true all over the state. It was a California organization until the war.

I mentioned Tom Jukes. Tom was actually on the Davis campus at that time. After the war broke out he went east. He was a scientist, a very good one, and he worked for some outfit in Pearl River, New York, and he started the first non-California chapter,

at least the first Eastern one. There might have been one in the Northwest before that, but Tom started the Atlantic Chapter during the war. Then he came back to Berkeley as a professor of physics.

Riess: Has your experience of the Sierra Club been that it's a very white organization?

Frugé: It's mostly white, but not by intention. It 's just a matter of who was interested. Of course, you know, Berkeley and that part of the world was pretty white before the war. Blacks came in during the war to work in the defense industries, the shipyards and that sort of thing. Before the war there weren't very many.

Riess: This notion of sponsors, of course, suggests exclusiveness.

Frugé: It does. I really don't know anything about that except that it did once exist. When it stopped, I don't know. But anybody who was really interested could get sponsors, of course.

Riess: Along that same line somewhat, Ed Wayburn himself talks about not feeling like he was on the inside at the club for at least the first five years, and that there was a definite insider mentality. I wondered if you had any feeling about that.

Frugé: No. As I say, I was in Sacramento for five years or so. When I came back to Berkeley it was '44. I wasn't very active. I went on summer trips, things of that kind, but I didn't get into the operations of the club.

Riess: You were in the Bay Chapter when you were in Berkeley?

Frugé: Yes, but I wasn't very active until '52 or '3, and that had something to do with Dave Brower.

Press and Sierra Club Connections, The Farquhars

Riess: When did you get into national work, and the Publications Committee?

Frugé: Let me go back a little bit. In my letter to you I referred to the Press and the Sierra Club. There were connections.

They always say that the Sierra Club was founded by John Muir in 1892. Well, it wasn't just Muir. It was a lot of people at Berkeley and Stanford, in addition to Muir. It sounds good to say that he founded it, and maybe he was the leading spirit, I don't

know. I've got a history of the club, but I haven't looked that up.

And so it was always, from the beginning, mostly fairly well-educated people; it was not the common herd, in a sense. I don't know whether that's got to do with this business of the two sponsors or not, but it was always sort of an elite group and largely an educated and professional group.

You know, the Press's first publications came out in 1893, so the club and Press started about the same time, although so far as I know there was no connection there.

But let me go to Francis Farquhar. Susan Schrepfer in her book sort of waves Francis off as just an accountant, but he was a lot more than that.² You see, Francis was the slightly older brother of Sam Farquhar.

Riess: We have an oral history with Francis Farquhar.³

Frugé: Oh, do you? Well, you know that Francis was a lot more than an accountant. In fact, most of us hardly knew that side of his life. He was an editor and an historian and a book collector, a connoisseur of fine printing. He was close to the Grabhorns. He edited in 1930--I looked it up--a new edition of *LeConte's Rambles [A Journal of Ramblings Through the High Sierra of California by the University Excursion Party]*.

LeConte came to the university about, I believe, 1868 or '69, shortly after the Civil War. This was 1870 that they got on their horses and went to Yosemite. And he wrote a very nice little book about it, and it was published in 1875 or something like that. Well, Francis did a new edition of it in 1930, printed by Taylor & Taylor. He liked fine printing. A very nice little book.

He did a book on the *Place Names of the High Sierra*.⁴ He was interested in that sort of thing. After Sam's death he wrote a

²Susan Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods, A History of Environmental Reform, 1917-1978*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

³Francis P. Farquhar, *On Accountancy, Mountaineering, and the National Parks*, Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1960.

⁴Francis P. Farquhar, *Place Names of the High Sierra*, Sierra Club, San Francisco, 1926.

history of the Sierra Nevada which we published.⁵ And he edited a very good book, *The Journal of W.H. Brewer*.⁶

Brewer was from Yale. He was part of the Whitney survey, mixed up with Whitney and Clarence King and so on. In the 1860s he moved around California a lot, and he kept a journal, which makes a big, fat book. Francis edited and published that at the Yale University Press. This was before Sam ever went to the Press in Berkeley. Later on, the Press in Berkeley redid this and did a paperback edition, and it's a rather famous book.

Anyway, Francis did all these things, and he had a great mountaineering collection, which eventually went to UCLA. They published a book on the collection. I don't know how they're handling it, but it was one of the best private collections of mountaineering books all over the world, not just California.

Riess: Why did it go to UCLA, rather than Berkeley? Any story there?

Frugé: I imagine--well, when a person gives a collection like that he wants the best conditions he can get. Usually he wants his collection kept together in a special room or something like that, and Berkeley may not have been willing to do that.

Riess: It seems sort of logical for the Bancroft Library now.

Frugé: Yes. I don't know why, but I'm just guessing that he got better terms at UCLA. Whether he gave it to them or whether in part they bought it, I don't even know that. I could find it out in that book.

Anyway, the point I was making was that Francis was much more than just an accountant. He became editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* some time in the mid-1920s, I think, and he was editor of it for twenty years. He made something quite good out of it, sort of modeled on the *Alpine Journal* of London, which was perhaps the most famous mountaineering journal. It came out just once a year, a fat, book-sized thing.

Riess: The *Bulletin* was just once a year?

⁵Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada*, University of California Press, 1965.

⁶*Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*, edited by Francis P. Farquhar, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931.

Frugé: Sometime in the early years I think it was twice a year, but most of the time it was once a year. They had a little leaflet that they sent out at other times, but the *Bulletin* itself was rather an intellectual thing, quite different from the present-day bulletin, which is a magazine with ads in it.

This other earlier *Bulletin* had more serious articles. It was in keeping with the sort of intellectual status of the organization. In those days the Alpine Club was made up generally of intellectuals, Oxford and Cambridge people and so on. Later on, climbing became you might say democratized. But early on, it was a special interest.

Anyway, Francis made over the Sierra Club *Bulletin*, and I'm assuming on the model of the *Alpine Journal*--that seems to make sense--and he did a very good job of it. It was very well-edited, again printed by Taylor & Taylor, so it was a handsome thing.

You begin to get the Press connections here because Francis was Sam's brother. I don't think there's any doubt, although I've never seen anything on it, that Francis helped Sam get the job at the Press. Francis knew regents, important people in the university and so on. I have no doubt that he was in part responsible for Sam being appointed.

Riess: Sam couldn't have been appointed on his own?

Frugé: I don't know. I'm not saying that. Sam was working for a private printing company. I think he was a part owner of Johnck & Seeger. He was interested in fine books. For a while he wrote a column on fine printing in the [*San Francisco*] *Chronicle* Book Review Section. At that time, Harold Small was editor of the Book Review Section, so they knew each other and they were both charter members of the Roxburghe Club, which I think started in 1928, something like that.

No, Sam had his--I don't mean that it couldn't be without Francis, but I think he had something to do with it. I'm speculating, but it seems to me pretty safe.

And then, also, Dave Brower's first editorial experience was helping Francis with the *Bulletin*. I don't know really just when that was.

Riess: You mean while he was still with the Press?

Frugé: No, before. Before he was at the Press. I think Francis got Dave the job with Sam. I mean, Dave was helping Francis and doing a good job, I'm sure, and I don't know the details here, but it

would seem almost certain that Francis must have recommended Dave to Sam.

I don't know when Dave came to the Press, but it was in the early forties, before the war. Might have been in the late thirties. I don't know. When he came to the Press Anne [Hus] was already there, by the way. She predates a lot of us. This is not really a story about Dave, but they had an office together and got married and so on.

But anyway, here is the connection. The two brothers, one editing the Sierra Club *Bulletin* and the other running the Press.

Riess: Would these have been commissioned articles?

Frugé: Oh, some of them may have been. And other people would write to Francis and say, "Would you like an article on such-and-such?"

Riess: It all seems to be simpler, a world of gentlemen and scholarly undertakings.

Frugé: No. I don't like the idea that before 1960 the world was simple and not aware of anything and so on. People like to give that impression, that women never had a chance at anything, and we were all prejudiced and elitist and so on. There was a certain elitism, I think, but people were pretty aware of what they were doing. After all, human beings don't change that much--conditions may change. If the club was an elite, it was an elite. An interested person could find a way to join it.

Riess: Anyway, you've established the fraternal connections between the club and the Press.

Frugé: And there are more to come, of course. I came to the Press in late '44. I worked for Sam. I don't know that I had much to do with the club at that time. Dave came back from the war, oh, probably in '46, might have been '47. He was an editor, working for Harold Small, and after a while he started working for me. I was the assistant manager--they didn't call anybody director in those days. I was really pretty much running the publishing side.

You see, the printing plant was much bigger in those days than the publishing side of the Press, very much bigger, four or five times as big, in dollar volume and in number of employees, everything. The Press as a publishing organization was really the tail of the dog. Later this situation was reversed, and the publishing side became much bigger than the printing, and then they were separated, of course. But at that time it was really

dominated by the printing plant, and printing was Sam's real interest. He was really not a publisher.

Anyway, he sort of let me run the publishing side of it. I got ambitious. I had been to University Press [Association] meetings in the East and seen what some of the others were doing, which was much more professional than what we were doing. Ours was really pretty amateurish.

Riess: Sam sent you to the meetings from the beginning?

Frugé: He went, too. We both went. We went together.

Anyway, I talked to people at more developed presses--Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Oklahoma and North Carolina--and I got ambitious to make much more of a publishing outfit out of the Press. Of course, I won't go into all of this, but this threw us into conflict. As long as the publishing side was just a little editorial operation sort of carried on the back of the printing department, there was no need for any controversy. But as soon as we got ambitions and started wanting to be real publishers, then we ran into each other.

I won't go into a lot of that. There's some of it in my book and a lot more of it in Albert Muto's book about the Press. And that had partly to do with whether we had any independence from the printing plant or whether--if they did all our books they'd print them when they wanted to, and in the way they wanted to, and you just can't publish that way. You can't publish without having schedules and plans for advertising and so on.

But you just simply couldn't do it with the printing plant running the show. You know, a new book would show up on your desk one day and you'd look at it and think, "What are we going to do with this?"

I won't go into a lot of that. But as we got into various kinds of conflict, I needed help. There was a big fight with the Editorial Committee over the slowness in producing their monographs, paperbound monographs. And they were right.

##

Riess: Sam was in agreement with what you were trying to do.

Frugé: Yes. Later on there were times when he began to wonder, I think. But, no, he wanted the publishing side built up. I don't think he or I or anybody understood what the problems would be, internal, within the Press, and at the university and so on.

Dave Brower at the Press

Frugé: But getting back to the Sierra Club--or going in that direction--when the Editorial Committee raised hell about the slowness, I think, as I said in the book, that Sam, who used to fight back when there was trouble, didn't fight back this time. He sort of left it--you know, it landed in my lap, I had to handle the situation. I don't know whether Sam wasn't feeling well, or whether he thought since I was doing the publishing side, well, let me do it.

Something had to be done about it, the committee was right. And so I told the committee I would hire an expediter to log these things in, follow their progress, and push them along. But if they weren't done right, why, we'd send them back to the authors so there wouldn't be too much editorial work.

I probably said something about this before. But Harold Small, if a manuscript wasn't properly written, he would just put it aside until he had time to rewrite it. And that doesn't work very well. So now we agreed to have small papers done in six months and long ones in a year. That's not very fast, but it was better than they had.

I chose Dave as the expediter. It didn't take all of his time, he also did some editing. And somehow he managed to avoid the wrath of Harold Small; Harold took it out on me, but somehow Dave managed to keep his peace with Harold--I think he did. I don't think of Dave as a diplomat, but he seemed to have kept up with Harold.

Riess: Was Dave able to do the job that you asked him to do?

Frugé: Yes, we succeeded with that. A year or so later, the committee looked over the schedules and decided that we had done what we said we would do.

And then, in trying to build up the publishing organization, we didn't have what's known as a production manager. I don't know if you know exactly what that is, but the production manager is the one who takes the edited manuscript and arranges to have it

turned into a printed book. He makes the deal with the printer and handles the proof and, in other words, supervises the turning of a manuscript into a book. We didn't have one because we had the printing plant which just took over. Well, again, of course, that might save money, but it meant that we had no control over it.

To try to get some control we also at that time started sending a few things out to other printers. And we started using freelance editors in order to get things done in time. So part of my time I had to try to be a kind of production manager, and I couldn't handle it very well by myself, I mean I couldn't do everything, so I got Dave to help with that. So he, in a sense, you might say, became our first production manager.

Riess: As well as expediting?

Frugé: Yes. He did both of those. He couldn't have done much editing by that time.

All this is leading somewhere.

Riess: I know.

Frugé: And here the printing people, mostly Tommasini, just crucified him. Tommy had been made superintendent of the plant. Before that, he had been designer and foreman of the composing room. Of course, as I say, we were in conflict by then. Tommy couldn't get at me directly, but he could get at Dave. He laid traps for Dave, and complained so much about Dave, that he was incompetent, didn't know what he was doing. Tommy was kind of mean this way and Dave probably couldn't handle it.

Riess: Dave probably couldn't handle it?

Frugé: He couldn't handle Tommy is what I meant. He couldn't match Tommy at this game.

Riess: Sort of sabotage.

Frugé: Yes. Oh, yes, it was sabotage, yes. By this time Sam had died, and I was head of the publishing part of the Press, and a man named Jack Young was head of the printing, with Tommy as superintendent. The [university] president set up a board that kind of oversaw us. One day the man who was chairman of this board, who was Joe Brandt, he called me up and said, "I can't support you anymore unless you get rid of Brower as production manager."

Riess: Oh, now, how did that happen?

Frugé: Well, Tommy complained and complained.

Riess: Directly to Brandt.

Frugé: Oh, sure. In all of this, I think Tommasini was the one who caused the trouble. (You don't need to worry about this, he's been dead for several years.)

Riess: Was it because it was Brower that Tommasini behaved this way?

Frugé: No, I don't think so. I don't mean that he disliked Dave. He was trying to get at us, at the publishing side, and there was a handle he could get hold of because Dave had to deal with the printing department. So that was really the one place where he could strike.

As I say, it was harder for him to get at me. I was dealing with the Editorial Committee. They were on our side and so on. Anyway, he couldn't get at me very well. He could get at Dave, or get at me by way of Dave. And so I had to do something, and that's when I brought in John Goetz as production manager. But that's another story.

I didn't want to lose Dave, so I made him, oh, kind of a general assistant. He was assistant to the manager, which is not the same as assistant manager. And I forget just what he did, but he helped me with a lot of things.

Riess: As a footnote, did it work out better with Goetz and Tommasini?

Frugé: Oh, yes. Goetz knew his business, and he did all right. Tommy couldn't do that to Goetz. Goetz knew what he was doing. After all, Dave was, as I was before him, thrown into something he didn't know that much about. We were in no position to hire a professional at that point, until I hired Goetz, who really was, who knew what he was doing and also had the personality to joke with Tommy and so on. Dave was just at a great disadvantage.

Riess: So he became assistant to the manager.

Frugé: That's right. He was kicked out of the production job. We didn't call him production manager, he was just doing it. By that time, it was probably 1951 or '52.

Riess: Were he and Anne married by then?

Frugé: Oh, yes. They were married before Dave went into the army, I think. By the time I came to the Press in '44, she was no longer there. She was at home, and I think she had a child by then, or was carrying one, or something of the kind.

Anyway, so we come up to 1952 or so. All this time, by the way, Dave was editing the Sierra Club *Bulletin*. Francis had turned it over to him when he came back from the war, so he was editor of it, and he was working heavily with the Sierra Club. I remember one time I made him take his Sierra Club papers home. He was doing that on Press time. [laughs] People do that very easily. I just said, "You've got to take those papers home."

Riess: Editing the *Bulletin* has always been a volunteer position?

Frugé: Yes, it always was, yes. They might have paid Dave a little bit, but it was really a volunteer position.

Brower Moves Over to Sierra Club Executive Secretary Position

Frugé: Anyway, it came at the time just when the Sierra Club needed an executive secretary or director. At that time, Dave was sort of expendable at the Press--I was protecting him, but he was. And so Dick Leonard and I arranged between us to shift him from one to the other, to shift him from the Press to the Sierra Club.

Riess: How is it that Dick Leonard was involved?

Frugé: Dick was president of the club at the time, I think. He came to me and he wanted Dave.

Riess: It wasn't that you were moving Dave.

Frugé: Well, I had to, but I don't want to go into a lot of that. He was in trouble with the university itself, not just the printers. In fact, there was no future for him there.

Fortunately, it was just at that time that Leonard and the Sierra Club directors wanted to hire somebody.

Riess: This was their first paid executive director.

- Frugé: Yes. They had had a secretary. There had to be somebody doing things at the office. But this was the first time that they really hired an executive or somebody to sort of manage club affairs.
- Riess: Now, had you been privy to thinking at the Sierra Club end about all of this? Were your connections through Francis such that you knew that they were about to need somebody?
- Frugé: I don't remember that. I remember that Leonard said they wanted to hire somebody.
- Riess: And Leonard was a friend of yours?
- Frugé: Well, I knew him. He was a close friend of Dave's, until later, of course. I knew him, but how did I know him? I don't remember my connections with those people. It was a long time ago, you know, more than forty years ago. Anyway, they wanted to hire Dave. So Leonard and I arranged this, and it was good for everybody for a time.
- Riess: Am I missing something on the arranging, the subtleties of this? Leonard came to you first? Or you went to him?
- Frugé: He came to me. Now, whether Dave had gone to him, I don't know. But Leonard came to me and asked could they break Dave away from the Press and hire him.
- Riess: Do you think it was because they knew his abilities on the editorial end, or his executive abilities? What did they think they were hiring when they hired Brower?
- Frugé: They knew that he was an editor, but they didn't need to hire him for that. I think they wanted to hire someone who could coordinate various club activities, and assist the chapter and the various committees, hold things together. Actually, first they offered him the job of executive secretary. At his request, they changed the title to executive director.

I think they wanted to hire a coordinator, but that isn't what they got. Maybe he was that for a few years, but he turned into something else and thereby there was trouble. I can't say that anybody was at fault there. I'm sure that most directors of the club, and chapter chairmen and so on, thought they were hiring somebody who would coordinate, and also head conservation campaigns, which I think Dave had already done; that he would coordinate the work of the Conservation Committee and so on, rather than taking the ball and running with it.

- Riess: And publications up to that point was really only the *Bulletin*.
- Frugé: It was just the *Bulletin* and a few books of internal interest. There was a little monthly leaflet, I think. At this point the editor of the *Bulletin* was a volunteer position.

Frugé Becomes Chair of Club Publications Committee, 1960

- Frugé: Dave was paid staff now, and presumably he wouldn't go on doing the *Bulletin*. He did a lot of the work, but it was at that point that he asked me to be editor of the *Bulletin* and chairman of the *Bulletin* Committee.

They had some kind of a *Bulletin* Committee, or whatever it was called, the predecessor of the Publications Committee. It wasn't quite the same thing because when there was a Publications Committee--it was appointed--this earlier committee was thanked and dismissed. Anyway, he asked me to be chairman and editor. I was editor for about five or six years, I guess, until the annual *Bulletin* was discontinued in favor of a monthly magazine.

- Riess: Why did you say yes to that job?
- Frugé: I don't know. Why does one? I guess since I had been in the Mother Lode Chapter and edited their little leaflet and so on, the idea of being editor appealed to me. Actually, I didn't do very much work. I was so busy with my job that--one of our editors, Max Knight, did a lot of the work for me, going over the articles, doing the hands-on work. I suppose I exploited Max.
- Riess: So it was edited at the Press once again.
- Frugé: In a way. I don't know whether I let Max do it on Press time or whether he did it on his own time. Of course, Dave went on, even though he was an employee now and not an editor, he did the production work, he got it printed and so on.⁷

⁷On July 23, 1997, Frugé writes to Riess: "The *Bulletin* was later turned into a monthly with a professional editor, and Dave started the big illustrated Sierra Club books. A brilliant editorial innovation and an equally brilliant job of book production, standing over the printers to make sure that color illustrations were the best anywhere. After his 'failure' in production work at the Press Dave must have taken much satisfaction from his design and production (as well as sales) success at the Sierra Club. But he did not know when to slow down or how to modify,

Riess: I asked why you said yes, and I realize I don't know whether at the Press you had any hands-on editorial role at all.

Frugé: Not much. I chose books to publish, but I didn't do copy editing or sit down to revise a manuscript or anything.

The club had a *Bulletin* Committee, which was from both northern and southern California. Somewhere I probably have a list of who was on it. Ruth Mendenhall in Los Angeles was one. She was a rather important person, one of the Dyar sisters. Maybe her sister was on it too, I don't know. A man named Dan Thrapp and a couple of people in San Francisco named Schagen. We had meetings and discussed articles that we wanted, or read the articles and decided whether to do them or not. I remember having meetings in the Press library, and I remember having meetings in Los Angeles at Ruth Mendenhall's house, I think.

But anyway, being editor really amounted to selecting the articles. I didn't want to do hands-on editing. Heavens. I didn't even do that at the Press. So here we are. This is the Press and the Sierra Club again.

Riess: The *Bulletin* Committee evolved into the Publications Committee.

Frugé: Not exactly evolved into, but it was the predecessor. About, oh, 1960, I think it was, they decided they needed a Publications Committee, and they discharged one committee and appointed another. I was chairman of both, actually. Foolish of me. I probably should have stayed out. But I think the fact that the whole thing was growing made the directors want some coordination or some control, and that's when they appointed this committee.

Wallace Stegner was a member from the beginning, but not for long because of his busy schedule. Francis Farquhar and Bob Miller, head of the California Academy of Sciences, served for a time but were not there at the end. Martin Litton, then of *Sunset Magazine*, came on early and stayed. George Marshall was a most faithful member. I don't remember when Paul Brooks came on, but he became vice chairman and succeeded me briefly when I resigned.

Wayburn and Siri came on when they were presidents of the club and stayed on. Siri's friend and protégé, Charles Huestis of Duke University, came on as a financial guru, although I never saw much evidence of that quality.

as commercial publishers followed with similar books and the market became smaller. The only direction he knew was straight ahead at full speed. The books became the cause of much fighting in the publication committee..."

Riess: Ansel Adams?

Frugé: Yes, Ansel was for a while. Yes, that's right, he was.

Riess: The committee was appointed by the board?

Frugé: Appointed by the board, by the president, who at that time was Nate Clark. I think the other Dyer sister was married to Nate. Anyway, Nate was president and he asked me if I would do it. That was 1960. The book program was getting big enough that they felt the need for more control, the board did, and Nate Clark made the appointment.

Dinosaur

Riess: Before 1960, in fact in 1955, there is a publication associated with the Sierra Club. *This is Dinosaur*.

Frugé: Yes. I had jumped ahead a little bit. That [Dinosaur National Monument] was probably the first big conservation fight that Dave got into. The *Dinosaur* book was a club project. It was published by Alfred Knopf, though. Wallace Stegner was the editor of it.

Dinosaur National Monument is where the Green and Yampa Rivers come together at a place called Echo Park. I happen to know that because I had taken a river raft trip down the Yampa River, and then down the Green to where you come out at the Dinosaur headquarters. So I knew the country.

Riess: That was a club trip?

Frugé: No, I don't think so. I don't know. I'm not sure what it was.

Riess: Was it with Martin Litton?

Frugé: No, it was not with Martin. I'm not sure Martin ever had anything to do with the upper part of the river that way. I forget who ran it. I cannot say whether this was a club outing or whether it was a commercial deal. But I was on it. In fact, I wrote an article about it, which was published in the old *Bulletin*.

Dave got into the campaign--I don't remember the details. As executive director I think this was his first big conservation fight, and it was very exhilarating to him.

Riess: Were you privy to this, the exhilaration? Were you one of the people that he would have talked with?

Frugé: Yes, I think so. I knew him pretty well.

Exhibit Format Books

Frugé: Then there was *This is the American Earth*, which is a book about a photographic exhibit put together by Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall. This was published by the club itself in 1959 or '60.⁸ I can't remember all the details, but I do remember that it was a success. Then in '61 or '62 the club did a book of Cedric Wright's photographs.⁹ Cedric lived in Berkeley, a rather well-known photographer, a black-and-white photographer, so the book isn't one of the huge color books.

Sometime during all of this, Dave was getting ambitious in a publishing way--quite naturally, I think, but he went too far. That's part of his nature.

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Frugé: Part of my difficulty on this is it's a long time ago, between forty and thirty years ago.

Riess: The earliest books published under the direction of David Brower for the Sierra Club Exhibit Format Series are *This is the American Earth*, 1960; *Words of the Earth*, 1960; *These We Inherit: The Parklands of America*, Ansel Adams, 1962; and that same year, *In Wildness is the Preservation of the Earth*, Eliot Porter.

Frugé: Yes, the Porter was the one that really started the success.

Riess: Were the Exhibit Format books really the beginning of coffee table books, do you think?

⁸*This is the American Earth*, photographs by Ansel Adams and others; text by Nancy Newhall, foreword by David Brower. San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1960.

⁹*Words of the Earth*, by Cedric Wright, edited by Nancy Newhall, foreword by Ansel Adams. San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1960.

Frugé: Oh, there were coffee table books before.

I suppose Exhibit Format books--that title came from, *This is the American Earth*, which was an exhibit at LeConte Lodge in Yosemite. I don't have that book, so I can't look that up. I do have the Cedric Wright book, which is a smaller size, in black and white. But *In Wildness* was really the first of the big color books, and it was a great success.¹⁰

These were very successful coffee table books. Dave designed them, maybe not all of them, but most of them. He arranged for the printing, he stood over the printers and got the best possible color reproductions. I don't think anybody had any color-plate books of the natural scene that were as good as these. They were printed on chrome-coat, which you know has clay on one side and not the other. You printed the text on the dull side and the photograph on the shiny side of the chrome-coat, and then lacquered them and so on, and they really were very good.

This book was really put together by Eliot Porter, I guess. There were selections from Thoreau. The book was arranged by seasons, really mostly a New England book, I suppose. But it started out with spring, summer, fall, winter. And these were pictures of the natural scene, mostly trees and things of that kind, and it was very successful.

Riess: I remember it was the first time I had seen such sharp close-up photography.

Frugé: Yes. Porter made a special kind of print, which was called dye transfer. You had to have a good print before you could get a good reproduction. And the book was printed at Barnes Press in New York. Dave went east and stood over them.

Riess: What was the Publication Committee's role vis-a-vis these publications?

Frugé: Well, Dave had to get the committee's approval for each publication. He had to come in and show us photographs, let us read a manuscript if there was one, and so on and get the committee's approval.

Riess: Did the committee meet on call, or did you meet on a regular basis?

¹⁰*In Wildness is the Preservation of the World*, From Henry David Thoreau, Selections and Photographs by Eliot Porter, Introduction by Joseph Wood Krutch, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1962.

Frugé: Well, pretty regular meetings. It wasn't just on call for a particular book.

Early Committee Conflict with Brower

Frugé: Before I go into that, let me say something more about Dave and the books. I think, after having had the trouble with Tommasini and really been pushed out as sort of a production manager at the Press, he must have taken a lot of satisfaction in doing a successful job producing these books and designing them--he won design prizes. Tommy had won design prizes and so on, and Dave naturally must have taken a good deal of satisfaction in his success as a designer and a producer of these books. He should have.

But there was trouble in the committee. I don't want to try to go into this item by item, but as early as 1963 there was trouble over a book called *Not Man Apart*.¹¹ I don't have that book so I can't check up too much on it.

Riess: "Photographs of the Big Sur Coast. Lines from Robinson Jeffers."

Frugé: That's right. With poems, parts of poems by Jeffers.

Some people on the committee couldn't see this as a conservation book. A lot of the trouble was the question of whether Dave was trying to build a general publishing house. Not entirely general, but in that particular area. And some people thought that the books ought to be tied pretty closely to conservation efforts--George Marshall, in particular, who was a member of the committee, George was a great foot dragger. I was something of a foot dragger, too, but less so.

There was objection to that book because nobody thought of Jeffers as a conservationist. He was pretty much a misanthrope. As I remember, a number of people, including George, doubted whether this was an appropriate thing for the club to publish.

Riess: Is that because you could see already the financial handwriting on the wall?

Frugé: I don't think so. No, I think it was a matter of appropriateness. But I could see the coming financial problem.

¹¹*Not Man Apart*, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1965.

I sent you that analysis that I wrote in 1963.¹² Even at that time, and that's five years before the big blow-up, I worried that the program was going to overbalance the club, and I wasn't at all sure that it was a good thing for the club to get into a sort of general nature publishing. And also financial--any program of this kind, any publishing program that grows, needs more and more capital. You have to have money to cover the inventory and to cover the accounts receivable.

We had had that problem at the Press. The larger you get, the more capital you need. Many small publishing organizations--I've noticed this in London as well as this country--a man starts a new outfit, and if it's successful he has to sell it off because he doesn't have the capital. Sell it to some big publisher who can capitalize it. In a way, the more successful you are, the more you have to sell it off, unless you have access to capital in some way.

Riess: To go back to *Not Man Apart*. How did David Brower justify that? Was that a battle to save the coast? Was that an issue?

Frugé: I don't remember, but I don't think there was one going on at the time.

Riess: So it wasn't a battle book in any way.

Frugé: No, not a battle book. And you know, even Eliot Porter's wasn't, his first book, the *In Wildness*. Of course, Dave believed that general conservation or nature propaganda was very important, using propaganda in a good sense. It also brought in new members, so that for a while it was very successful that way.

Riess: How did the books bring in new members? Why is there the correlation? You can buy a book without becoming a member.

Frugé: That's true, but I think it did, although all the conservation organizations grew rapidly at that time. I don't know. I think it was just the time for growth.

¹²Memorandum to Publications Committee sent to President Edgar Wayburn by August Frugé, August 9, 1963. See Appendices.

A Skeptic Among Sociologists

Frugé: In the Schrepfer book she goes into a long philosophical and sociological explanation of why the conservation movement grew. She ties it to the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement. Now, obviously, some of the same people were in both kinds of things, but that doesn't mean that one caused the other. It's like the old *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy. I don't think there was very much connection.

Riess: Why does it bother you that she constructs this explanation?

Frugé: I think it gives a false picture.

You know, in my book I call myself a skeptic, and this means a skeptic about scholarship. Although I admire it, I think it's very important, I spent all my life publishing it, still I'm a skeptic about some of it, especially social studies. But she goes into these philosophical reasons. She says that these people were all philosophical pessimists and speaks of the despair.

I don't see that, because people, activists, who go out and try to change something are not in despair, they think they can do something about it. I don't think they're pessimists at all, they're romantics. So the whole analysis strikes me as--maybe I'm being more of a book critic here, but it strikes me that most of the book is that. I think, you know, it's much simpler than that.

Committee Members

Riess: To go back to the Publications Committee, you said it was appointed, and I wondered if Dave Brower had any say about who was on it.

Frugé: He tried to get a few friends on. But although I knew Dave very well, and had sort of been his editor in a way, I was not his boy in that sense. I was always a little bit--I was hesitant. You read that memo in 1963. It was a little awkward for me in a way because Dave accused me of being jealous. Here he was making a great success of publishing, and that he might overshadow the Press and that sort of thing.

Well, they were totally different kinds of publishing, not the same thing at all, didn't have much to do with each other. When Dave was having his greatest successes and his dollar volume of

sales was up over a million dollars, ours at the Press was more than that, but we might be publishing eighty or ninety books a year and he was only doing three or four or five. So, you know, they're not like each other at all.

But still, you don't like to be criticized for something like that. I probably should have gotten out at that time.

Riess: Talking about you in that way, was that a way of forcing you out?

Frugé: No, I don't think so, I don't think he was doing that. I don't remember if he tried to force anybody off the committee.

Riess: I want to review the list of the committee members to know how they worked, how they responded to Brower, like Wallace Stegner.

Frugé: Wally wasn't either a great enthusiast or a foot dragger. He was in the middle somewhere. Later on, he turned against Dave, as you know.

Riess: Are you referring to the "bitten by the worm of power" quote?¹³

Frugé: Yes. Of course, that was in 1969 and he was no longer on the committee at that time. He couldn't always get to the meetings. He just had too many commitments to give it that much time.

Riess: And Paul Brooks?

Frugé: Paul Brooks was generally reasonable, not way over to one side or the other. He became close to Wayburn.

Riess: Paul Brooks was another publisher, wasn't he?

Frugé: That's right, from Houghton Mifflin. A very good one. He was the chief editor, something like that.

Riess: Was he accused by Brower of being jealous?

Frugé: No. And I think Brower got him onto the board of directors, probably. I don't know when.

You know, there was a lot of, oh, what's the word? A lot of mixed feelings, ambivalence. Nobody on the committee ever wanted to discredit Dave or to knock him down, and yet there was doubt about a number of his projects. Even as early as 1963 I mention the Jeffers one. And as a matter of fact, in '63 the Galápagos

¹³See Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, p. 181.

book. The committee voted at that time to drop the project. That didn't stop Dave, but they voted to drop it.

Riess: Because of the relevance issue?

Frugé: Relevance and--you know, after all, the Galápagos are a long ways away, and this probably has more to do with Darwin than it has to do with conservation. And it was a very expensive project.

Anyway, going back to the committee members, George Marshall was a foot dragger, but a sensible one. He'd read manuscripts and was very supportive in a way, but he was always doubtful of Dave. Part of the difficulty was that Dave didn't bring in fully worked-up projects. He'd have an idea, and he would sell the idea rather than the book itself. I was used, of course, to working with finished manuscripts, to decide what to do.

Riess: But he had to leave it at the idea stage because he couldn't go ahead without approval, and he would have to hire photographers and all of this sort of thing?

Frugé: Yes. And, he had a vision of what the book could be. He didn't always communicate that vision.

Riess: Do you think he had a complete vision of where it was going?

Frugé: I really don't know. I really don't know. I wonder. I felt, and many other people did, too, that it was running away with him, that he didn't know when to stop.

At his best he was very good. I mean, Dave was very successful at putting a book together when he had enough time. He's very imaginative. And with these color photograph coffee table books, he hit a market that no commercial publisher had known was there, I think, especially beginning with *In Wildness*.

These were very expensive books at the time, I think \$25, which in terms of present-day dollars would be a lot more than that. And they did sell. Of course, they sold on the Christmas market, and this, again, was a question, whether the club should be in the Christmas book business.

Publication Projects, and Problems

Riess: You make the point in your 1963 analysis that if you can't make the market at Christmas-time, you've lost it.

Frugé: Well, Dave was often late with the books. He tried to do too much. He would have made a great editor in a commercial house, as long as somebody else controlled the finances. He wasn't good at that.

Riess: After *In Wildness*, the next was *The Place No One Knew: Glen Canyon on the Colorado*, Eliot Porter, 1963.¹⁴

Frugé: I remember that one in particular because I was on a trip down the Colorado River in Glen Canyon. Dave and Eliot were both on that trip, and Eliot was taking pictures for the book. This was the last season that one could go down the river before they closed the dam. So I was very much interested in that particular book.

Riess: Do you have a real emotional connection to that, thinking about that?

Frugé: I don't know whether I do to the book or not, I did to the place. In fact, I took pictures. I have a little slide show on Glen Canyon that I took. At that time it worked pretty well--our friends in Berkeley used to show slides a lot.

Riess: That book had text by Edward Abbey?

Frugé: No, no. Abbey did the *Slickrock* book several years later, when John Mitchell was our editor.¹⁵ No, the text of the Glen Canyon book was from various people. Even John Wesley Powell and various other people who had something to do with the river. I can't remember who made the selections.

I don't think there was ever any complaint about that book. Even though the canyon was already lost, it was an obvious conservation thing, appropriate to the club. I don't remember any difficulty with that one. What comes next?

Riess: *The Last Redwoods*.¹⁶

¹⁴*The Place No One Knew, Glen Canyon on the Colorado*, Edited by David Brower, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1963.

¹⁵*Slickrock, The Canyon Country of Southeast Utah*, Words by Edward Abbey, Photographs and Commentary by Philip Hyde, San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1971.

¹⁶*The Last Redwoods, Photographs and Story of a Vanishing Scenic Resource*, by Philip Hyde and Francois Leydet, Foreword by Stewart L. Udall, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1963.

Frugé: Well, that, of course, was a campaign book. The Wayburns had a lot to do with the redwoods. Ed probably had more to do with the various redwood campaigns than anyone else.

Riess: And then the *Eloquent Light*.¹⁷

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Riess: That would have been another black and white book.

Frugé: Yes, yes. No one would have fussed about that, either.

Riess: Ansel Adams I'm sure cared a lot about how the books looked.

Frugé: Oh, yes, and Ansel was a great enthusiast during the first years. You read that letter of his--he had thought I was not enthusiastic enough.¹⁸ But in 1968 he apologized, saying that I had been right. We can come back to that.

Riess: And then the next one is *Time and the River Flowing*.¹⁹

Frugé: That's what? The Grand Canyon?

Riess: Yes. And then *Gentle Wilderness: The Sierra Nevada*, 1964.²⁰ So it's sort of two books a year.

Frugé: Actually, Dave wanted to do two a season. I don't think he ever managed to do it. Spring season and the fall season.

Riess: Because it was essential to do a book to pay for the last book?

Frugé: Well, not exactly, but as I put it in that 1963 memo, if you build up an organization, if you have a sales manager and you have salesmen who go around to the stores, if you do all that, you've got to keep going. You can't just publish a book now and then when you want to. You've got to have a list every year, or at

¹⁷Nancy Wynne Newhall, *Ansel Adams, Vol. I, The Eloquent Light*, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1963.

¹⁸Letter from Ansel Adams to August Frugé, December 6, 1968. See Appendices.

¹⁹Francois Leydet, *Time and the River Flowing: The Grand Canyon*, Edited by David Brower, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1964.

²⁰*Gentle Wilderness: The Sierra Nevada*, Text by John Muir, Photographs by Richard Kauffman, Edited by David Brower, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1964.

least every fall, for the Christmas season. That's when the big sale was. And the thing carries you along. You're paying these salaries, too, by the way, and you have to have sales to cover the ongoing expenses.

Inevitably, the more you publish, the more of an organization you have and therefore the more you have to publish to keep it going. If you publish through some other publisher, you can make use of his organization, as we did with the *Dinosaur* book and so on, but when you're doing it on your own you can't have a million dollars worth of sales one year and only a hundred thousand the next. You have these expenses that keep going.

Riess: Was there any thought of the Press being the publishing house for the club publications?

Frugé: I don't think so. I would not have done that.

Riess: How big a staff did Brower have?

Frugé: I don't know how many. He had a sales manager, and I think at one time he had a production manager. I don't know what the person did because Dave really ran that.

Riess: Who was Jack Schanhaar?

Frugé: He was the sales manager. He had worked for the Press before he went to the Sierra Club. And they had Ted Wilentz, who was a former New York bookstore man who--Gosh, what was Ted doing? No, you have to have a staff. You can't do everything yourself.

Riess: Was that staff at the Sierra Club, or did Dave have a different physical place where he did all of this?

Frugé: I think it was mostly at the Sierra Club. And they had a New York office. At first, they just came in and shared the Press's office; we had one there, and they came in and shared that. Then they set up their own separately.

Riess: Tell me more about the Glen Canyon trip. What it was like, were you all in one boat? Was Brower the spokesman?

Frugé: I think we had two big boats, the big rubber boats. And there are no great rapids in Glen Canyon, so we weren't in much white water.

Riess: John McPhee wrote about Brower in *Encounters with the Archdruid*.²¹ In that they were on the river together.

Frugé: Later, I guess. McPhee was not on that trip. In the title of Dave's oral history he's listed there as--I forget the first two, but the third label is prophet.²² And I don't know whether it was his choice or the interviewer's choice, but I think it's true that Dave thinks of himself as a kind of latter-day prophet.

I don't mean this in a disparaging way. That's what he is, that's his nature. And that's one reason why he never could compromise, I think. He believed in something, or the importance of something, and he didn't know how to slow down or how to stop. He thought of himself--I think he still does--as a kind of prophet. That's all right, but it's very hard for a prophet to get along in an organization where the other people are supposed to be important also. It doesn't work.

The Sierra Club, of course, was full of highly-motivated and capable people, and they didn't want to be just the tail on Dave's kite. I think in this Publications Committee it was a matter of natural incompatibility. Dave was a prophet, and he was saving the world. People wanted him to go on saving the world, but they wanted him to be more reasonable about it, which was not possible. And they wanted him to be more careful with the club's money. You know, in the Galápagos thing, the club paid for the trip down there for Porter and others.

When there is any kind of financial trouble, you can do two things: you can raise more money or you can cut expenses. It's a good idea to do both, but he never could do the second. He'd always raise more money--for a while, but there came a time when it wasn't so easy--he could go out and get people interested. He's a great salesman, in a good sense, in a high-level sense. But as far as he, the executive director, and his relations with the Publications Committee, it was just natural incompatibility. I don't think it ever would have worked.

Riess: And it's not the composition of the Publications Committee.

²¹John McPhee, *Encounters with the Archdruid*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971.

²²David Ross Brower, *Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet*, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1980.

Frugé: I don't think so. Litton was the only one who followed wherever Dave went. Ansel was a great enthusiast, up to 1965 at least, but then he wasn't on the committee during the later troubled times.

Ed Wayburn and Will Siri were both the sort to try to fix up things. They both wanted to save what Dave was doing and also keep out of trouble. Eventually, they saw they couldn't do both. I think they were more enthusiastic about the value of the publishing program than I ever was. That is, the general nature publishing business, Robinson Jeffers and Galápagos and various things that maybe sold books but don't have too much to do with the club. I was never quite convinced on all of that.

Riess: Did they consult with you? You were their expert.

Frugé: Yes, to some extent. You know, in meetings, yes, some question would come up, and they would ask me in a publishing sense how it was, whatever it was, and often enough I could second Dave on things of that kind, questions of copyright or whatever it was. Dave knew a good deal about it, but the others didn't, except Paul Brooks, of course, when he was there.

Riess: But they wouldn't have turned to you for the larger question of the wisdom of this?

Frugé: The matter came up at meetings, often raised by George Marshall, as in, e.g., relation to the Jeffers and Galápagos books. And there was, you know, that 1963 memo I wrote. Presumably, we had a meeting and discussed it, but I can't find the minutes of that meeting. Presumably, it was discussed and presumably, we didn't do anything. I'm almost sure that we didn't do anything very--we tried to compromise on it or whatever.

Riess: It sounds like everyone was compromising, except can you think of any instance where David Brower ever compromised?

Frugé: No. I can't think of one. He may have, in little ways, but it's not part of his nature. I mean, prophets don't compromise.

Riess: And the other thing about prophets is that they're always "without honor," and that's part of the deal.

Frugé: Well, now, I hadn't thought of that. I don't know. I always thought that Dave was honest. I didn't think he ever profited personally from any of these things.

Riess: No, I mean the prophet being without honor in his own country.

Frugé: Oh, I see.

Riess: The problems that were heaped upon him would only reinforce this vision of the prophet as the one who is misunderstood.

Frugé: Well, yes, I think that's true, yes.

Riess: In your 1963 memo there's a veiled threat that you're going to resign.

Frugé: Yes, there is.

Riess: Do you remember how the report was received?

Frugé: That's what I don't remember, and I haven't been able to find the minutes. I must have been satisfied enough to go on.

The 1963 Memorandum and the Reactions to It

Frugé: [added in editing] Here we insert something about that 1963 memorandum and the reactions to it five years later of Ansel Adams and Dick Leonard.²³ More than anything I can say now, this document will reveal the problems that made the club's publishing program so controversial for so long a time. Another document, five years later, will illustrate the matter.

The memo was dated 9 August 1963 and was addressed to the Publications Committee and to President Wayburn. It began... "All of you know that our meetings are long, confused, and marked by wrangling." Note that this comes only a year or two after the big books got started and more than five years before the dissension blew sky high in 1968-69. The "wrangling" continued, as we shall see.

"...the basic difficulty is that we are uncertain about the nature of our publishing program and about where it is leading us. A few years ago publishing was clearly the servant of conservation and of other Club purposes. Since then it has grown enormously to the point where it takes up a major share of our energies and resources. Some of us wonder whether the tail is beginning to wag the dog...

"If the Club is to become primarily a publishing organization --and we are headed in that direction--then the directors and

²³Memorandum to Publications Committee sent to President Edgar Wayburn by August Frugé, August 9, 1963. See Appendices.

other officers should take a long hard look at all the implications, or at all those that can be foreseen. If the character of the Club is to be changed, the change should be intentional...

"Already we have heard appeals for reprinting and for approval of projects whose timing was clearly based on the needs of the book trade or on the wish to build gross sales during the Christmas season. And this committee has surely spent more time on sales figures and promotion plans than it has on considering the possible good done by the books.

"It cannot be any other way. A big publishing program takes all the time and skill that a staff and board can give to it. If staff members are beginning to act and talk like publishers, this is understandable and unavoidable... But an organization, like an individual, becomes what it does. We cannot act like a publishing business without being one. If we become big publishers it will not be the same Sierra Club.

"Let me get down from the pulpit and mention a few practical considerations. The larger the publishing program, the more capital is needed. If continued expansion is intended, the Directors should expect to provide at least a million dollars of capital. A large book program cannot be put off and on like an overcoat. Expenditures will continue without a let-up, so that the staff will be forced to seek popular and expensive books each season regardless of whether or not this fits the other plans of the Club. We cannot keep a big sales staff without giving them something to sell twice a year... Running a popular publishing business is like having bear by the tail."

The full text will be found in the appendices. There should have been a discussion of it, but I am missing some documents and have no record of it. I do not know either whether Wayburn and Siri, members of both the committee and the board of directors, ever took the matter to the board. They should have, I think, but they must have thought that the problem could be managed. Wayburn says in his oral history that I wanted to resign but was talked out of it.²⁴

More than five years later, when the predictions proved right and the big fight was on, Dick Leonard got hold of the memo, made

²⁴Edgar Wayburn, *Sierra Club Statesman and Leader of Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands*. Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1985.

copies and sent them to a number of Club leaders who might help to remove Brower. It was then that Ansel Adams wrote his *mea culpa* letter of 6 December 1968: "When I received the copy of your 1963 report today I was moved by memories and a faint sense of guilt. I find it necessary to write you... as you know I was one of Brower's supporters... As always, criticism of Dave is painful... I was very critical of you in my 'Brower-washed' days. I thought your attitude was depressive and negative... I regret my opacity in the past, and I want to tell you how much I appreciate..."

I don't think I was wiser than the others during these years, although I was more aware of the perils of publishing. More important, perhaps, is that I was never under the "spell" of Brower, as Ansel says he was and as even Siri and Wayburn were to some extent. I liked Dave, but his personality--or charisma, if that existed--had no special effect on me as it seemed to have on others.

Siri and Wayburn are very intelligent people, but they hedged and waffled for too long. Siri was always a peacemaker, who tried to find common ground where differences could be reconciled, a good quality, of course, but... Wayburn too was a persuader. They knew more about the Sierra Club than I did, and it took longer for them to see that Dave, for all his past accomplishments, was now leading the Club into a quagmire.

I don't remember details about our publications meetings of the next few years, and the minutes are not very helpful. Written mostly by staff members, they are cleaned up and do not show what went on between motions. But it happens that there survives for one of the last meetings of this period, on January 10, 1969, a memo that I wrote immediately after the meeting for the benefit of several members who could not attend.

In this memo the meeting is described just as it happened, almost blow by blow, and I can attest that the discussions are quite typical of other meetings. "Once again," it began, "we met until after midnight, and once again we did not complete the agenda." After that the memo is long.

Here I quote two paragraphs--the recess, mentioned under item 5, was called to allow Brower time to get his emotions under control and be able to talk once more:²⁵

²⁵ The complete text of Frugé's Notes on Publications Committee meeting, January 10, 1969, "reproduced from Fruge's typing of thirty-one years ago, with cross-outs and other blemishes," is in the Appendices.

"Marshall asked Schanhaar on whose authority he had advertised the International Series last fall, before any kind of approval had been given to it. Brower said that it was on his authority. Marshall objected strenuously. Brower made a long, emotional statement to the effect that the Committee had no business discussing the International Series when three members, all of whom were probably in favor of it, were not present. Frugé said that he was not pressing for action by the Committee but felt strongly that the discussion should be started and that the Committee should be given the information it needed to think about the problem. Brower continued to emphasize Frugé's "bad" speech at the December board meeting, saying that he could not expect fair treatment from the present group. Frugé repeated that his opinion was known, that it remained the same, but that he was seeking information, not action. He volunteered to pass the information on to absent Committee members. He pleaded with Brower to calm down and tell the Committee what is going on. After a brief recess, the discussion continued. (Wayburn had to leave the meeting briefly and missed the first part of this discussion; he returned shortly after the recess.)

"B. Redwoods book. It was immediately apparent that Brower and Wayburn were in disagreement about the text of the new Redwoods book, which is to consist of the Leydet text plus an introduction and epilogue by Ed and Peggy Wayburn. Wayburn said that he had asked Paul Brooks to read the ms. Brower said that Wayburn, as author, had no business sending the book to a reader. Publisher should get readers, author should know nothing about this. In this matter, Wayburn is working for Brower, not the other way around. (Brooks stated in his report that he preferred Peggy Wayburn's version to the one proposed by Brower, although he made detailed criticism of both.) Brower said that his plan was for a Club edition of 10,000 copies with a probably Ballantine edition of 90,000. If Wayburn insists on his version, the Club might do 5,000 and Brower might not be able to recommend the book to Ballantine. Siri: This sounds like a South American revolution. Frugé suggested that Wayburn, Brower, and Brooks sit down and work out a compromise. Brower said no. Frugé asked Brower who in his opinion should make final decision. Brower said that Brower should. Thereafter, it was suggested that the chairman appoint an arbiter, but Brower would not agree to accept the arbiter's decision. Siri offered to be arbiter. Brower said that if Siri disagreed with Brower, Siri would have to take the responsibility for failure of the book if Ballantine would not accept it. Frugé said that he was sick of the discussion and that the parties would have to come to an agreement, with or without Siri as an arbiter, or there would be no publication." [end of insert]

Riess: After you decided to stick it out, was that a good kind of air-clearing experience? Were things different and better?

Frugé: You know, I think they must have been for a while. As I say, '63 is thirty-four years ago. The publishing program flourished for several years. I mean, the first big book with big sales was the Eliot Porter one. But they went very well for a while there. There were difficulties in timing and so on, but the sales were very good.

But there came a time when other publishers started putting out the same kind of thing, and then the market wasn't as good, but that didn't happen for a few years. Publishers are great copycats. They see somebody making a success of something, they go ahead and try it themselves. Not only commercial publishers but some other not-in-New York ones. I think I've got two or three books here that were published in Oregon, and so on, of a similar kind.

Riess: I think there was a proposal to pre-sell the books, to have people subscribe to them. I wonder whether that was generated by the Publications Committee as an idea.

Frugé: I don't know. I know there was such a thing. More likely, it came from the staff in an effort to get some money in sooner.

Other Club Publications

Riess: You also published what were called the Historical and Regional Studies, which included *Island in Time*, with Harold Gilliam's text.²⁶

Frugé: Yes, but there was no trouble over that, as I remember. And we also did Wilderness Conference Books, a number of those. Dave usually edited them, although I think he had to have help.

Riess: Wilderness Conference Books, and Historical and Regional Studies, and Wilderness Exploration Guides, and that particular series included a book by Dick Leonard on climbing, in 1956.²⁷

²⁶Harold Gilliam, *Island in Time: The Point Reyes Peninsula*, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1962.

²⁷Richard M. Leonard, *Belaying the Leader: An Omnibus on Climbing Safety*, Sierra Club, Wilderness Exploration Guides, 1956.

Frugé: Yes, that's very early. You know, when Dave was at the Press before the war, the Press did a book called *The Manual of Ski Mountaineering*.²⁸ Later on, instead of reprinting it, we turned it over to the club. I think Leonard and Dave and various others had chapters in that.

There are some other climbing books and so on, but that's a different kettle of fish, really. You can do a few of those without having much of a publishing organization. It's when you are publishing general books, especially for the Christmas market, and you've got your sales up and your organization up, then you have to keep it going. You have a bear by the tail, in a sense. But lots of organizations have issued little books of that kind.

The club, you know, published I don't know how many different editions of *Starr's Guide to the John Muir Trail*. That goes back way before any of this. Those don't cause any trouble. They sort of sell themselves, to the extent that they do sell. But what happened was that Dave built up a publishing organization. Rightly or wrongly. Now, he thought it was a good thing to do.

Riess: I should think the Press might have competed with the Sierra Club publishing program on books like *Deepest Valley* and *Mammoth Lake Sierra* because the Press had a very strong series of natural history guides.

Frugé: Yes, we could have done those. Genny Schumacher, Genny Smith, did those two books, on the Eastern Sierra.²⁹ I think they're published over there in Bishop somewhere now. Yes, we could have published those, but I don't remember any competition at the time. We [the Press] started that nature series, oh, I don't know, when was it? In the fifties maybe. There are fifty or sixty volumes of it by now. They're a little bit different, but there is an overlap. I mean, that sort of thing could be done by the club. The club's books tended to put greater emphasis on photographs.

Riess: I was thinking that sort of thing could have been done by the Press and have gotten an even wider distribution, if the Press had published *Starr's Guide*, for instance or *Deepest Valley*?

²⁸*Manual of Ski Mountaineering*, Edited by David R. Brower, University of California Press, 1942.

²⁹Genny Schumacher Smith, *Deepest Valley, A Guide to Owens Valley and Its Mountain Lakes, Roadsides and Trails*, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1962. *The Mammoth Lakes Sierra, A Handbook for Roadside and Trail*, San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1959.

- Frugé: We might have sold a few more of those. The *Deepest Valley* probably sells mostly in Bishop and Independence and so on.
- Riess: The [Tracy L.] Storer and [Robert L.] Usinger book, *Sierra Nevada Natural History*, there's a book that could have been published by either.³⁰
- Frugé: That could have gone either way, yes. There's some overlap.
- Riess: Did you have some feeling about things like that?
- Frugé: No, I don't remember anybody having any problem with it. I never found any competition. I mean, we never would have done the big picture books. The Press has done picture books, not always successfully, but they usually have more text. A lot of Dave's picture books had excerpts from Thoreau or Darwin or whomever. Few of them had any genuine text. After he left, the *Slickrock* book did, and probably some of Dave's books did, but a lot of them were made-up books. Publishers do that often, commercial publishers, get an idea and make up a book. Scrounge around, find some kind of text to go with the illustrations they have.
- Riess: In other words, it's generated by the publisher, rather than by an author or a proposal.
- Frugé: Yes, although *In Wildness* I think was Porter's idea, to tell the truth. I'm not sure, but I think it was. I think he made the selections from Thoreau. I think that book was, but a lot of them were Dave's ideas.

Stormy Meeting, September 1968

- Riess: The Publications Committee went along for another four years. Then something happened in 1968 because that was when Dick Leonard forwarded to the board your 1963 analysis of the publications problem, and Ansel Adams said, "I used to think you were a foot dragger, but now I see you were a prophet."³¹
- Frugé: Not a prophet. [laughing] Dave was the prophet.

³⁰*Sierra Nevada Natural History*, University of California Press, 1963.

³¹Letter from Ansel Adams to August Frugé, December 6, 1968. See Appendices.

By that time, there was great worry within the club, particularly in California--the out-state members were not that close to it. But there was great worry that Dave was going to destroy the club, he was going to wreck it. It wasn't a matter of much of anything else except that. By that time, in '68, Leonard and Ansel Adams and Dick Sill and various others were up in arms, and there was trouble in the Publications Committee, too.

We had some pretty stormy meetings. I don't know how we all put up with it. Dave got very emotional. If he had an idea, and we didn't follow it, or see it, he was devastated. But nobody wanted to repudiate him until maybe by '68, and by that time the finances were pretty bad--in Schrepfer's book she says the club was running a deficit. It was much worse than that.

Dave said--a nice saying for a prophet--that a conservation organization that wasn't in financial trouble wasn't doing its job. There's some truth in that. But, if you lose enough money you can just go bankrupt, and the whole thing goes down the drain. And we were very close to it.

Riess: And there was the perception that Dave was taking on the problems of the world with the Galápagos books as the opening wedge.

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Frugé: Yes, and Wayburn, who had been patient and so on, finally broke, finally turned.

Riess: There was a meeting in September 1968 at Clair Tappan, and Wayburn told you that you should be there. Do you remember that meeting?

Frugé: Yes. That was a board of directors meeting. It was a fall meeting: chapter chairmen would all be there and so on. In fact, many of the directors meetings had chairmen of committees and the [Sierra Club] Council and chapter chairmen and so on. I found a Publications Committee set of minutes for that time, and there's nothing special in it. Not really.

Riess: You took the minutes, you said.

Frugé: I did for a while, not very long. Most of the time they were done by the man who was the editor of the new *Bulletin*. You know, Dave had changed the *Bulletin* to a monthly magazine, thinking that was better, more important for conservation, and so the old annual bulletin was stopped around 1960 or thereabouts. There was a hired editor. The first one I remember was Bruce Kilgore, and then later, Hugh Nash. They were hired editors of the *Bulletin*, and they also acted as secretary to this committee and took the

minutes. But there for a while, in the late days when there was no one else to take minutes, I had to do it.

Riess: Did you do it after the fact?

Frugé: I made notes. I didn't find it very difficult. I used to take minutes for the Editorial Committee at the Press. I did it the easy way, which is to make notes and then dictate the minutes very quickly the next day, before you forget anything. If you use one of these things [tape recorder] for minutes, it takes days and days to sort out all the detail. [laughter]

Riess: You mean if you actually tape record the minutes.

Frugé: Yes, if you tape record them, then, gosh, you almost start from scratch. You have too much detail.

Riess: Was the *Bulletin* under the purview of the Publications Committee, so the decision about making it a monthly magazine was one of your decisions?

Frugé: No, that was done before. No, we didn't decide that, as I remember. Later on the *Bulletin* was, for some reason or other, put under the president, rather than under Dave. That was late in the game, I think, when there was dissension. No, I think Dave probably took it to the board. I think that decision was made before we became a Publications Committee.

Riess: Was it a financial drag on the club also, the monthly magazine?

Frugé: No, I don't think it was any drag. Some of the dues were intended for it, and then they started taking ads. It must now almost pay for itself. I don't know, I don't read it. I don't care very much for that kind of magazine.

Riess: [laughs] We have to discuss how magazines make themselves unreadable. That's a great example of one.

Frugé: There are a lot of them. Magazines have become computerized, and the layout is six colors on every page, and I think that's an example of being able to do too much and not being able to decide what not to do. And the articles are pretty bad. About the only magazine that I see at all that I think is much good is *Smithsonian*, and I'm not so sure about it.

Riess: I just wrote them a letter to complain about their redesign.

Frugé: Did they redesign? I haven't seen that. When the Cal Alumni magazine redesigned they ruined it, I thought. I liked the old

one. A few years ago, and like you, I complained to *Audubon* when they computerized the design, changed editors, and ruined the magazine.

Brower is Fired

Riess: So there you were at the meeting in Norden with the chapters, the Council, the board.

Frugé: That meeting blew up, and if I remember correctly it had to do with that Diablo Canyon issue. The club had made a deal with PG&E [Pacific Gas & Electric], and some members of the board didn't like it afterwards--Litton, in particular. Then the old board took it up again, approved the action, and it was put on the ballot for the whole club, and the members decided to ratify the deal.

Then the new [1968] board, which had a majority of Brower people on it, decided to go the other way. The idea that they would deliberately ignore what the members had voted for and do something else infuriated a lot of people. There were speeches and so on. I think that did it for Phil Berry. He heard the speeches and changed sides at that point. That's the thing I remember that blew up. The idea that these people would just go off by themselves and repudiate the members!

This leads into my interpretation of that election and the firing of Dave. It was the California chapters who did it, primarily. I know Dick Leonard and various other former presidents wrote a letter around it and so on, but it was the chapters who did it, the California chapters. At that time, they were the majority of the club. I think that Dave probably would have won the election outside of California, but all of the big California chapters lobbied against him. I mean, it was the first time, the first election, when people actually campaigned.

In Schrepfer's book she gives a lot of detail, but she leaves the impression that the main thing was a difference in conservation policy, whether you went all out for it or wanted to be sort of modest and conciliatory. That wasn't it at all. She swallowed Dave's campaign plank and failed to see, or did not want to see, the real issues that divided the parties. She says that the new (anti-Brower) board immediately took some strong conservation stands, but somehow gets the emphasis wrong. She leaves the idea that it was a difference in philosophy, a difference in viewpoint.

That sort of annoys me. She's got the only--that I know of--the only printed account of this. It was really not very philosophical, not very sociological. It was people afraid that the club was being wrecked. That was their perception. And the chief thing in this was the publishing program. There were other things, like the Diablo Canyon, where Dave and the board presumed to ignore the members. And there was Wayburn's charge of insubordination--he actually suspended Dave. Those things existed.

The chief thing were these huge debts, and then, at that point, when people were terribly worried about what this program was doing to the club, at that point Dave comes out with this idea for an international series of big books, with the Galápagos as the first. He begins to promote that. I think he did a big ad on that--he was just--that was the last straw, in a way. As far as the chapters were concerned--and Schrepfer mentions this, as she mentions a lot of things without giving them enough weight--there was a perception that the staff wanted to be the club.

The people in the chapters thought of the club as a volunteer club. They all had their big conservation issues, they were all very active, and they wanted a staff that was their servant, in a sense. Not just Dave, but the staff in general seemed to be taking over the club. That was the perception, rightly or wrongly.

But I think the chief thing was the fear that the club was going bankrupt, and was being wrecked and so on. I think the big California chapters in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and so on, they must have turned out enormous votes against Dave and his people [in 1969]. I mean, here was the most known conservationist in the country, and he came in sixth in the election, and the people with him dragged along below that. That wasn't philosophy. That was a fear.

I mentioned in that note--I remember walking into a meeting with some chapter people, and one of them said that when Dave talked to a group he looked like Jesus talking to the multitude, yet this guy was going to vote against him. Frankly, it was just fear that their club was being wrecked. That's what it was. I'm not here to say whether it would have been or not, but that was a perception. It wasn't philosophy. In a way, that's what annoys me about Schrepfer's book.

Riess: How would the chapters know how bad the finances were? How does the word get out to the chapters?

Frugé: Their officers attend the board meetings, and these things were discussed by the board.

I'm not sure I can say exactly how this happened, but it became common knowledge. There was an organization called the Sierra Club Council, and I think all the chapter presidents were on it, and it was sort of similar to the board of directors but with different kinds of powers. Not nearly as much, of course. And, of course, these things came up in there.

Riess: If you were head of the Publications Committee you would be the person who would inform the board on a regular basis of all of these disasters, but it doesn't sound like that's how it worked.

Frugé: No. Well, I don't know that you can say "all these disasters."

Riess: Sorry, no, that's true.

Frugé: Maybe the Galápagos was, in the end. But the deficits were very high, and these would have to be reported to the board by the club's financial officer, who was deeply involved. And it became clear they were running out of capital. They have something called a permanent fund, and that was endangered. I guess I don't know exactly how the members found out about it, but they were certainly told in all their chapter newsletters.

1969 Election and Aftermath, Publications

Riess: Were you tainted by this?

Frugé: No, I guess I wasn't. I guess it was known that I was opposed to some of this by that time, by '68, '69. No, I don't seem to have been.

Riess: Tell me how you decided to run for the board in the 1968 election.

Frugé: Well, I was asked to. There's always a nominating committee, and one of them called me up and asked me whether I would run.

Riess: Was it a hard decision?

Frugé: No, I don't remember it was. We put together a slate. I don't remember just how we did it. First there were four of us, instead of five.

Riess: This was the CMC, Concerned Members for Conservation.

Frugé: That's right.

A little later, Paul Brooks or somebody said, "You know, if I'm going to be with you, you've got to take Wayburn in." He wasn't in at first because, you know, he was kind of a compromiser and so on. But it turned out he wanted to be part of it, so he was taken in, so we had a full slate.

I can remember meetings! Every week they had some kind of a meeting at Raffi Bedayn's office--he was one of Dave's old climbing friends.

Riess: Strategy meetings?

Frugé: Yes, strategy meetings. Oh, a lot of that went on. There was a huge amount of work against Dave. That's why I say that it was the California chapters who did it. It wasn't philosophy or sociology.

Riess: I'm interested that you didn't quit. I mean, why get back in the fray as a board member?

Frugé: Oh, I don't know. [laughing] I guess I like frays, to some extent at least.

Riess: It doesn't surprise me that it would be the California chapters that did it. There are many more of them, for one thing, and I guess a certain natural feeling of ownership of the Sierra Club that any Californian has.

Frugé: Yes. The eastern people sort of saw it from a distance. The club was the books, I suppose, and the ads and things of that kind, more than it was something else.

Club membership was changing at that time. As a matter of fact, two or three years after the election the board was no longer so strongly Californian. Our slate in that election were practically all Bay Area. Ansel lived in Carmel, but he was nominally Bay Area. But the Los Angeles people were with us just as strongly.

Riess: And the other two? Raymond Sherwin and Maynard Munger.

Frugé: Sherwin was a judge--oh, he lived in Vallejo--a judge in Solano County. Very liberal judge, by the way. Munger was kind of odd man out in a way. He was a real estate man, and all the others were professionals of some kind or another. But Munger had been chairman of the Bay Chapter, I think. That's why he was nominated. He didn't stay very--he didn't try for a second term.

Riess: How did you campaign?

Frugé: Oh, what did we do? We went around, made speeches a few places. I remember we went up to Eugene, Oregon one time. I think Dave was on the program, too. I know we were in Los Angeles. I can remember Glen Dawson being in the audience and asking questions. I don't know what all we did.

Riess: How much of your work time was the Sierra Club taking? At its best or worst.

Frugé: I'm not sure I can answer that. It was taking an awful lot of evening time. It took a lot of time after the election, too. But I think that was mostly evening time.

Riess: Wayburn talks about ninety-hour weeks, between one thing and another. Would you say you had ninety-hour weeks?

Frugé: No, I didn't. I didn't spend as much time as Wayburn did. We always wondered how he could carry on a medical practice. No, nowhere near. Wayburn was--is--a very well organized person. I am not sure that anyone else could do so much.

Riess: Having been elected, what were you able to do to repair the damage to the committee and the club?

Frugé: Well, we hired a new editor, a man by the name of John Mitchell. Incidentally, he was a Brower supporter. He was from the East. But we didn't have any trouble. In fact, when he left three years later he wrote me a very nice letter, sort of pleased, he said, that I had supported him so strongly, although he had been a Brower man. Paul Brooks found him. He was a conservation writer. After he left us he wrote a lot for *Audubon*, when it was a great magazine. It was, there for a while, and then they ruined it, which magazines do.

We went on with a modest publishing program, and there was no difficulty. We did a few exhibit format books, not very many. The one that I remember especially is the *Slickrock* one, which is the national park over in Utah, Canyonlands.³²

³² *Slickrock, The Canyon Country of Southeast Utah*, words by Edward Abbey, photographs and commentary by Philip Hyde. San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1971.

Mitchell and I flew over to Salt Lake [City], and we joined the author, who was Ed Abbey, and the photographer, Phil Hyde, and we hired a man who ran a business in Moab, Utah. I think there were six of us in that car, a Land Rover. I don't know who the sixth was, though. And we spent a week or more going around, and Phil Hyde was taking pictures. I don't know what Abbey was doing exactly. Getting impressions, I guess.

Riess: Did you like him? Did you enjoy him?

Frugé: You know, he's kind of a misanthrope too. He was friendly enough, but he didn't come out. He was sort of--I had the impression that he didn't like people very well.

Riess: What do you mean he was a misanthrope too? Who are we collecting him with?

Frugé: Well, I was thinking of Robinson Jeffers. But Jeffers's writing is so misanthropic in a way.~ Abbey's wasn't.

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Frugé: He seems more humorous and personable and all that in his writing than he did in person, at least at that time. He was all right. We didn't have any troubles, I don't mean that. But he was sort of inclined to go off by himself. I don't know how well that book sold, but I think it did all right.

Riess: Does there continue to be a University of California Press-Sierra Club relationship?

Frugé: I don't know whether there is now or not. Jim Clark was on the Publications Committee for a while. During the last few years of my time, Harlan Kessel was on--I guess I must have got him on there. He was on there for a while.

Riess: On the board, or on the Publications Committee?

Frugé: Publications Committee. Mitchell stayed for three years. Our only difficulty was that he kept wanting to be in New York. But then, as I said before, the non-California people became a majority on the board after a while. I had resigned, and Paul Brooks had become chairman of the Publications Committee, but then the Executive Committee at that time decided to replace him with a non-professional. Mitchell didn't like this, and he quit.

Riess: What do you recall of the Publications Reorganization Committee?

Frugé: There was such a thing, I was on it, but I don't know that they ever accomplished anything.

Riess: I believe one upshot of that committee was that Will Siri asked Brower if he wouldn't like to go to New York and take the whole publishing program with him, and that was in 1967.

Frugé: Yes, that was proposed, that the publishing program be given its own capital and sort of divorced from the club, more or less, sort of be friends but not all one. Dave didn't want that. And it wouldn't have worked, I don't think.

Anyway, John Mitchell was hired as the editor. We never had any trouble with him at all. He had good ideas, and I think he really got the thing on its feet again. It took all of those three years. After Mitch left, I think they hired somebody named Jon Beckman. I gather he did very well. Siri had high praise for him. In Siri's account, he skips over Mitchell entirely but mentions Beckman. I don't know Beckman. I was totally out by that time. As I say, I resigned--I forget just when it was.

Riess: Was it '75?

Frugé: No, no. It's earlier than that. Mitchell stayed, I think, three years. Maybe '72 or '73, along in there sometime. In one of my letters [to Riess] I think I said about '75, but it was earlier. I resigned in favor of Paul Brooks. But he was only chairman for two or three months.

Brower-Frugé Relationship

Riess: Before we close for today, a small question. In Dave Brower's oral history he recounts that you said to him in some bar, sometime, "You've got to be out at the edge. You may fall off, but if you're back in the middle, it's too safe. Nothing happens."³³

Frugé: That I said this?

Riess: Yes. Can you remember advocating taking risks?

³³Brower oral history, p. 213.

Frugé: It would have been early in the game because later on I guess I realized he knew how to take risks without me. It must have been early. I don't remember the occasion.

Riess: Would you say that has been a working philosophy for you?

Frugé: Not so much. Oh, to some extent. Well, we always took risks, but that's the nature of the publishing business, that every new book is a risk.

One difficulty of publishing as a business is that your product changes every year. You don't have a continuing product. You have backlist books and so on, but your leading products change twice a year, and you're always starting over again, and each one of these is a risk of some kind.

I'm not sure I can answer that question. I certainly took risks, but I'm not inclined to go out on a limb the way Dave did.

Riess: It's kind of parallel to what you agreed made a certain sense before, that if a program is not in debt, then the program doesn't have enough energy.

Frugé: That was Dave's saying. If a conservation organization is not in financial trouble, it's not doing its job. And I could go along with that, but it all depends on how much trouble you're talking about. I mean, to be in a little financial trouble--. You ought to run on the edge, probably, if conservation is your business. You don't want to fall off the edge.

Riess: Brower also says, in his oral history--and I'd like a response from you on this--he wasn't "properly trained, somehow, in working carefully with people and smoothing the way," checking in with people, letting them know what was going on, that he had no political sense.³⁴ What do you think he means that he wasn't properly trained?

Frugé: I don't know what he means. Certainly, he would not have been trained in that at the Press. I mean, I'm not sure anybody is ever trained in that sort of thing. Don't you just have to learn it by experience?

³⁴"I was not properly trained, somehow, in working carefully with people and smoothing the way ahead of time, letting them know what I was up to in advance, checking at least with a few key people--the way anyone with political sense would do." Brower oral history, p. 217.

I always thought Dave in those days at the Press got along well enough with people. He didn't with Tommy, but that may have been an impossible situation. In those early days, I never thought of Dave as being difficult to get along with, not at all. Not when he worked for me. But maybe Stegner was right, I don't know, but he got "bit" by something. Maybe when he decided that he was a prophet. I don't know when that happened. I have no ability to create a psychological profile of anybody. No, I didn't think he was a difficult person at all.

Riess: Are there things that you and Dave Brower have in common? Like high standards, control.

Frugé: Control of what?

Riess: Control of the whole shebang.

Frugé: We probably both like to control things. I ran the Press pretty hard in a lot of ways. I controlled it. I think I managed to get along with the groups that it was important to get along with, like the Editorial Committee, but I was in conflict a lot of the time with other university offices. I know that they figured I was difficult.

One example is that--I won't go into the technology of this, but at the Press we wrote off what we called plant cost. We wrote it off immediately, so it didn't go into the inventory, it kept the inventory value down. (The plant cost is the expense in preparing a book before you actually print it.) That's what commercial publishers do, mostly for tax reasons, but we did it anyway, just to have a more healthy set of accounts.

The university accounting office didn't agree with me, and when I left, when I retired, I asked for an audit. You know, you've been there for thirty years or so and kind of want the place audited, so if there's anything they think they can find, they'll find it right then. And what they did, of course, was to recommend that plant cost be put in the inventory. It was a disaster. I think as long as I was there they knew I'd fight it tooth and toenail, and they didn't try to do that. But once I was gone, they did this, and poor Jim took the consequences. [See further discussion in Chapter VI.]

What I am saying is that I always thought I was reasonable enough, but I like to control things. And I guess Dave and I have that in common. I like to control things, but I don't think I ever tried to, as chairman of the Publications Committee. The program was Dave's. He ran it. And our job was to approve or disapprove various things and kind of keep him within bounds.

Well, we didn't succeed, but I don't think I ever tried to control the program. Gosh, what was the question?

Riess: I'm asking if, as you watched Dave in action, you could empathize with how he got in the grips of this.

Frugé: Yes, I think I can because, you know, when I started at the Press, to try to build it up we went from publishing ten or fifteen books a year to 150 or something like that. In many ways, we grew a lot more than the Sierra Club publishing program did.

I was ambitious--not to be bigger than anybody else but to be in the first rank. That is, to have a publishing program that was roughly equal to that at Yale, Harvard and so on, the big presses. I was very ambitious in those early years, and I kept it up for a long time. I think I had better financial sense than Dave. He might be a better editor. I could see that you can't build it up that way without being pretty careful of your finances.

Riess: Maybe there was a different set of checks and balances working at the Press than at the Sierra Club.

Frugé: At the Press there was a balance of power which I much approved of and sort of pushed for and so on. I don't know. I'm not here to criticize Dave at this point, all these years later. But I don't think he knew when to compromise or when to modify, when to slow down and regroup.

[tape interruption]

Riess: You were remarking on Dave's ability to bounce out of that situation in 1969.

Frugé: Well, he did. You know, the meeting at which he was fired must have been in May, after an April election, and he announced right then that he was going to start a new organization, Friends of the Earth. Eventually they kicked him out, I don't know why, probably financial. And then after that, he started still another one, Earth Island Institute.

Riess: All of them with publishing programs.

Frugé: Yes, but they didn't have money to go too far with it. I think Friends of the Earth wanted to do quite a bit, but I don't think they ever had the money to do it.

One thing I'm very pleased about is that Dave never seemed to be bitter toward me. Once at a speech he kind of shook his head and said, "You're being awfully strong." And I must say that some

of the people on the other side just sort of hated Dave. Tom Jukes was one, and some others, who just never got over it.

I don't know. I like to generally think of people as complex, that they're not all bad or all good. They often have contradictory qualities. Anyway, Dave didn't show any bitterness to me. I don't know whether he did to others or not. Anne [Brower], strangely enough, wouldn't talk to me for a year or two, but she got over that.

Riess: He said, "You're being awfully strong"?

Frugé: This was after a campaign one time, that I was being too strong against him or something, but he seemed to say it with sadness.

Riess: Maybe it's a little like the whole thing was an act, that you put on the persona of being the prophet, and you can take it off.

Frugé: Well, I wouldn't try to psychoanalyze Dave or anybody else. You can have the persona of a prophet but at other times just be an ordinary person. I think that's true. I think he always thought that I was too cautious, or too skeptical. For example, in that book he didn't like the word "skeptical" in the title, because he is not like that at all, he's a believer.

Riess: Of course, the book wasn't about him! [laughing].

Frugé: Of course, but he meant that I shouldn't be a skeptic, I should be more of a believer. I get the impression--this is very vague--get the impression that he just thinks I ought to be less of a skeptic, say, and more of a believer in something. I do have strong opinions about various things, but I'm--well, we're totally unlike in that way.

Dave Brower has some very great qualities, but he also has some great weaknesses. Even forgetting that university trouble, if I characterize Dave, I've got to get both sides of it. He's a megalomaniac, among other things, and yet he's very nice and sweet and sort of modest in a way. People have these opposite qualities.

Riess: He was on the "Cadillac Desert" program on PBS, full of remorse and personal responsibility for Glen Canyon. To me it is staggering that one person can honestly feel so responsible.

Frugé: He didn't lose that. You know, this is a little bit of his megalomania. He somehow has the idea that he could have saved it if he only--I don't think he could have, or he probably couldn't have.

I remember when he first started to feel remorse about that, and I understand why, because I went down Glen Canyon with him, one of the last trips. And I can understand. You know, he was really taken with the place, and God, why didn't we save this? And that's very natural. But he shouldn't be feeling remorse, as if he, himself, had lost it. I mean, that's going a little too far, I think.

Dave is an evangelist, as somebody has said. He really is, he has a religious fervor. He's kind of a guru, kind of a cult leader, and he's very good at it. He makes a beautiful speech, he really knows how to talk. And he writes well. But he is not a team player.

IV AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PRESSES, AND UNIVERSITY
PUBLISHING IN LATIN AMERICA

[Interview 4: September 26, 1997] ##

New Publishing Schemes, and Rethinking Extensive Editing

Frugé: [picking up a subject begun off tape] There is the problem, addressed in that article, of the very specialized book.¹ And also the problem of the in-between book, in quality--not bad, but not really terribly good, either. Should such things be lost? When somebody does a dissertation it is available, you can find dissertations. But when somebody, Professor X or Y, writes a book on such and such a subject, and it is useful, but it won't sell more than 500 copies or whatever, and it's not all that wonderful as a book, but he's done a lot of research on the subject, should that be preserved in some way? Should that be available in some form?

When I was writing about on-demand publication, the idea was to make these things available outside the book trade.² Not crank up all this machinery that you have to crank up when you publish a book. Even if it's not a popular book there are a lot of things you have to do. And you have to make some effort to sell it, although sometimes publishers don't.

But the idea I proposed was that there could be a two-level system, only one of which is in the book trade. At the second level, the books would be not exactly published, there would have to be a bibliography, of course, so they would be available, and they would be handled as University Microfilms [Ann Arbor, Michigan] handles dissertations.

¹William C. Dowling, "Saving Scholarly Publishing in the Age of Oprah: The Glastonbury Project," *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, April 1997.

²August Frugé, "Beyond Publishing: A System of Scholarly Writing and Reading," *Scholarly Publishing*, July and October 1978.

They also, by the way, had a reprint series. They would photograph these things on film, maybe print off fifty copies, feed the film into the Xerox machine and print off fifty copies or so and after that if somebody wanted one they could always run off another one. That's the idea of on-demand publishing.

This proposal--you know, I was never sure that it was the best thing--was an attempt to solve the problem that that man [Dowling] mentions. It was to have a second level that would be on film. It's really maybe closer to a library service than it is to publishing. Have these things all on film and issue a bibliography, subject bibliography, and anybody who wants something on a certain subject can get it in that way.

Now, this system has several weaknesses. One weakness is that the professor who writes a book wants to have a copy sitting on a shelf behind his desk, a copy with a book jacket, preferably. The system takes away the prestige of publishing a book. That's a weakness, that it might be hard to get acceptance. But actually now, with all this computer technology, this could be done in some similar way.

Riess: And with camera-ready copy, the cost of producing the book is the least of it.

Frugé: My recollection is that he was not talking much about computer information. He was really thinking about a way to publish in the simplest and least expensive way.

Riess: The text is ready to go, from the author, on a disk.

Frugé: In any of these schemes, that is necessary. On the book that I just finished, I gave them a disk for it. I did it on the computer. There's a lot of that going on now. Any one of these schemes for doing these impractical books requires that the author provide good enough copy. It can't be done any other way because if you want to hold expenses down you can't correct the thing and then have somebody key it in. The author, if he needs to have it corrected, he has to take responsibility for that. So the dividing line between the author and the publisher, what they do, that line has to move over a step.

Actually, we did some of that at the Press. When I was still there, we managed to get the Press in the black financially. One way we did it was if an author came in with a manuscript that was good enough except that it was badly written or not in good shape, we'd say to the author, "We can't do the extra work, but we know of a competent freelance editor. You can hire him or her to put

the thing in shape." We didn't have disks or that sort of thing in those days, but we refused to do that kind of work.

A lot of publishing people didn't agree with me on this, but I felt that the copy editing work--a copy editor might do only five or six books a year. That means you have to put a fifth of that person's salary against each book.

In Berkeley, when we were making the change, most of them edited about that many books. One person, Sue Peters, was doing sixteen or seventeen, so she was the only one who survived in Berkeley. I got rid of the rest of them, and Sue was given the job of dealing with the freelance editors, doing some of the work herself and so on. She survived, and the rest of them didn't. I'm afraid the Press has backtracked. You know, it takes maybe a mean person. I don't know. It takes somebody who really believes in what he's doing and will do it hard, against opposition.

In England they told me at Cambridge that they expected a manuscript to be copy edited in about two weeks! [laughs] Of course, maybe the English write better than Americans do. But you just can't afford to put a fifth of somebody's salary against the cost of each book.

Riess: Does it result in a uniformity of product? That must be a danger because it's sort of appealing, but not the idea.

Frugé: Well, actually, you get more uniformity if you do heavy editing.

Riess: That's what I was thinking.

Frugé: Yes. Well, you know, I never wanted a house style.

It's true of design also. In Farquhar's day, I used to say--before I came to the Press--that I could recognize a UC book across the room because there was a standard style, and it was a very good style. This was fine for doing ten or fifteen books a year. When you wanted to do 100 or so, or 150 eventually, it just wasn't feasible anymore, so I opted deliberately for no house style, for having various designers do them. That's another story, and we've talked some about that.

Building Quality, the Sponsoring Editors

Riess: Somewhere you have written to the effect that a publisher builds towards a special character, quality, identity for a press. A particular intellectual force.

Frugé: Yes, well, that relates to my statement that quality comes not from heavy reworking of manuscripts but it comes from a good job of choosing, that the quality, the nature of your list depends on doing a first-rate job of choosing. If you do a good enough job of choosing, you don't have to do this other.

We were one of the first university presses to have this second set of editors, in addition to the copy editors. In order to do the choosing, we had to develop a staff of what we called sponsoring editors. It was they, really, who made the quality of the list.

Eventually, in my time, as I was saying, we had to get rid of most of the copy editors and do the work freelance because it was cheaper and faster. Originally an editor at the Press--Harold Small was just a very good, top-level copy editor, really. I don't mean that he didn't have sense enough to do other things, but that's what he was.

I was really changing the place radically by going away from that, by thinking of editors as people who selected books, who chose them and so on.

Riess: And your Editorial Committee actually read the manuscripts.

Frugé: Yes. Well, that came about because that's what the old committee did, and I guess I decided to make a virtue out of it. At most other presses they just showed them reports.

But as we have discussed, originally the Press was a monograph series publisher. Sam added on top of the series a few general books. The committee always read the series papers. They had a group of boards that recommended these series papers up to them, boards in entomology, zoology, history, and so on, but the Editorial Committee, the central committee, always believed that it should not just rubber-stamp what the board recommended. That was a very strong feeling. So they read them. They didn't do maybe a huge job of reading, but it was a big committee, and for instance if there was something in biology they had some kind of biologist there, he would read it and so on. And occasionally they threw things back.

Riess: Did the reading lead to a formal report?

Frugé: An oral report.

The board would send a written report with the manuscript. And if you got an outside report, that was written. But the Editorial Committee member who read a manuscript and reported on it did so orally. Anyway, that's the way it was done. I don't know, I always figured that if I told the committee--suggested--that they not read book manuscripts, that we'd have a fight, and that wasn't anything I wanted to fight about. [laughs] And so we tried to make a virtue out of what other people would consider a disadvantage.

And in a way it was a virtue because the committee members felt that they were a part of the place, that they were really taking part in the work of the Press. A small committee that sat around and rubber-stamped things would not really take part. So we made them a part of the Press. It took more time. We had to have all-day meetings. We couldn't just meet on Friday afternoon between 2:00 and 4:00. But it had its advantages. People liked it.

Commercial Press Impact, Advertising

Riess: You were chosen for the Publishing Hall of Fame in 1984. What was that?

Frugé: The thing was fairly new. It was run by some magazine in New York. I was the first university press person to be chosen. I know there have been others since. Chester Kerr called me up and asked me about it. He was chosen a few years later. Most of the people they appointed were commercial publishers or magazine people, but I guess they were trying to cover the field, so they brought in university presses. Frankly, I don't think it amounted to much, but it sounds good.

Riess: Did it mean a recognition of the impact that university publishing has had on commercial publishing.

Frugé: I doubt it. I never thought of that.

Riess: Commercial publishing has an impact on university publishing. But does it go the other way?

Frugé: Well, I suppose. I imagine they've learned a few things from our methods and so on. I can't be specific at the moment. We're in the same distribution field, so naturally you follow what the commercial publishers do. However, at least in my time, we depended much more on direct mail than we did on ads in magazines. We did both, of course. But I think the commercial publishers in certain fields, the technical publishers, Wiley and McGraw-Hill and so on at that time, Van Nostrand, they did direct mail, but trade publishers didn't much; trade publishers might occasionally, on a certain kind of book, but technical publishers routinely did.

Riess: I think about the advertising that I see in the *New York Review of Books*. I don't remember when the *New York Review of Books* started.

Frugé: It's fairly new. It got started when *The New York Times* was on strike. I've got one over there. We could see what volume number it is. I would guess it's, oh, it must be thirty-some years.

The New York Times, with its large circulation, was always really too expensive for us. We used to say that a page in *The New York Times* cost as much as a Cadillac or something like that. I forget when that was. We bought some small ads in the *Times*, but it was just too expensive. The *New York Review of Books* came along with considerably lower rates, so that we could advertise there. It's quite different from the *Times*, as you know. They run to very long reviews, some of which are too long.

Riess: And they review scholarly publishing?

Frugé: They probably do more scholarly books--I'm sure they do--than *The New York Times* does. The *Times* doesn't do very many. The *New York Review* is a little more like the TLS [*Times Literary Supplement*] in London. They go in for longer reviews. It's a strange rag. You have to skip their politics. I don't read the political articles at all. They're still sort of Trotskyite. They depend, incidentally, a great deal on British reviewers. A lot of the *New York Review's* pieces are done by British academics, who generally speak and do write better than American academics. Not entirely, but generally.

Riess: And they carry a lot of university press advertising.

Frugé: Since I don't see very well, I don't pay much attention to the ads, but I know there are a lot of university press ads there. I suppose that the people who read the *New York Review* are people who are more apt to be interested in serious books.

AAUP and the Kerr Report, 1949

Frugé: It was '46 or '47 that I first started going to American Association of University Press meetings. I went to every one of the meetings after that for a long time. Evidently the directors of the association--I think it was mostly Datus Smith--decided that it was time to have a survey of American university presses. There were all different kinds, you know, and especially the state university presses were different from the private ones.

The private presses in general were more apt to be run like publishing houses. Those in the state universities were more tied to the university and to state accounting, except for one or two. Oklahoma and North Carolina were running real publishing operations, but all the other state universities were as bad as we were. I mean, as handicapped by state rules.

I don't know just why the directors decided to have a survey done, but they did, and the Rockefeller Foundation put up the money. They hired Chester Kerr--who's an old friend of mine, now in a hospital, I think--to do the survey.³ Chester was from Yale, but he was working in commercial publishing. I don't know how Datus found him, but they hired him to do this, and I think he started in '48.

I remember the association had a meeting in Berkeley, of all places, in '48. Sam had invited them. I forget what--Gosh, it must have been an anniversary of something, but I can't think of anything. The Press's fifty years, but that would have been '43. In fact, we did a catalog, a complete catalog of everything published 1893-1943. Never did another one.

Anyway, they decided to have this survey, and Rockefeller paid for it, and Kerr went around to all the different presses. The survey showed the great variety of kinds of presses and what they did and what they were trying to do, and showed in particular that, except in a few places, the accounting was crazy. You really can't do a good job of publishing unless you have the kind of accounting that publishers need. It's developed by commercial publishers, title accounting. But since you have new titles every year, you've got to be able to somehow keep the information by titles.

³Chester Kerr, *A Report on American University Presses*, The Association of American University Presses, 1949.

Sam knew this. He had asked for it before then and never got it from the university. The university had accounting that was similar to state accounting, and it just was no good for Press management. It showed afterwards what happened, but it did not give you the information you needed to try to operate the place. This was one of the big things. You saw the Kerr report.

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Riess: Was it, then, an instrument for uniformity?

Frugé: To a certain extent, but it took a long time. Primarily, the attempt was in accounting. It was an instrument for that and for reform, let's say.

Riess: You could cite it when you were dealing with the university.

Frugé: Yes. Not that that helps much with university bureaucrats. You could say that part of my ambition for the Press came out of this, but it really predated it. By the time Chester was working on that report, I was already on my way.

Riess: When did you really become a player, as it were, in the AAUP [Association of American University Presses]? I mean, when would you be recognized?

Frugé: It was a little bit later. Not much, I guess. Don't know exactly.

Riess: Did you recruit employees at AAUP meetings?

Frugé: Sometimes we did. I don't remember when, but sometimes you'd go to a meeting and look for somebody for sales manager or whatever you needed. I guess that's always true of meetings of this kind. Some people would go to the meeting looking for a change of job, let's say.

Let me say in general about university presses, after the Kerr report and people's consciousness of what had to be done, the presses grew enormously and became more professional. Not all of them, but a lot of them did. And I think the great age of presses, and not just California, really started in the fifties and through the sixties and seventies. After that, I'm not too well-informed. But strangely enough, scholarly books recently quit selling, or slowed down. Well, you read that article.⁴

⁴Dowling, op cit.

My feeling is that the presses are in a much more difficult position, as that article showed.

Well, let me catch my thoughts here a minute.

[tape interruption]

The Decision Not to Go to North Carolina

Frugé: You know, this was a small group of people, so we knew each other. And some time, in '47 or '48, something like that, I was offered the job of director of the North Carolina Press. I should have taken it, but I didn't. I went back there, though, and was interviewed by eighteen people or something like that. Somehow, I just didn't think I belonged there. But, you know, I must have been well-enough known to be offered this job. I was recommended by the man who had been there and had gone to Harvard. That was Tom Wilson.

Riess: This would have been a step up, North Carolina?

Frugé: Well, I was offered the job of head of it. Remember, I was still just the assistant manager here. And this [at North Carolina] would have been the head job.

So Sam wrote Sproul and, you know, they gave me certain things, a little bit of a raise and made me associate manager instead of assistant--didn't mean anything, really. And the promise that whenever Sam retired I would be considered for his job. None of that really meant very much. But anyway, that was in either '47 or '48, in there somewhere. Then at the meeting of 1949, which was at Princeton, Sam got pneumonia and died, in Princeton.

Riess: So suddenly.

Frugé: Yes. Well, he had always had asthma, and I remember when we walked places I often had to wait for him. His health was sort of going down. I never thought it was that serious, but anyway, he wasn't feeling well, and I called in a doctor. I went to the meetings; he didn't. He was elected vice president of the association at that meeting.

After the meeting he was in the hospital, but he seemed to be doing all right. I went to New York, I had some business to do. But I would call back and forth. Then his wife came on from

Berkeley to be with him, and I started home. We traveled by train in those days, and I went south through New Orleans and Texas and so on--I had some relatives in Texas that I wanted to meet. Before I got home, I got word on the train that he had died. It shocked me, you know. I didn't think it would happen.

AAUP Presidency, 1958

Frugé: Then, of course, after Sam died this fight arose within the university, which is not an AAUP matter, although a number of AAUP directors wrote to support me, but we're talking now about the AAUP.⁵ Gradually, my position was more or less consolidated. I had certain offices in the association. I was president in '58, was it? But the system then was that there weren't all that many candidates, so it was a four-year sentence. You were president-elect and on the executive board the first year; then you were president for two years; and on the fourth year you were past president. So it was a long sentence.

And there were some important things done. That first year the association set up a central office for the first time. It didn't have any office before. And, of course, this is one thing that the Kerr report had recommended. When I was president Chester Kerr, who had gone to Yale as number two or three at Yale, he was secretary. In fact, the director at Yale had come to me and said, "Can you possibly arrange to have Chester made secretary? He'd like that very much." Well, I did. He and I always had a kind of uneasy relationship.

Riess: Why? Did he think he should have been someplace else?

Frugé: No, but he was very pushy. He always has been. And we were working together. Oh, we got along well enough.

I forget who else was on the executive committee, but we came up with this plan to start an office in New York. The meeting of the association in '58 was at Yale. We proposed it. I had to chair the meeting, of course. There had been a certain amount of opposition beforehand, a lot of talk, especially from a man from Cornell named Victor Reynolds. You know, we did an awful lot of educating of people of what we were trying to do. I forget whether finances were a problem or not; I don't think they were a very big one. I suppose dues probably had to go up a bit.

⁵A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, pp. 37-46

Those details are gone. That's some time ago, nearly forty years ago. I do remember, though, that when the thing came up for a vote, for discussion, I waited there for the opposition to rise up. Nobody said a word. They had definitely talked it out ahead of time. The people who were not very enthusiastic about it had their say, and had definitely given up or come around because the opposition didn't show up.

Riess: This was at the board meeting or at the general meeting?

Frugé: This was the general meeting, with the delegates from all the presses there.

Riess: How could they have functioned without a central office? Maybe they weren't doing the things that they do now, like the educational directories and mailing lists and lists of scholars, quarterly lists, all of this list making.

Frugé: Well, the educational directory, which was the list of names for sending out circulars, brochures and so on, academic mailing lists, that was being run out of Chicago. The Chicago Press was running it. We all contributed and so on. We did things like that. There were committees that worked on certain things. It was all done by volunteers, in a way. I suppose that's what the opposition was. They preferred to go on doing it that way, without any paid employee, but we thought we could do a lot more if we had an office, and so it was set up.

Riess: Maybe you had learned something from observing the Sierra Club's similar decision to have a paid executive rather than just being run by volunteers.

Frugé: You know, I don't think I ever made a connection to the Sierra Club, which hired Dave in '53--. They already had a secretary. They had a couple of lower-level employees. I don't think I ever made the connection, really. At least I don't remember that I did. These were two different worlds in many ways, in spite of everything we said yesterday. The Sierra Club had a lot of conservation problems they wanted somebody to work on and needed coordination and so on. No, I don't see any connection there at all.

University Publishing in Latin America

Frugé: My second year as president we met in Austin, Texas. The man who was director at the Texas Press, whose name was Frank Wardlaw, he

was beating the drums for Latin American relations, being in Texas and close to Mexico, closer mentally than I think we are, although we border on Mexico too, closer in awareness, let's say. Frank organized and set up a part of the meeting in Mexico City after we had the regular meeting in Austin.

Those of us who wanted to--not everybody went--got on a train at Laredo, I think it was, and went to Mexico City. And we had some sessions there. The University of Mexico had a press, which was run by some friends of mine--or they're friends of mine now, they weren't then. They had a printing plant. They turned out about a hundred books of some kind a year. It was a strange operation in a way, not really run much like a commercial house. They gave away a lot of their books. But they did textbooks for the university, and it was a pretty big operation. Anyway, we had some meetings with them and with other people in Mexico City. I don't remember what we talked about exactly.

Riess: The idea was to expand? You were going there to do something?

Frugé: Well, Frank just wanted to build relations. But let me see now. This does lead to something, but I'm trying to get the causation.

At that time, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations were thinking of surveying university publishing in Latin America. Just how this happened, I don't know, except that a man named Jack Harrison, who was a Berkeley Ph.D. in history, actually, he was then working for the Rockefeller Foundation. I met him in Mexico City, and we got along very well. He had something to do with this.

We were also promoting a translation program. I can't remember. I know that Wardlaw would have been in on this. Actually, it was Harrison who did this through the Rockefeller Foundation. I don't know which of these two programs came first, but there was a big program for financing translations of Latin American books, and they need financing for this reason: that when you pay for a translation, that payment is on top of all the other expenses. That is, you get in a manuscript that's written in English and there are certain expenses, and you more or less have that figured out. You might need a subsidy, you might not, but there are a certain number of expenses.

But when you do a translation, unless somebody has done it on spec, if you have a book in Spanish, let's say, and hire somebody to translate it, you've got that expense on top of all the others, and that's apt to be pretty high. It's apt to be, oh, in those days, I would say usually two or three thousand dollars. And when you put that on top of all the other expenses, it was financially

impossible to go ahead. And so what this grant did was to pay the translator's fee plus a few things like extra money for illustrations and so on.

Riess: Who did the grant come to?

Frugé: It came to the AAUP. The AAUP appointed a board of scholars to recommend books and also to pass on the proposals. Each press would put proposals in, and this board would pass on them, both as to content and also the finances.

Most of the time, I was the liaison person. That is, I met with this board. And there was a certain amount of criticism because California and Texas were doing far more books than anybody else, and here I was, sort of on the inside. There was maybe a bit of grumbling about that, that it gave me extra influence. But a lot of the presses were not interested at all, so the books were done by a relatively few. And a lot of books were done, a lot of good books. The book has something about that, my book, I mean.⁶

And they were also, at about the same time--and I really don't know who proposed this--proposing the idea of a sort of a survey of university publishing in Latin America. There was an outfit called CHEAR [Council on Higher Education in the American Republics]. They were the actual sponsors. It may have been their idea. The money came from both Ford and Rockefeller. Their plan was to have one North American and one Mexican person do this survey, and I'm sure it was through Harrison that I was appointed as the North American.

I think Harrison thought my linguistic ability was better than it was. At this AAUP Mexican meeting, somebody who knew Spanish had written out something for me to say in Spanish, and I had actually had Spanish in high school, I knew how to pronounce it, anyway--I didn't have much, but I had a little bit. And I read this, and Harrison was quite impressed. He said, "You made only one mistake." I think he knew that I had studied French, and he thought I was just adapting the French. Anyway, he was impressed. And he was impressed with what we [the Press] had done, our Latin American books and so on.

Anyway, I was appointed, and then a man from the press at the University of Mexico, Carlos Bosch García, was the Latin American.

⁶A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, pp. 104-125.

Riess: You went individually to each press?

Frugé: Yes, we went to a lot of places. The first time we went--Susan went with me, by the way--they gave us first-class fare, with the understanding that if we wanted to bring our wives along we could travel tourist, which we did. First of all, we flew to Mexico again. This was--gosh, what year was it? [1961] Anyway, this was after that other meeting.

From there Carlos and his wife [Elisa Vargas Lugo] drove us to Jalapa in Veracruz, where they had a rather new university press. That was very interesting. Their interest was largely regional. They did novels as well as other things. We were very well impressed there.

I don't know why Carlos and Elisa didn't go along with us to Central America, but Susan and I went to just a couple of countries. We went to Guatemala and Costa Rica. There weren't very many--you know, a lot of these places didn't do any publishing, and most of them, what they did was very much local, and they were apt to give the books away and so on. Anyway, there was somebody at the American consul's office who went around with us in Guatemala, as I remember. Then we went to San Jose, Costa Rica. Then we went home.

And then later on, we went to South America. Don't remember why we did it that way, but Susan and I flew to Brazil.

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Frugé: Helen Caldwell was a professor of classics at UCLA. She was an old friend of ours, and she knew Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese. We said to her, "Why don't you come along with us on the Brazilian part of it?" and she came. When we left Brazil she flew back home. We flew to Brasilia, the new capital, which was just being built or partially built. I really don't know why we stopped there. We stayed overnight there. I still have my report somewhere. There might have been some interest.

Then we went on to Rio [de Janeiro] and stayed there for a while. Everywhere we went, it had been arranged for people to help us in these various cultural offices. From Rio we went north to Bahia, Salvador da Bahia. I remember there was a professor there who helped us. Most of these places did a little publishing, but there weren't really presses of our kind. Usually, some faculty member would run the thing.

They were all eager to see us. They thought maybe we could help them get some money to buy printing equipment, which we were not about to do, not about to recommend that sort of thing.

Riess: Did they tend to publish in paperback, like the French?

Frugé: Yes.

Riess: Did you meet any writers when you were down there? South American or Latin American writers are so interesting.

Frugé: We did in Mexico. I had various connections there. But I don't remember in South America that we did especially. You know, people like [Gabriel] García Marquez and so on, that's all a little bit later. Not very much later, though, was it? I remember when García Marquez had a book, *One Hundred Years* or something or other.

Riess: *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

Frugé: I remember somebody I knew in New York talking to me about it at about the time we were doing translations. But it was done in English by a commercial firm.⁷

Riess: And were your translations limited to scholarly books?

Frugé: No. Do you want to jump back to the translation program?

Riess: Well, no. The Rockefeller funding for translations is what I was referring to.

Frugé: Yes, we translated fiction. I think Texas did more of that than we did. But the idea was that Latin American important books, classics more or less, should be made available in English, and some of them were novels. I remember in Texas there was a--I've forgotten the man's name, but he was a well-known novelist that Frank and I had breakfast with one time, and Texas was translating one or two of his books.

Riess: Did that mean that you created a list of Latin American fiction?

Frugé: Well, I think Texas did. Ours were mostly general books. Some scholarly books, but these--some of them were very famous Mexican or Latin American books which just weren't available in English. Even a few of them were first written in French. There were a couple of famous books that had come out of the University of

⁷Harper and Row, 1970.

Paris, I guess, the Sorbonne or something, about Mexico. These were famous books, but they hadn't been available in English.

Yes, we did have a list. And there's something in that, in that it's difficult to sell one book in a subject. That is, if you have four or five books, you can advertise them together, and you can spread the cost, in a way, so it's better to have not a huge number but it's better to have several books in a field than just one.

But here we're on the translation program again. I was talking about this Latin American trip.

We went to several places in Brazil. Went to São Paulo, and I mentioned Bahia. They all did some publishing, but I don't know what to call it. It was the old-fashioned kind, where they published the books of their own faculty members and they didn't really promote them very much. They just printed them, put them on the shelf, gave them away.

Riess: Did they have any program of translating English writing?

Frugé: No. No universities did. There was a semi-commercial outfit in Mexico that did.

But from Brazil then we went to Argentina, and there we ran into an ultramodern press run by the University of Buenos Aires. They went way beyond anything that we did. They were doing very small, rather popular books, and they were selling them in kiosks on the street. This was sort of a controversial program. And in a sense it went way beyond a normal university press into trying to do very popular things. I think they made a success of it.

Then we went to the city of Córdoba there, and they had a program. Then we flew over to Santiago in Chile, and there we found what we considered the one press that was like ourselves, at the University of Chile. They ran a press very similar to what we were doing. Then we went up to Peru, and they were old-fashioned again. From there to Colombia, where they were trying to be very modern.

Anyway, when we got back we each wrote a report. Carlos wrote one, and I wrote one. In these reports we had come to the conclusion that publishing in Latin America could be better--that is, university publishing--that the main thing lacking was distribution, a way to distribute things. Of course, our American scholarly books didn't sell very well in Latin America. I don't think they ever did. They were too expensive.

CILA (Centro Interamericano de Libros Académicos)

Frugé: We came up with a proposal that some organization be set up, funded by the foundations, to do distribution. I don't know, it was probably a crackpot scheme, in a way. To make it work, you would have had to do it big, I think, to have an office in several countries. We set up an office in Mexico City, but in Argentina they weren't impressed. "Why not have it here?" you know. And there wasn't really much cooperation between countries. Somehow, you would think that they were more like each other than they really were or even are.

Riess: Did they know or even care about each other? Did they have a way that they spoke from university to university?

Frugé: Not much. They were very nice to us, I mean, there was no problem there. But I remember in a bookstore in Buenos Aires we were talking with the woman who was running it about why didn't she sell more Mexican or North American books. One of us mentioned books on the Mexican Revolution. She said, "We don't care about the Mexican Revolution."

It was clear that their eyes were turned toward Europe. They didn't give a damn about Mexico, really. This was more or less true everywhere, in a way. In this country we have the idea that they're Latin American, and all these countries are the same, but they're not, and they certainly weren't then.

Anyway, this office was set up in Mexico. It was called CILA, C-I-L-A, Centro Interamericano de Libros Académicos. Some of the local bookstores weren't too happy about this. They thought this would be competition for them. It wasn't much. But anyway, it was set up. They were to sell North American books in Latin America, and Latin American books in the U.S. Supposed to go both ways.

Riess: And this would be the distribution point.

Frugé: This is the distribution business. Never really worked, although in some ways it did. We all sent sample copies down from here. Some of our books sold in Mexico, even sold to tourists. [laughs]

Riess: Tourists eager for something in English, you mean?

Frugé: Yes, well, we had a very good book on Mexico by Lesley Simpson. *Many Mexicos*. We had a paperback of that, and that did very well. I suppose a lot of the purchasers were tourists. It did very well, in spite of the fact that the book was not looked on very

favorably by Mexican scholars because Lesley said what he thought, and he sort of insulted them in various ways, or at least he wasn't careful enough about their sensitive feelings. Maybe the book sold mostly to tourists. I don't know. Anyway, we had a few books that were saleable there, but others were not.

One thing we hadn't known about, and this goes, again, on the fact that these countries don't necessarily work well with each other. We found out that a firm in Mexico could not sell U.S. books in other Latin American countries. They had customs rules against it. You know, they had Mexican books they could peddle in Argentina, but they couldn't sell a North American book there. A Mexican outfit couldn't sell a North American book in Argentina. The operation was fairly successful in Mexico itself, I mean, selling in that direction, there were enough scholars there who wanted American books. But South America was a failure, really.

Riess: So you raised their consciousnesses.

Frugé: Yes, except the other way around. A lot of American libraries had trouble buying new books that came out in various Latin American countries, in fact even trouble finding out what was being published. Well, our office--which, by the way, was run by the man who went around South America with me [Carlos Bosch García]--got standing orders from American libraries. They could order books from various Latin American publishers and send them to the American libraries, who were not ordering individual books because they didn't know what was being published. They'd give a blanket order for so many different books.

And, since they all came bound in paper, as you mentioned, the American libraries wanted them bound. Binding in Mexico was very cheap compared to up here, and so they could not only sell the book and make a little profit on that but they could have it bound and make some profit on the binding. So that part of the operation went very well. In other words, it was successful in one direction but not in the other.

We expected to lose money, but after a while we decided--. We started out with two executives, one American and one Mexican, for political reasons, but finally decided that we just couldn't afford that, and we got rid of the American. Actually, for a few years it ran in the black, but then conditions got more difficult. The Mexican government had very strict labor laws. All companies, including ours, had employees called *mozos* that would run errands, and they paid them almost nothing, \$50 a month, or less than that.

This was true of these underdeveloped countries, that they had all these people they could hire for almost nothing. At least it

gave these men something to do, it was better than nothing. But the government came along and said you have to pay them so much, and so we had to let them go.

They had another rule that if you fired somebody, you had to pay them one month's salary for every year they had worked, so if they had worked five years, to fire them you had to pay them five months' salary. We got caught on that later on. But anyway, the conditions just got too difficult after a while.

Riess: Had the Ford Foundation continued to help sponsor that? Or was it running on its own?

Frugé: Well, they gave us a fairly large sum. I don't know what it was. We invested it in Mexican beer stock, which was paying 10 percent. This was before the great inflation in Mexico that just wiped money out. In fact, that didn't come until afterwards. But we had it invested and were getting 10 percent on it.

Riess: Did AAUP put an amount of money into the operation?

Frugé: No, I don't think we did. I think it was all foundation money. Mostly Ford Foundation, some Rockefeller.

[tape interruption]

Thinking About Scholarly Publishing

Riess: You have published a lot over the years in *Scholarly Publishing*. What is that?

Frugé: *Scholarly Publishing* was started by the University of Toronto. I've got a full set of it here, I think. First it was called *Scholarly Publishing*. I think they've changed it to *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*. And this was meant to be a serious magazine.

My writing came fairly late in the game. It was the last five years or so that I was working that I did that.

Riess: You were in a reflective mood?

Frugé: I suppose. There were certain problems, and I don't know, I just got to the point where I wanted to write about them. I had ideas that were rather different from most people's. For example, I thought, I still think that they overdo the copy editing. You

know, the work on the manuscript itself, the correcting and so on. We do far more than is done in England, for example. English professors may write better than American ones, but still, the general opinion is that by doing heavy editing you improve the quality of what you're doing, of the books you publish.

I think that's the opposite of the truth, that by doing this heavy editing you're taking things that aren't terribly good and trying to make something out of them, whereas if you just throw those away or back and look for things that are good enough as they are, you get better quality. That's an illustration of this business that the truth is exactly the opposite of what it appears to be.

Now, maybe it wasn't every press that could do this, but by that time, we thought we could. I mean, we had enough of a reputation, and we had sponsoring editors who were visiting people here and there and so on, and we thought by that time we could get better manuscripts and we didn't have to take in things and then doctor them up. That's one of the things I wrote about.

Also, that had an effect on costs. In the late years, we found we could save a great deal this way. But here again, we've gone way off the AAUP subject.

Riess: The *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* is the house organ of the AAUP, isn't it?

Frugé: Well, perhaps unofficially. AAUP really had nothing to do with it. Toronto just started it.

Further on CILA, AAUP

Riess: You were AAUP president in the late fifties. And the Latin American and South American work was in the early sixties. What was your further role in the AAUP?

Frugé: Well, this CILA thing in Mexico City--they had a board of directors that ran it. There were several Mexicans and several Americans. I was on this board the whole time, I think. At the beginning, the Mexicans gave us people more distinguished than we were. One of the people we had became ambassador to UNESCO, and another one became ambassador to Greece. One of them was the number two man of the University of Mexico. They gave us top people. But we had these board meetings. Toward the end, when things began to go bad, we had meetings to try to decide what to

do and so on. But I guess that's enough about that. But this must have gone pretty well through the sixties. I don't have the dates.

The AAUP after that. Well, you know, there are a lot more university presses now. The meetings are big. They may have 600, 700 people at them. When I first started going, there might have been sixty or seventy. I don't know.

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Frugé: I haven't been to a meeting in a long time.

Riess: But towards the end there was a sense that things were changing?

Frugé: Well, the computers, of course, were coming along, but at that time they were used mostly for accounting. Now every employee has a computer. None of that then. Computers were used mostly for accounting, and computers bankrupted some firms and almost got us because the programs weren't worked out.

National Enquiry into Scholarly Communication

Frugé: But back to the general subject of university presses. When I left the Press in early '77, end of '76, we still thought that we could sell, oh, say, 1,500 copies of anything, practically, and 2,000 or 3,000 of most. And we had various subsidy funds of one kind or another. But after I left--[laughs] it has nothing to do with my leaving--but they say now, and it's in that [Dowling] article you saw, that the average sale of scholarly books is down to around 700 or so. It seems to me they're getting awfully close to the point where it's not worth doing.

Now, I don't know the cause of this. I think the whole information business has had something to do with it. Libraries have fallen in love with computers, and a lot of them tend to think that having information stations is more important than having books. That's part of it.

Another part is that libraries work together more, and there are more of them that kind of "you buy this and I'll buy this and we'll loan 'em back and forth." This also has to do with their budgets. It's generally said--and in that article--that library budgets have gone down, but I don't think so. The last time I checked it, the budgets had gone up on the average of 8 percent or 9 percent every year, and I think that's a lot. But they started

spending more money on computers and staff salaries and so on. So the part of the budget for buying books has certainly gone down.

Some people got the idea that there was a crisis in scholarly communication among university presses, libraries, scholars, and universities in general. I'm not sure whether there was or not, but they had this idea, and a national board was appointed to study the problem. I think it was organized under the ACLS, American Council of Learned Societies. It was a big board, about twenty people or so. There were several university press people, there were several librarians, the librarian at Harvard and someone from New York Public Library, and I think the UCLA librarian was on it. And there were a couple of commercial publishers. They eventually issued a report, which I have here.

Riess: And this was called the National Enquiry into Scholarly Communication.

Frugé: Yes, that's what it was. Eventually, they issued a report.⁸ This was after I retired, but I was on this board, and the Yale director, the Princeton director, one or two others--there were several of us. This went on for quite a while.

After the thing was published, I disagreed with the principal recommendation. They said to me, Well, you can publish your minority report, or whatever it was. I wrote a review of the book that was published in *Scholarly Publishing*, which I called "Two Cheers for the National Enquiry," or something like that.

Both Chester Kerr at Yale and Herb Bailey at Princeton were kind of incensed. They thought I had betrayed them or something or other. My interpretation is that psychologically a board appointed to study something has to come up with a positive proposal. You can't take foundation money and work for two or three years on something and come up with a report that says really there is nothing to be done!

To some extent you could say this about Carlos and my reports on that South American trip, where we said that what needed to be done was something about distribution. We might have just said nothing. That might have been better.

But, you know, the group didn't come up with anything. And then some of the librarians--this is my interpretation--sold them

⁸*Scholarly Communication, The Report of the National Enquiry into Scholarly Communication*, by David W. Breneman and Herbert C. Morton, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1979.

a bill of goods, so they came up with a proposal for a new national library system. (I haven't read this thing for some time.) They didn't think the Library of Congress was right for it, but proposed a new, huge, \$30 million or whatever it was library system that would somehow manage journals, among other things, so that people, libraries wouldn't have to buy a journal, they could get a Xerox or something from this central library.

Of course, what that does to the journals is murderous. The report said that journals would have to face the fact of evolution, that some fall by the wayside. Natural selection, Darwin's word. In my review, I said this was the most unnatural kind of selection because they were really being torpedoed. Anyway, the whole scheme--I'm sure it fell of its own weight. But I thought they really bought a bill of goods from two or three of these librarians.

The idea of setting up a big system parallel to the Library of Congress! God, you couldn't get that through the government. It was crazy. But Chester and Herb didn't see it at that time.

Aside on Librarians at Berkeley

Riess: Through the Press did you have much natural contact with the succession of librarians at Berkeley?

Frugé: I did at first, when Don [Donald] Coney was the librarian. And for a while he had a couple of assistants, one of whom became the librarian at Harvard, and another became the head librarian at the New York Public eventually. That was Doug Bryant and John Corey. I knew all of them pretty well.

Actually, I was on the University Library Committee for a while, but this was late in the game. There was a fairly young librarian who had been a student at Rutgers, a student of Neal Harlow's, the man that I did that book with. He had strange ambitions. He wanted to build a new library. I was on the board when he was librarian. And I think the next was Joe Rosenthal.

In the early years, of course, I had just been in the library business, and I had a lot of contact with them at the time.

I was young when I first came to the Press. I was looking for advice wherever I could get it. I talked to Coney and these other people and so on. You know, for a while I thought they knew a lot more than I did. After a while, I realized that they weren't

doing so well within the university. They were having troubles, too.

Where and Why University Presses

Frugé: But let's get back to the general subject of university presses. There are now at least twice as many presses as there were when I was working. A real university press, to my way of thinking, should be established in a great research university, because for books you depend on faculty and graduate students. The press has almost no contact with the teaching part of the university, it's with the research part. Even though maybe less than half of your books come out of your own university, it's the academics who do research and who write books that you deal with. So you establish a press. And in a college that doesn't have graduate schools and so on, where the devil do they get their books? They have to do a different kind of book. They have to do regional books and things of this kind.

But presses gained a certain amount of standing and, you know, "Such and Such university has a press, we should have one." As I look at the list of members, there are a lot of places--of course, they're entitled to a press if they want one, but I don't see it. You really can't run a scholarly press unless your university has some standing.

Oklahoma may be the best example of a university that's not a great research university, but still, it's a university with graduate departments. And their press has specialized in Western books, American Indians and that sort of thing, so they were, from the beginning, a little more like a commercial house than the rest of us were. But the presses that really became fairly large academic presses are all at big research universities. Almost all. There may be a few exceptions.

They established a few consortiums. In New England they established New England University Press with, oh, six or seven different colleges and universities. Wesleyan and Dartmouth and others.

Riess: Wesleyan has its own press, doesn't it?

Frugé: Wesleyan is the biggest of those. Wesleyan had its own press, but later they went in with New England.

Riess: For distribution?

Frugé: General management, I think. I don't know why they did because they were bigger than the others. And there are two or three other consortiums of one kind or another. I think that was a good idea, putting those all together, so that you have just one sales force, for example, for all of them. I don't know what arrangements they had, who produced the books, whether each press produces its own. But anyway, the idea of going together seems good to me.

But, you know, in that article [Dowling] one sees that the kind of books published has been changing. Partly this is a change in universities, this political correctness. They do an awful lot more of what they call gender studies. You know, I'm a prejudiced person. In a university I think the weakest parts, and certainly the weakest in terms of the books, are the social studies: sociology, social anthropology and so on. It doesn't mean that every book is bad. I mean that the stuff is not very solid, really. But that's the way it has gone recently.

I look at the catalogs of the Press in Berkeley, and they are very heavily social science now. The gender studies--there's a whole long section of them, and then a lot of the books in other sections are gender studies, a huge amount.

Riess: I wonder what you would be doing if you were there today.

Frugé: I don't know. The list had to be adapted to the times, had to be changed. I certainly wouldn't have done that much of it. Several things I wouldn't have done.

I don't want to turn this into a criticism of the Press now, but in general I have the feeling--I mean, I don't have any evidence--I have the feeling that university presses have passed their prime. Maybe this is personal, I don't know. But the business of--a lot of them are trying to do fiction now, which I think is a mistake. And I don't think you see as many solid books in history as you used to. I don't know why, but I get that impression. They're certainly not on the Press's list.

And I don't mean the Press, Berkeley, I mean all of them, although some seem to be doing better than others. Oxford and especially Cambridge still seem to be doing more or less the old kind of book. Of course, they have the prestige. I remember the director at Cambridge once said, "Price your books higher, higher." And Cambridge books are very high.

But another friend of mine said to him, "Look, you can get away with this, but we in Wisconsin can't. I mean, you're Cambridge and you've got that well-known name."

Riess: Well, we're back at the practicalities of on-demand publishing.

Frugé: Yes, I did a lot of work on that going back to that National Enquiry. Some time in the late part of the talk, somebody--I forget who it was, a man in commercial publishing, I think--suggested to me why don't we do something on on-demand publishing. The National Enquiry spawned a number of separate studies, in addition to its final report, and some of them were pretty good.

But on-demand publishing--I suppose present-day technology has gone beyond it, but this was being done in a way by University Microfilms in Ann Arbor. I went there and talked to them and saw what they were doing. They used fast Xerox machines. They had them fixed up so that they could--I don't know whether they had a folding machine attached to them, but they could run off several copies of a book or manuscript.

One great thing they did for all of us in the early days was that they put in a dissertation program. I think everybody, every graduate student who did a dissertation, I think they had to pay a certain amount, not very much. And the thing went to Ann Arbor and was microfilmed or micro-something or other, from which they could run off a Xerox, and I think they did run off a few copies. And this sort of satisfied the old provision that you had to publish your dissertation.

Riess: Would they be catalogued?

Frugé: Well, if a library got a bound copy, yes, I guess.

And there was a list of dissertations that could be found, could be had. But it saved us from thousands of dissertations being submitted as books. There were a few that were very good, of course, but an awful lot of university press books, all presses, I think, in the early days were dissertations. Most of them didn't make very good books. Our University series, paperbound series, they were very heavily dissertations, and the fact that those series have gone down to almost nothing now is in part that the dissertations are not coming to them.

INTERVIEW WITH AUGUST FRUGÉ AND SUSAN FRUGÉ

V CALIFORNIA NATIVE PLANT SOCIETY

[Interview 5: January 15, 1998] ##

Susan Frugé's Background, Editing Munz's Flora

Riess: Susan, what was your background and interest in native plants?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, first of all, when I was book editor at the Press--I was in the Los Angeles office--one of my prime authors, or the prime author, really, was Philip Munz, who was then known as the--what would you say?--the special botanist for everything. He had a lot of interest in native plants, and he also has places out here--a road named for him--in the monument¹ and there are a number of plants named after him, cacti and so forth, named Munzii, you know, as you go along. I worked with him a lot, and I love plants, and I had a show garden.

Frugé: She edited his big book.

Riess: Munz and Keck, that was the flora.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. Munz and Keck was really about the only thing for a long time.² And I was the editor and did the designing for the small books, the *Coast Wildflowers*, the *Spring Wildflowers*, and all of those. And I sometimes went on trips with Ledyard Stebbins. So I had at least learned all the names. I did not have botany in school, I wasn't a trained botanist. But I absorbed it.

Riess: Would Philip Munz fit the picture of the typical native plant person? What was he like?

¹ Joshua Tree National Park. The park was promoted from monument status in 1994.

²A *California Flora*, by Philip A. Munz with the collaboration of David D. Keck. University of California Press, 1959.

- Mrs. Frugé: He was all plants. And one of the sweetest guys you'd ever meet. We'd go on our hikes through botanic gardens or whatever, and Phil would be there as tall and straight as could be, and I'd be following behind him, kind of drooping because of the heat, and then drooping ever more behind us was his little dog, like a Steinberg cartoon. [laughter]
- I would say he was--of course, he was the leading native specialist, but he was the leading botanist.
- Riess: You were out on walks with him long before CNPS [California Native Plant Society] started.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. It was in the late fifties, early sixties with him, and then CNPS, of course, was a few years later.
- Riess: And did he fill you with the feeling that these were endangered plants?
- Mrs. Frugé: Oh, yes. And a love of them. Yes, I remember when he first told me about his favorite mountain in this world--and he had been all over the world--and that was Bear Mountain, near Arvin. It was covered with wildflowers, which it no longer is, like that. It has been grazed too much.
- Riess: Did he talk about issues of preservation and starting an organization? Was there any thought of how to halt the disappearance of things?
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, he used to say things like, "People should be educated," but no, we had no vehicle for reaching the public.
- Riess: I've read that there were other native plant societies, that California was not the first, which I had always thought.
- Mrs. Frugé: There was a New England Native Plant Society.
- Frugé: There must have been some, but I think a lot of western states formed societies on the model of this one. It's impossible to say which were the first, really, I think.
- Mrs. Frugé: We were the first one that grew and expanded like this. New England had had its native plant society, which meant a number of states involved. And we didn't ask them for constitutions or ideas or any of the usual things you do in forming a new society. We just started out. Nevada followed us, and Arizona, and Texas. And they asked for information. "What do you do?" All this kind of thing. But as far as I know, we were the first fully-fledged state society.

- Riess: I was wondering whether you think that it's a particularly California in the sixties kind of thing.
- Mrs. Frugé: I think so.
- Frugé: It had nothing to do with the sixties politically, the sixties as a political upheaval. There's no connection there.
- Mrs. Frugé: It was the sixties in that special groups were formed to get something done.
- Riess: That's what I mean, yes.
- Mrs. Frugé: I do, too. That's true. I think if it had been another time, the fifties, it wouldn't have worked. If it started in the seventies, it might or might not. But we were dedicated to saving the Tilden Park Botanic Garden, of which Jim Roof was manager. It was through that that we became the Native Plant Society.
- Riess: There was this energy for saving things.
- Mrs. Frugé: That's right. Especially in California because things hadn't been lost, yet, much. Or we didn't know how much was lost or how little. But in New England there's very little left. So they don't compare to us. And we had this free, open space to roam. Well, the idea of merging as a group, I think, was very sixties.
- Riess: Of individuals, you mean, coming together.
- Mrs. Frugé: And very diverse individuals.

A Garden in Berkeley, 1959

- Riess: Okay, so back to the beginning. You knew Phil Munz and you worked with him in the late fifties. Did you know August then?
- Mrs. Frugé: He was my boss for five years.
- Frugé: Not really. I was your boss' boss.
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, I was in the Los Angeles office from '54 to '59, and he was overall director of the Press. So as soon as I married him, of course, I couldn't do this officially because the

nepotism rule was still in effect. I couldn't be paid for it, which I didn't like.

Frugé: We were married in '59, so she was at the Press several years.

Mrs. Frugé: Then I, of course, came up to Berkeley to live with him. It was after we were in Berkeley a short time that the Native Plant Society--well, it was Save the Garden that was the first group, and Save the Garden became the Native Plant Society.

Riess: When did you meet the women who were active in the beginning, Joyce Burr, Jenny Fleming? There's a reference in one of the oral histories to your being registrar for Gladys Smith's wildflower class.³

Mrs. Frugé: I worked briefly for extension on a volunteer basis, and that was when I did that. But no, I didn't meet Joyce until--I knew Jenny before Joyce, I think. I don't know.

Frugé: Can I interpose here a little bit? She has a letter from Leo Brewer--this is the middle of '65--saying that they had just formed a society, and would Susan be one of the sponsors. We've got letterheads with a long list of sponsors on one side. They chose a lot of people for names, like Ansel Adams and Admiral Nimitz and so on. Glenn Seaborg. But this letter says, "Because of your previous activities," or something, "we'd like you to be a sponsor." And I don't know what he was referring to.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, for one thing it was being editor of the Munz books.

Frugé: Yes, that could be.

Mrs. Frugé: And another thing was that I was the garden club president for a long time for the university, in Berkeley.

³The following interviews on the history of the California Native Plant Society are part of the Donated Oral Histories Collection in The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley: Joyce E. Burr, *Memories of Years Preceding and During the Formation of the California Native Plant Society, 1947-1966*, 1992; Jenny Fleming, *Memories of the California Native Plant Society During and After Its Formation, 1955-Present*, 1993; G. Ledyard Stebbins, *The Life and Work of George Ledyard Stebbins, Jr.*, 1993; Leonora H. Strohmaier, *Memories of Years Preceding and During the Formation of the California Native Plant Society, 1955-1973*, 1992; Myrtle R. Wolfe, *Memories of Early Years and Development of the California Native Plant Society, 1966-1991*, 1991.

- Riess: That was a faculty wives section club?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. Finally, when I couldn't get enough people to keep doing it and to give the programs and all of that, I closed it down. It had been going since 1893. But I was known through that. And Leo's wife was in that, for one thing.
- Frugé: Anyway [getting back to the letter from Leo Brewer], Susan became a sponsor of the society. I wasn't. It's just--her name is on the letterhead.
- Mrs. Frugé: But I also used to go out to the Botanic Garden [East Bay Regional Parks Botanic Garden] with Jim Roof, so I knew him ahead of time, too. I think it was Jim Roof who suggested to Joyce Burr that she meet me and see if I would be a Contra Costa County representative for the garden. The regional parks garden was in two counties. I was Contra Costa County, as was Joyce. So she and Doc came to visit us, and that's how I met her.
- Riess: Why were you already acquainted with Jim and up in the Botanic Garden?
- Mrs. Frugé: Oh, probably because of Dr. Munz. I had a lot of interest in the plants, and I wanted to learn all the Bay Area ones.
- Riess: What kind of garden did you have in Berkeley? Natives?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. I had a show garden. I do things like, at the time my plum tree with its white blossoms came into bloom, I had all white flowers around it. I cut down a fourteen-level terrace to seven, so that you did a lot of wandering and all that. It was a hillside garden.
- Riess: Where was that house?
- Frugé: It was in Kensington, on Oberlin Avenue.
- Mrs. Frugé: My neighbor on Oberlin called August a "garden widower" [laughs]. But he ate. He didn't miss meals.
- Riess: Was the faculty wives garden section club supportive of the Botanic Garden?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, it was just about gardening, and I found that what I was interested in was to bring in speakers on rather erudite subjects, and that didn't go over so well. I realized that, and I was tired after a few years of doing that. They were happy to come and enjoy everything and, you know, have a bite

to eat, but they really weren't interested in the way that I was.

Frugé: [to Susan] Was the Herb Society later?

Mrs. Frugé: No, the Herb Society was during that time.

Frugé: Because you were president of that, or chairman or whatever you call it.

Mrs. Frugé: The Herb Society of America. Actually, it's because of the Herb Society, which is almost all local--local and valley people--that I thought of the Native Plant Society sale and brought it to our impoverished group at one meeting.

We used to bring our little potted herbs for each other, you know--or unpotted, even--and sell them for ten or fifteen cents to members during a meeting. Suddenly it struck me that that is a good way to get native plants out to people, because none of the nurseries carried them. So I brought it up as a subject and, you know, they liked it!

The next year I rented Lakeside Park in Oakland, but the man didn't realize we were making money from our sales--the manager of the park, whoever he was at that time (oh, and I also knew Paul Covel)--and I had quite a struggle not to have to pay a lot of extra money or percentage of our sales. I think our profit was something like \$78 [laughing].

CNPS Sponsors, Activists, and the First Year

Riess: It's interesting that you were asked to be on the sponsor side because that's really not the active side of the organization.

Mrs. Frugé: No. But you know, what they always hope to do with that is put you on the sponsors, and you either give money or you give time or you give both. It's kind of a con always. But it's a very pleasant one.

Frugé: The list of sponsors was mixed. There were people who never had anything to do with the Native Plant Society, just lent their names.

Mrs. Frugé: Like Omar Bradley, General Bradley.

- Frugé: Well, Admiral Nimitz, anyway. Was Bradley in it? I don't know. They also listed professors of botany and people who might do some work.
- Riess: I would think there would have been conflict between the appeal of having an organization with big-name sponsors and gifts that gave it a huge initial financial boost, and a grass-roots, hands-on organization. Was there a decision to be small?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. I think we simply didn't get any money, and we hadn't any brochures. We had no publications, we had nothing to show for it. And these people weren't asked for money, to my knowledge.
- Frugé: We have one, somewhere--I have a letter which Ledyard and I and two or three others signed, trying to get money. But I don't think we ever did. We didn't succeed. We ran into debt, and I guess the plant sale got us out of it.
- Riess: Mary Wohlers, is it? the paid secretary, felt very inspired about getting gifts, money. What happened about all of that?
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, she didn't do it and couldn't do it, and I'm sorry to say she was emotionally confused, shall we say. In fact, we had to, finally--I've got the letter, threatening us, me, plus everybody else. Ledyard got a terrible one, he was in a tizzy about it.
- She was threatening destructive activities toward us because we didn't have the money to pay her. And so Nate [Nathan] Cohen got his cousin, who was the district attorney for Yolo County, where Mary was living at the time, to evaluate her, and he said, Well, of course, she's obviously paranoid. (I don't have a letter to prove that.) You've got to get rid of her. You've got to get her out of there.
- Frugé: We've got a letter that very well proves it--she practically called you Lady Macbeth.
- Mrs. Frugé: She called me Lady Macbeth. She didn't practically do it.
- Frugé: Can I go back just a little? (I have a passion to get first things first!) When the society first started, in '65, we had rented an office on University Avenue and hired Mary Wohlers as an executive secretary. I don't remember how much time she was supposed to give. That's when Mac Laetsch was president. Anyway, in the beginning I think we do have minutes. Ledyard was elected president the beginning of '66. (Strangely

enough, I was vice president for a year there.) The minutes show that the society was badly in debt. We couldn't afford an office and a paid secretary. I think Mary Wohlers wanted to raise money so we could go on that way. Almost all the rest of us thought we just had to become a volunteer society.

I remember several times--you know, I'd become the hatchet man, because I was the one who made a motion in September of '66 that we--we had already eliminated the office--but that we eliminate the paid position. It wasn't actually done until December. I think there was argument in September, and in December it was unanimous. It was December. And that must have set Mary off because the letter you have from her is in January. She calls everybody dishonest and so on. It's quite a letter. She's got it.

- Riess: The society was only a year old. Why was it in debt?
- Frugé: Because of mostly Mary's salary. And we also had that rent, which was eliminated first. It was mostly we didn't have money enough to pay a salary. You know, each committee spent some money and so on, but even at a small salary, it goes on every month and we didn't have any--all we had was dues.
- Riess: When you think back to that first year, who do you think of as the people who were really working, the important early people?
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, certainly Joyce Burr was. She was in at the very beginning. I don't remember Jenny at that time, and G. Ledyard was doing a lot.
- Riess: Even though he was in Davis.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but he was very peripatetic, so that wasn't a problem for him.
- Frugé: He came in almost at the beginning. Then we made him president, although he had to come from Davis. This was a Berkeley organization, but the president was from Davis [laughing].
- Mrs. Frugé: And Mac Laetsch was very active.
- Frugé: And Paul Zinke, Mary Rhyne.
- Mrs. Frugé: Even Jim Roof.

- Frugé: Jim Roof. Maxine Trumbull, I'm remembering. We have a picture there that shows an early meeting.
- Riess: I see that group of names over and over again, and I wonder whether there was a second tier of people. Who else?
- Frugé: Well, one other was Alice Howard. I don't think there was a second tier.
- Mrs. Frugé: I don't think so. You see, we really didn't have anything to unify us, we didn't have field trips, though we eventually got them. Bob Ornduff was somewhat active in there. Oh, Lincoln Constance was, too, he was a good advisor. But as far as being the ones who did any work, no. The work was done by a few certain people.
- Riess: And what was the work that was being done?
- Mrs. Frugé: Mostly letters to encourage people to join. I was working to see how far we could go in getting enough money to have a bulletin of monthly events, of which we didn't have many. But as soon as we did have the bulletin, we started with various things: lectures and field trips. And then we kept working to get more money for publications.
- Riess: Was there a mission statement? What was the mission?
- Mrs. Frugé: The mission was to protect and preserve native and rare plants. You know, I looked for a mission statement.
- Frugé: I've seen one somewhere.
- Riess: How involved were you, August? What was your role?
- Frugé: Well, I wouldn't say involved in that first part. Of course, I was interested because Susan was, to some extent, but also I've been a conservationist for a long time.
- Riess: In what sense? Through the Sierra Club? Is that what you're thinking of as conservationist?
- Frugé: Well, yes, and in general. But I don't think I did any substantive work. I took part in the meetings, and, you know, I had done a lot of work with groups and so on. As I say, I was the one--and this is still '66, I guess--Alice kept the minutes, and that's the only time, I think, that she said, "Who made the motion?" I was trying to explain to everybody that we couldn't afford anything else. So I was involved with

the group, but I was not a gardener. I don't know what else I did. That's thirty years ago.

Riess: You were so involved with the Sierra Club, and I wondered what wisdom you could bring from one organization to the other.

Frugé: I don't think much. The Sierra Club in the sixties, and I was mostly on the Publications Committee. You've seen some of that stuff. And that really didn't relate particularly to the Native Plant Society. They were both conservation organizations, I was aware of that. Also I was an organization person and administrator and so on, and, you know, Jim Roof was a close friend.

Botanists and Field Trips

Riess: How did the field trips evolve? How were they part of the strategy for making this an effective group?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, I don't know. We certainly had no idea that we were going to have forty chapters, or so.

But Baki Kasaplaigil, Wayne Roderick, Jim Roof, John Bryant, who later died [were some of the leaders].

Riess: What was the first name?

Mrs. Frugé: Baki Kasaplaigil. He was at Mills College. He's a botanist. These were all people who had been leading field trips for their own groups. Paul Zinke and, of course, G. Ledyard. Cliff Schmidt in biological sciences at San Jose State. Wayne Savage from San Jose.

Riess: There were a number of scientists. It wasn't just plant lovers.

Mrs. Frugé: No, but, you know, actually the people who did all this kind of routine work work--as we were once described, the little old ladies in the garden in tennis shoes--it's us who did the work that these people wouldn't have done: the secretarial, you know, unification, whatever you want to call it. Because they never would have done it. They had ideas, and they could always contribute, and did, and lent their names, beautifully.

Frugé: I always thought that the fight to save the garden was really won by the housewives of Berkeley--gardeners. Not just any

housewife, most of them were gardeners like Jenny, for example, and Susan and others. But, you know, you mentioned Wayne Roderick. Wayne worked for the [University of California] Botanical Garden. He was a gardener. Wayne--was he the first or the second program chairman? We had public programs where people showed slides and gave talks.

Mrs. Frugé: On campus.

Frugé: On campus, yes.

Riess: And space was given?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, just by the university, lecture halls. And we didn't charge any money. We weren't very smart in a way, or maybe we were. It worked.

Riess: Somebody like Lincoln Constance organized that space?

Mrs. Frugé: He or Bob Ornduff, or Mac Laetsch.

Frugé: It was mostly in Mulford Hall. That's in agriculture. Paul Zinke was in forestry. Paul might have been--I don't know who did it. I guess there were public programs, there were field trips, and there were publications. And the chapters. I'm surprised at how early the chapters started.

Mrs. Frugé: I was, too.

Frugé: In '66 or '67 there was the Sacramento one. There was one in Santa Monica and one in Monterey, I think, as early as that.

Mrs. Frugé: And the Gualala one. And Sacramento. Ledyard got the group going there with Grady Webster.

Frugé: Ledyard was, in a sense, our *eminence grise*. He was sort of our intellectual beacon in a way. He had more prestige than any of the rest of these people, as a scientist.

Mrs. Frugé: Nobody knew what the word "ecology" meant--it had been in existence--until Ledyard let them know. It's really due to him that that has built up.

I wanted to say here that Walter Knight was our first field trip chairman. You probably have that elsewhere.

Frugé: He worked for Jim Roof in the Botanic Garden.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, and Chuck Klein was in the UC Botanic Garden.

Riess: You said that the Botanic Garden was saved by housewife gardeners.

Frugé: Well, I meant private gardeners.

"Native?"

Riess: Did people have to learn to love California native plants? Is it a learned love? Flowers, the show garden you described, that's easy to love, it's sort of programmed in us.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, it is a learned love, because the flowers, if they exist to the eye, are much less showy. It's something from the earth, though, that makes you love natives, something that's living where it belongs and you see the reality. Once you learn to love natives, and go out on field trips and see where they're growing, you find you can't like the big, showy flowers of the real garden anymore, the usual idea of garden.

Riess: Was there a definition of what a "native" plant was?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, it had to be endemic to a certain area and then be in other spots--well, not necessarily, but it could be in other spots, too. But it had to be--even if you had the same thing in Nevada, if it was growing in California it was native to California, it was native to Nevada. But if you didn't have it anyplace except in a certain kind of selenium soil in California, that was native, too. But if something crossed the border and got hybridized, it wasn't native.

Riess: And if something had arrived on the hooves of the horse of a Spanish conqueror, was it native?

Mrs. Frugé: No.

Riess: Is there a dating?

Mrs. Frugé: In the botanical world there is, yes. You usually know about the time when something came.

Frugé: One reason for the distinction, I think, is that there are a lot of very invasive foreign plants. You know the notorious ones, like the Scotch broom and this Argentine pampas grass. But there are many others, and in many places they sort of push out the native plants. So that's one reason for making the distinction.

You've mentioned gardeners. There were people who had native plant gardens. Leo Brewer was one. He was a professor of chemistry. And Jenny Fleming's garden was native plants.

Support Groups, Supporters

- Riess: There were two groups active in support of the Botanic Garden. One was the Contra Costa Garden Committee, started by Joyce Burr. Was that a committee of gardeners?
- Mrs. Frugé: I have no idea. I was never involved in that.
- Riess: And Citizens for Tilden Park, started by Marion Copley.
- Mrs. Frugé: Marion Copley was very instrumental in forming the Native Plant Society.
- Frugé: You know, it's strange, Susan, that there were quite a number of people who were very active in getting things started--there's Marion Copley, there's Helen-Mar Beard, Leo Brewer, and two or three others who were very active in that--but who didn't continue. Even during '66 and '67, all our meetings and so on, they didn't play much of a part.
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, Leo Brewer, you know, got the radiation in his face, and we didn't know whether he was going to survive or not. Marion Copley died. She had cancer. She got very sick and died relatively quickly.
- Frugé: She was the wife of the man who was Doc Burr's boss at Western Research Lab.
- Mrs. Frugé: That's part of Joyce's antagonism, too.
- Frugé: That's part of the difficulty there.
- Mrs. Frugé: And then, in the long run, Doc was demoted, you see, and that didn't go over well [laughs]. And then Marion was dead.
- Riess: It has a very in-group, sort of incestuous aspect.
- Frugé: That's very true. I mean, in those first years there were maybe about fifteen or twenty people. It was very ingrown. But almost immediately we started forming chapters, so we got away from that. It was just a few years later when the next two presidents were from Arcata.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. However, remember the first group of people that became the Native Plant Society was Save the Garden, the Tilden Garden. Well, they were all from the same general area. They all had the same general interests. And those people came in, and you courted them because we needed members, so it was person-to-person. Well, we didn't really have much choice. We had no way of reaching out to San Francisco, say, at that point. So it was people who knew people.

I just noticed a letter here from Leo Brewer's wife, and people like that who were kind of fringy, in a way, but they all did something. Leonora Strohmaier came into it.

Frugé: Oh, she was in early, yes.

Mrs. Frugé: Early, right away. And Ruth Bailey, who became my first co-chairman for the Native Plant Society sale. Her husband worked at the Western Research Lab, too, so there are three men right there. One man, or wife, reaching out to the others. So that's how you got your first members. So it wasn't incestuous intentionally, it was what you could do.

Riess: An interesting number of couples in which the wife is a botanist and can't work because of nepotism, so here's all this wonderful talent.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes.

Riess: Because Leonora was trained, wasn't she?

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, yes. She was a Ph.D. May Blos was a botanist. But she didn't come in until a little later.

Frugé: Jenny Fleming was a gardener, and Scott, her husband, was a lawyer. Scott was very active in helping with legal matters, but he wasn't--I suppose he helped Jenny in the garden, but he wasn't a gardener. As you say, the wife was the horticulturist, or botanist. Scott was like me in a sense. We helped in ways that we could, but not in strictly plant ways.

Riess: Susan, you were saying something about the correspondence in the beginning.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, very often it was people who wrote in and said, "I'd like to join. What do you do?" And, "What can I expect from it?" Well, you had to have an idea--you asked for a mission statement, and I don't have one, I don't think, in here. But we told them what we hoped for, you know, all this kind of

thing, what they could do, and we never asked for money except for dues, to my knowledge.

- Riess: Was it a privilege to join? Originally you had to be sponsored to be a member of the Sierra Club. Was there that sense also in CNPS?
- Mrs. Frugé: We had no rules on that. The only thing I can think of in those terms is that we tried--a handful of us--tried very hard to get minorities in. And we finally got one Japanese gardener. We were so happy with him, and he'd go on our field trips and chatter away with us. But we never, to my knowledge, not in the first ten years, got a black member.
- Frugé: They weren't interested.
- Mrs. Frugé: They weren't interested.
- Frugé: They weren't gardeners, I don't think.
- Mrs. Frugé: No, it wasn't part of the culture. It was pretty much--if this makes any difference, and it should, in the sixties--a white, middle-class group.
- Frugé: But it isn't because we wanted to be that.
- Mrs. Frugé: No, I tried.
- Frugé: You say it's a small group. We didn't keep anybody out--there just wasn't anybody wanting to come in to do the work. So if anybody said, "I'd like to help," why, "Come on."
- Mrs. Frugé: We encouraged people to come to all the field trips. They were free. And we thought this would bring more people in, and it did. That was the best thing we had, because gardeners and people who are interested in plants--botanists, even--are more likely to be doers than readers. Oh, of course, they're both.
- Riess: More "doers than readers"--are you saying that they are more likely to be out of doors than sitting with a book?
- Mrs. Frugé: They like being out of doors, they like field trips, they like garden tours. They like going to lectures and hearing people talk and seeing slides--more than reading a handbook.
- Frugé: It was a surprise how successful those plant sales were. The first one--well, it was to try to get us out of debt, and I think it did.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, just to pay the rent.

Frugé: You know, we had those debts, and by the end of '67 we were out of debt. I think it was the plant sale that did it.

Mrs. Frugé: I do, too.

Riess: And was there a jump in membership with the first plant sale?

Mrs. Frugé: There was a jump in membership, yes. The second one, I think, we had in the Brazilian Room, and the third and so forth. And that signed up many members.

Riess: So the plant sale was key to the early success.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, first place, I don't think any group that's forming functions unless it's the right timing for it, and that's the whole climate. I do think the plant sale was a great boon, a very great boon, because people could finally buy the plants. They couldn't buy them in nurseries anywhere, and they were not encouraged to go out and dig up plants.

Also, I don't know, there's kind of a bit of--what do you call it?--chauvinism involved. These are California natives and that appealed to people if they lived in California. California natives, we can get out to see them, they're not that far away.

Endangered Plants Preservation, Ecology

Riess: Wayne Roderick describes field trips in the *Bulletin of the American Rock Garden Society*.⁴ Isn't there a risk in letting people know that a few choice iris are still by the side of a back road?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. You know, this, Suzanne, was a constant fight in the Native Plant Society. Do you tell people where these rare plants are so they can go out and look at them, which is their privilege as citizens? But the ten who follow with trowels, how do you keep them out, then? And we never resolved it. We have the Rare Plant Handbooks, you know, that were published.

⁴"Wildflower Haunts of California," by Wayne Roderick, *Bulletin of the American Rock Garden Society*, Volume 48, Number 1, Winter 1990.

But it's kind of a moral issue, because one person can go out there and dig, one nurseryman, and devastate a bed.

- Riess: What are the handbooks that you're referring to?
- Mrs. Frugé: Oh, it's published--how often is the Rare Plant Handbook published now? North Coast chapters had it, five or six issues. It's a listing of the rare plants.
- Riess: Did that start in the beginning, as a project?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, no. It's closer to 1980.
- Frugé: I think it's done in Sacramento now.
- Riess: You said that you first heard the word "ecology" from Stebbins.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Riess: I wonder what connections there were between the Native Plant Society and Elna Bakker. Her book talks about "ecology" throughout.⁵
- Frugé: I think the word "ecology" was used by certain scientists sometime back, but the general public hadn't heard it.
- Mrs. Frugé: It was an obtuse word. It existed, but it wasn't until Ledyard--it hit at the right time in the sixties, early sixties. Before he was with us, he was famous.
- Riess: The interconnectedness of things would be a notion that would be appealing in the sixties.
- Frugé: Yes, that's true. There was a young man who wore a sign that said, "Ecology Now," which didn't make any sense.
- Mrs. Frugé: I remember we used to say, when you were feeling invaded by the government, "Well, I'm part of the ecology." [laughter]
- Frugé: Yes, that's right.

⁵Elna S. Bakker, *An Island Called California, An Ecological Introduction to its Natural Communities*, University of California Press, 1971.

Correcting the Oral Record

- Riess: August, you wanted to take issue with some things that you've read in the CNPS oral histories?
- Frugé: Well, Myrtle Wolf, I think she got the thing wrong about Jim being president, and the controversy at the time. Her timing was all off there. And then she said the mother chapter moved to Sacramento. Well, that wasn't true.
- Mrs. Frugé: That never happened.
- I'll say this: Myrtle Wolf was never in the forefront of anything we did. She never came to board meetings or anything. She got her information second-hand, and now she's remembering.
- Frugé: Oh, she's a nice person.
- Mrs. Frugé: She's very nice. She was also quite ill, at times.
- Frugé: What happened in Sacramento--and this must have been in the seventies--we set up some kind of an office to work with the Forest Service. I think we got a grant. This was a rare plant project, and I wish I could be more specific about it. I know we had that for quite a few years, but I'm hazy on it.
- At the present time they have, I think, a full-fledged office in Sacramento, but at the time all we had was a kind of a botanical office. I think the person was paid largely with Forest Service money or something like that. But my point is, the society in those days never moved to Sacramento.
- Mrs. Frugé: What they first put in Sacramento was the membership roll, which Joyce had kept on little cards. You see, eventually there were too many people, and it was decided it had to be computerized. So the only way you could take this job away from Joyce physically was to send it to Sacramento, and that's what happened. A man named Niccum, a CPA, was he? he did the billing and the membership. Nick Niccum is what we called him.
- Frugé: He was hired to do this.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. The reason was to get it [the membership roll] organized and mechanized and all of that, and then they could do anything they wanted.

- Riess: So that went from being a volunteer activity to being a professional activity.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Riess: I should think one would be happy to give it up.
- Mrs. Frugé: She [Joyce] loves filing! She always says she has a filing card mind, and she does. But she didn't have a retrieval system for what we needed.
- Frugé: People don't want to give up things. Later on, when I got involved about '79 or '80, we had the same thing with Alice Howard.
- Mrs. Frugé: She's another matter.
- Frugé: We'll get to that later on, yes.
- Riess: Myrtle Wolf said it was a very cooperative organization, that there were no rivalries between chapters. The fact that she mentions that, denies it! makes me wonder what the rivalries between the chapters were! [laughing]
- Mrs. Frugé: I'd say that's essentially true. If it could have been individual--you know, with individuals there are always rivalries, I mean, always the possibility of it. But if there were any between chapters, I never heard it.
- Frugé: I think the chapters were very friendly.
- Riess: In one of the oral histories about the Native Plant Society there was some comment about what a good thing it was to get the presidencies away from the north coast and get it centered back in the Bay Area.
- Frugé: Well, that had to be later, because it was in the north coast until I became president, and that was '79. I think that's just--somebody spoke of the "north coast mafia," I read. But I don't think anybody resented John and Jim.
- Mrs. Frugé: Oh, Joyce did.⁶

⁶Mrs. Frugé: Joyce and John had a tiff. She says she drew the logo, our Panamint daisy. John said something about it. I don't know what was said by whom. All I know is Joyce never forgave John.

Frugé: Joyce might have. But they were nice people. They always came down here to meetings. They brought sleeping bags and slept on our living room floor. And we had meetings up in Arcata. I don't think there was any trouble.

Mrs. Frugé: No, and I think there was a time when so many of them up there did so much. Remember Virginia Rumble and Jim What's-his-name who teaches at Harvard in the summer? And John Sawyer--his wife is a botanist.

Frugé: Jim Smith, you mean?

Mrs. Frugé: Jim Smith. [laughing] That's a hard name to remember.

They all did so much, there may have been some feeling that there was more power there than some of the other chapters, yes. But it wasn't wrong.

Frugé: Well, they had a lot to do with the rare plant thing.

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Frugé: I can comment a little on those other oral histories, if you want.

Riess: I'd like that.

Frugé: Myrtle Wolf's was short, and she got quite a number of things wrong. Joyce is confused. I mean, you may not want to record this, either, but Joyce sees herself as the center of everything. Her whole story about the beginning of it was, "I did this" and "I did that." Joyce was always there. I don't think she was necessarily much of a force, but she was always around. I didn't find it very useful.

On the other hand, Leonora Strohmaier, she had done her homework. She had papers in front of her, and I thought hers worked very well. I probably disagreed with a few things, but I thought it was in some ways the best of the lot. The first part of Jenny's, about the plant sale that she and Susan worked together on, that's got a lot of good information about the way it went. Later on, Jenny is talking about the Bay chapter, which is almost a separate subject in a way.

You see, what happened was that things started in Berkeley, so Berkeley was sort of the home of it. But at first we decided not to have a Bay Area chapter. Later on, it became necessary, I think, but for a long time Berkeley was just the home office in a way, the beginning of it, and the

other chapters all came to it. After a while, it seemed desirable to put the Berkeley group on the same level, more or less, as the other chapters.

Riess: It was East Bay, or was it San Francisco?

Frugé: Oh, I don't remember. I think that they were together to begin with, and then separated. I think they're probably separated because it's so awkward to go to meetings. But we had a very active San Diego chapter, and we had a Riverside one that one woman pretty much ran. They really sprouted up. There must have been a lot of real interest.

Riess: The mixture that we were referring to earlier, the academics and gardeners, the fact that they had no other outlet than this is interesting to me. The rare plant project and so on wouldn't have happened without CNPS?

Frugé: Some of it would. Certain persons were very much interested in it. But I doubt whether that rare plant project, and there's another big project on areas to be saved--I don't think any other group could have handled that or would have.

Riess: When did they start gathering data? In the very early years, was that part of the mission?

Frugé: I really can't answer that. A lot of the chapters started gathering data about their local areas. I remember one man did a flora of San Diego County, and another did a San Luis Obispo flora. You know, there were people doing this sort of thing. I don't know just when the rare plant project started, or whether Susan does or not. It must have been sometime in the early seventies.

I read a very early letter in which I think it was Ledyard who said we need to have a quarterly magazine, a real magazine, a real journal, in addition to a newsletter.

Riess: When Susan comes back I want to ask about the publications history.

Frugé: But in those oral histories no one really seems to know exactly how the society started. Jenny says it started one night at Helen-Mar Beard's house, but how one organization turned into the other--I don't think it matters. The important thing is that this group that was trying to save the garden turned itself into the Native Plant Society. It happened by spontaneous combustion, probably.

I don't think any one person can take credit for starting the society. I don't know whether at some meeting somebody said, Well, let's make it a society instead of a save the garden group, but somehow or another, that garden group turned into the Native Plant Society.

The Role of William Penn Mott

- Mrs. Frugé: We saved the garden. And we kind of jokingly said the main person we were fighting to save the garden was William Penn Mott, Jr. Because of him, we became the Native Plant Society, because we won the fight. Like you say [referring to conversation off tape], you need a common cause. We were already organized for Save the Garden, and then we went on into becoming the Native Plant Society. We said, "Well, here we are. What do we do with us?"
- Frugé: But just how the transition went I don't know, and I don't think anybody does, really. Of course, we should have made Bill Mott a patron saint or something.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, poor guy.
- Frugé: He started the society.
- Mrs. Frugé: He was a dreadful park director, but, you know, when he went to the state, he was good.
- Riess: Maybe he didn't understand native plants.
- Mrs. Frugé: He didn't. And yet the one time we've met him since he was gone was down at Anza-Borrego, when we were taking a tour of the park there. He and I sat and talked by an elephant tree.
- Frugé: This fight over the garden. One of those oral histories makes a great point that Mott wanted a larger garden.
- Mrs. Frugé: And wanted to change the location.
- Frugé: And none of those people mention the problem of how you move a botanic garden? You can't pick it up and move it as you do furniture. You know, you start all over again, practically. You could transplant plants, but a botanic garden? Also, no one mentioned it there, but as I remember it Mott wanted to use that area in Tilden for a pony ride, didn't he?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. But the trees were planted, and they were nice. Jim did a good job, so let's have a pony ride!

Frugé: Anyway, that was the story, that he wanted to move it out of the way so he could have a--Mott was great for entertainment, for public activities. He was probably not much of a conservationist. You know, Paul Covel did a book on him, at least partly on Mott.

Riess: Mott was trained as a landscape architect, so he had a different view of the whole undertaking.

Frugé: That's right.

Mrs. Frugé: And he wouldn't listen, and he wouldn't acquire land. And at that time for the park, land acquisition was very important because we knew that land wasn't going to be available, so there was a lot of feeling against him because his ideas, that worked for him in the past, didn't work there.

Encounters with Jim Roof

Frugé: You know, I wonder whether in this whole fight to save the garden whether we say enough about Jim Roof. He must have promoted a lot of this activity by the housewives and gardeners and so on. I mean, a lot of them were friends of Jim. One of the oral histories says something about Jim being fired, I suppose he was. I've kind of forgotten that.

Mrs. Frugé: He was fired by the board of directors of the state park, regional park district.

Riess: Yes, fired in '65, and then reinstated right away, and that's because of the outrage on the part of the Save the Park group.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, we all went to meetings and fought.

Jim was funny. Then they asked him to be director, and he refused to be director. He wanted to be manager because he wanted to be part of the underdog, you know? He had less power, less salary, everything. But he held to it.

Frugé: That's true. He's always called "director," but I don't think he ever had a title that was higher than supervisor. He wanted to be part of the union.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, he didn't want to be on management's side.

Frugé: But I don't think that's got anything to do with the Native Plant Society particularly.

Mrs. Frugé: No, that's just an aside about Jim.

Riess: What kind of background, or training did he have?

Mrs. Frugé: He went to the forestry school [the Division of Forestry in the College of Agriculture at UC Berkeley]. He had--who was that man? one of the great foresters, Wieslander--[A.E.] Wieslander as an instructor. He was Jim's god. Long before anybody talked about permitting burning in forests to keep down the undergrowth, Jim and Wieslander were promoting it--and the rest of the world wasn't.

Frugé: Strangely enough, this little story: Jim was originally in forestry and so on. People sent children out to plant trees in Tilden Park, and Jim didn't think they needed any more trees, not in the garden, just around the park. He'd go at night and cut them down.

Jim was an activist before activists existed. In my book I told the story about his shooting the deer and so on. He'd go out and cut down the little trees because he didn't think they ought to be there.

Riess: He certainly comes across as difficult. It's interesting that so many of the women have such fond memories of him.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, Jim had a tremendous amount of charm. He was a good-looking man, and he also had the animal magnetism that not everyone possesses by any means. And he wasn't married. There was a romantic aura around him. I know several women who really had crushes, and it was difficult. As a woman you liked being in his presence, and he expanded, you could see him visibly expand. He did charm us all. More than the men. And I think that's important to know about him.

Riess: Yes, very important. Nowhere else is this made clear.

Frugé: But he also could be sort of feisty. He could be both, you know. The first time I met him was when Eleanor Amyx had to ask him to be a speaker somewhere. She didn't want to go to the garden alone, so I went with her. Jim immediately started challenging us, you know, in a very friendly way. I could see that he wasn't really mean about it, and I just sort of threw

it back in his face. We got along beautifully. We never had any trouble.

Riess: He would challenge the men.

Mrs. Frugé: He challenged the women, too. But it was done in such a way that you felt kind of good about being challenged by him.

Frugé: Either that, or a few people would be turned off entirely. Didn't know how to take it. You had to be able to throw it back at him.

Riess: What about as a teacher? He must have been in that role?

Mrs. Frugé: Very good. On our field trips--of course, he saw everything that you hadn't learned to see yet, and he'd go right to it and start telling you about it, and let it go. And then, if you said something and you wanted to know more, he'd say, "Look it up! You've got the Munz there. Look it up." And you learned to use your book. You listened, you looked, and you used the book.

Frugé: Of course, Jim wasn't exactly a botanist. Botanists didn't accept him as a botanist. He was a horticulturist.

Mrs. Frugé: He had the scientific background in forestry.

Frugé: You know, Jim liked to be top dog in many ways. I told you that we went on many individual field trips with him. I remember this one time when we went up toward Oregon with Jim and the Burrs. This is sort of typical, I think. The Burrs, especially Doc, got very upset with Jim because, "Well, where are we going to be on Tuesday? What are we going to do in so-and-so?" And Jim wouldn't tell them [laughing]. I think they eventually left the trip.

Mrs. Frugé: You know why, don't you? Jim got tired of Doc. You'll tell this other story in the meantime, but he said, "Meet us at so-and-so." And Jim went the other way with us. [laughter] So they went home.

Frugé: But also, we didn't care. We didn't have any agenda. Susan and I were perfectly willing to let Jim run it day by day. You know, after a couple of days of this, he said, "Where do you want to go?" In other words, since we weren't competing with him, he turned around and threw it back to us. But that's the only time I remember Doc being that difficult. He was generally pretty reasonable.

Mrs. Frugé: That's the time when we had a fire at night when we were up on one of the high cliffs in Del Norte County, camping among the pines and all that. We built a fire. And Jim was taunting Doc, and Doc was already irritable. And Doc never showed his feelings. He was a typical New Englander.

And it was time to put the fire out, and all of a sudden Doc got into action, and he tore that fire apart, and he stamped and stamped and stamped on everything. And Joyce just laughed and laughed. She said, "He's killing Jim Roof," you see. "He's beating up Jim Roof."

Frugé: But usually Doc was quiet. Jim was difficult, but if you didn't get upset by him--you know, if anything was too wrong, you could walk off.

Riess: Have you ever met anyone like him in any other part of your life?

Frugé: Well, in part. Vince Gates in some ways is like Jim. Vince would challenge you. He'd throw words at you, and if you backed off, you were in trouble. If you threw them back at him, if you just grinned and threw them back at him, you were all right.

Riess: And who is he?

Frugé: This is the high school friend I mentioned earlier who lives in San Luis Obispo.

Riess: I wondered if in the Sierra Club there was anyone who was combative in that way.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, Dave Brower was in his own way, but not like Jim.

Frugé: Not at all like Jim, no.

Mrs. Frugé: He just had to have his way.

Frugé: Yes. Jim had a sense of humor about it. We got along with him beautifully until he retired. You see, the garden was his. He started it. He built it. It was his baby. He started before the war, I think, then came back to it. He lived in the garden. I don't know whether he was allowed to or not, but he did. There was a little cabin that he lived in there. The garden was his, and he was it. So when he retired about 1976 he couldn't take it.

Mrs. Frugé: He took it out on Wayne Roderick mostly.

Frugé: Wayne Roderick succeeded him, and Jim was very nasty to him-- and he liked Wayne before that. Actually, from that time on, Jim was very hard to get along with. The time that Jenny writes about was during that time, when he sort of collected a bunch of followers--what do you call them?--groupies, in a way. That didn't really exist before, when he had his garden. He didn't have anything left when he quit it.

Riess: Did he have his charm?

Mrs. Frugé: No.

Well, he had a massive coronary, and he also had a girl he got off the streets who was a prostitute. She wasn't his girlfriend, because he never had a girlfriend.

Frugé: She had a boyfriend.

Mrs. Frugé: She had a boyfriend.

But he got her off drugs, and he got fascinated by her. He willed his house to her and everything. And, I'll grant, she was good to him. She was kind. But you never knew--when you were riding in the car with her--whether she'd be clothed or not. She'd just start taking off all her clothes, things like that. Well, she was coarse. And a lot of people pulled away from Jim.

And then there were a couple of other young girls, very young, you see, and Jim in his sixties. And these--I think Wanda was what? about twenty, twenty-two? Then there was another one who was in our society who was younger than that, and Jim got a crush on her. Well, this did not go over with anybody.

Also, he had a hard edge, and he really did begin to alienate people, and they'd say, "Why has he changed?"

Frugé: He got unfriendly. Occasionally when we were in the garden-- this was after he retired, and he was there with the woman-- Jim was just not friendly to anybody. I think retirement killed him. I really do.

Anyway, what Jenny says about her troubles with him, that was during his difficult period. It didn't last long because he died.

Mrs. Frugé: He was told never to get above 6,000 feet, and he'd go to Yosemite, promptly go up to 8,000, 9,000. He was trying to kill himself, and he succeeded. He was depressed, I suppose, if you're being clinical. It was probably clinical depression during this period.

Car Camping Trips and Slide Shows

Frugé: But before that, Jim was--we went on lots of trips and he was a very good companion. Just the three of us went on a lot of trips, and then we went on some others.

Mrs. Frugé: He had a wonderful laugh.

Riess: Were they always camping trips?

Frugé: Yes, car camping. He had a Volkswagen bus that he slept in, and we slept in our car a good deal--sometimes. And when the Burrs were along, Doc had a little tent.

Mrs. Frugé: A pup tent.

We had four-wheel drive so we could always pull Jim out of a hole, you know. And he had a 410, so he could always shoot it out if he needed to.

Riess: A 410?

Frugé: Shotgun.

Riess: Did you become good at the plants, August? Did you study?

Frugé: Not a great deal. I photographed plants, so I learned something, most of which I have forgotten. But I learned the names of quite a few. I did a lot of photographing in those days, closeups of plants. As a matter of fact, we put together a slide show of plants. I would show the slides, and Susan would talk about them. We still have it, but nobody--at least down here--wants to see slides anymore. But in the old days up there, the Flemings would show their slides, and I'd show mine.

Mrs. Frugé: We went down to Carmel and showed them, gave a full presentation.

Frugé: Yes, we showed them down there one time. In fact, we showed it here one time.

Riess: [to Susan] Did you know the material better, or in a different way?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, I knew all the names, the botanic names and most of the common names. And the original identification. I have to say that August would turn to me and say, "What's that plant?" [laughs] But he never spent the time studying because he didn't have the time. He was working full-time, and it wasn't his interest, anyhow.

Riess: I'm interested in whether that kind of knowledge was really prized in CNPS. Does your level of knowledge really count in this group, or could you just be an enthusiastic volunteer?

Mrs. Frugé: Your level of knowledge really helped, if you did things. For instance, any of the publications, if you're going to be involved in them, to edit, you had to know all the spellings. You had to know if there were really bad mistakes in them, and sometimes there were.

If you were involved with the plant sale, you had to know enough about the plants and all of that in order to sell them, because part of your job in doing these things is to give information. A lot of people couldn't do that, and then a lot could who didn't want to do other things.

Riess: And knowledge was explicitly fostered through the field trips?

Mrs. Frugé: I would say so.

And then different people, such as Bob Ornduff, would give weekend botany programs, learning situations, which was very good, and the classes were filled mainly by CNPS members who hadn't had it.

Frugé: Maybe we should say something about the field trips. In the early days, when there weren't too many people, we used to have trips in various parts of the state. These would be car trips, might be about twelve, fifteen cars, most of them from Berkeley but some from other places. And these trips would last several days. We went down to the Twisselmann Ranch, for instance.

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Frugé: Ernest Twisselmann did a flora of Kern County. It was an amateur one, I guess, a good one. His brother owned a huge ranch down there, cattle ranch. I remember there must have been fifty of us there. He cut steaks for all of us. You know we went to Anza-Borrego, we went to Joshua Tree.

Mrs. Frugé: And remember our Thanksgiving dinners up in Ferndale?

Frugé: We used to go up to the north coast for several years for every Thanksgiving. We went to the old Victorian hotel at Ferndale. Do you know Ferndale?

Riess: I've been there once, yes, yes.

Frugé: We used to go up there a lot. Anyway, we went all over. Actually, it became more difficult when the society got bigger. You really couldn't have field trips for the whole state. It would be too many people. So the chapters had their trips. But before that, we went to Death Valley, where Mary De Decker was a botanist, who lives in Independence. Mary took us around. That was kind of nice, wasn't it?

Social Life Around the Press and the Sierra Club

Riess: It sounds like the Native Plant Society was a large part of your social life.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, it really was.

Riess: It was more fun than hanging out with the Press?

Mrs. Frugé: The Press didn't hang out. The university doesn't much--it's not a social university. UCLA is much more social.

Frugé: We never had a lot of social life with the Press people. Phil Lilienthal used to have parties. We didn't have parties for the Press staff. I don't know why.

Mrs. Frugé: I don't think they all had that much interest in each other.

Frugé: They had a working life together, but not a social life. That's generally true with--you had your faculty wives, but I knew a lot of faculty people very, very well and had no social life with them. With a few I did, but--I don't know. I think this is partly Berkeley. I said it in my book that when I first came I was told I would be accepted in about five years.

Berkeley, the campus, there was a formality that I noticed was not true at UCLA at all. It's much easier at UCLA.

- Riess: What would happen at UCLA? Are you talking about the relationships once again through the Press?
- Frugé: Yes. When I went down to the Press office there, I'd be invited to parties and so on. Nobody ever invited me to a party in Berkeley.
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, some did, but it wasn't easy at all. You could be invited in mid-afternoon to a cocktail party at night at UCLA. It would never happen at Berkeley. You'd get an invitation two weeks ahead.
- Frugé: And there were some clubs that we went to, like the UCLA Faculty Club. But I'm talking about the early years, when I came to the Press. Nobody ever invited me to a party. I had individual friends and all, but there were no--[telephone rings]. I'll get it. [Frugé leaves the room]
- Riess: [to Susan] You met August in '54?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, when I came to work at the Press at UCLA. And then we got married in '59, and I came up here. I immediately went into the faculty wives' groups, and because he was an officer I stood in the receiving line, which is a little hard for me because I didn't have the poise or the knowledge of this kind of thing.
- Riess: He was a campus officer.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. And those are the wives that stand in line. So I became known in a way that I wouldn't have otherwise.
- Riess: That's interesting. You know both Berkeley and UCLA. What do you think the problem was? Do you think August was too much for them? That they didn't know how to hang out with him?
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, they probably didn't very much. He's not that easy. But it's a difference in--it's the big brother-little brother kind of thing, and UCLA was just strictly the smaller little brother and much more personal in a way, relaxed, casual. Berkeley people stayed within their departments, a lot. Still do, as far as I know. They didn't go from department to department and interact. At UCLA, if you were an English professor you could know a music professor and a geology professor, but they didn't even meet in Berkeley, hardly.

Riess: Despite the Faculty Club?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. Still you'd see the same department seated together, year after year.

Riess: And section club, do you think that generated friendships, working back through the wives?

Mrs. Frugé: I think so. But the wives' lives didn't mean a lot to the husbands, as a rule. The men had things going for them that the women weren't involved in. It was more, we could say, regressive. So we kind of led our own lives, in a sense. August was a little different, because he liked the Native Plant Society, he liked field trips and photography and all of that. And he's a good photographer.

Riess: Did you get swept into the Sierra Club things by August?

Mrs. Frugé: No. I was never really terribly interested. I don't like that kind of hiking. I had never done it. Phil Berry, you know, is August's cousin. Phil Berry of the Sierra Club.⁷

Riess: How is he a cousin?

Mrs. Frugé: They have the same grandmother somewhere on his mother's side. August's mother and Phil's father. But there was a divorce in there at a time when divorce was not considered appropriate, and so there was family resentment. Phil is considerably younger than August, he was from the second grandmother, I think. Anyhow, we have the family history somewhere. Phil is very friendly, and Michelle [Perrault Berry] is also. Their son is named Matthew August, for August.

But there was a lot of fighting in the Sierra Club, you know, and there were antagonisms, because they had always powerful men on the boards.

Riess: So they didn't socialize then as a group.

Mrs. Frugé: Not much as a group. There would be groups of four or five, with wives, usually. Ray Sherwin, Judge Sherwin and Janet and us and Will Siri, and Jean. Gosh, I've forgotten about a lot

⁷ The Regional Oral History Office has conducted two oral histories with Phillip S. Berry: *Sierra Club Leader, 1960s-1980s: A Broadened Agenda, A Bold Approach*, 1988; and *Sierra Club President, 1991-1992: The Club, the Legal Defense Fund, and Leadership Issues, 1984-1993*, 1997.

of these people. The Browers, we still see the Browers. David has been down here not too long ago.

Riess: During the Sierra Club Publications Committee problems, did August tell you all of the goings on?

Mrs. Frugé: He told me, but, you know, I couldn't get interested--that's an awful thing to say!

Riess: Did you have an emotional response to the whole thing?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, I think sometimes I really didn't like it. I'd feel a little disgusted and wonder, "Why are they fussing about all those things?" You know, it was wearying to me. And yet I cared about some of the people very much.

Riess: But the Sierra Club outings were never--.

Mrs. Frugé: Never part of my life, no. Oh, I went along on some of the big meetings that they'd have in lodges and things like that, but I just felt more that I was filling space than that I was caring, and I'd tease them about odometer hikers. It was--I don't know--not mine. And I never rafted or any of those other kinds of things. I just hadn't been raised that way, and I didn't know.

More on Susan's Background

Riess: I haven't asked you where you are from and what your education was and how you came to be an editor at the Press.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, very, very briefly--and I told August I didn't want to answer these questions for you because its *his* oral history. Anyhow, I was born in Long Beach. Until I was fifteen I lived in Iowa, in a small town, and came back here for one year, Fullerton High School. Went to UCLA, majored in English, [sighing], became an editor because that's the only thing I wanted. It seemed so glamorous. I didn't know I'd be editing Munz and be checking the milligrams and millimeters and all these little things.

Riess: Was your family originally from Iowa and then went back there?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, my mother was born there. Dad was born in Ohio. They wanted a new life, and they came out here. Grandmother even came with them, my mother's mother. But they got lonesome for

their Iowa friends, so they went back, and then we came back here.

Riess: When did you graduate from UCLA?

Mrs. Frugé: 1949.

Riess: When you think about the glamorous life of being an editor, did you think of going to the East Coast and working for *Mademoiselle* or something like that?

Mrs. Frugé: Not that kind of glamour, no. I was not interested in style or clothes or anything like that, I was interested more in natural history.

It's very odd that among English majors they go in certain other ways, because that's sort of a generalized background, you know. I went in the direction of sciences and botany and everything like that.

[tape interruption]

Mrs. Frugé: [talking about a hike in Taquitz Canyon with Nate Cohen] There was a beautiful rosy boa there. And I happened to have on, of all dumb things, a long-sleeved shirt with the tails out, and pants. He didn't have any more collector's bags, so he had me put it [the boa] around my waist, inside my shirt, and tie the neck here--because you never want to hurt a snake's nose.

Coming down it got hotter and hotter, which was hard on the snake, so I'd lie down very carefully in the stream so the snake--I had the snake on my back--so he could get cool. And that's how we got him down. That boa lived for years in the herpetorium in Berkeley. Nate was great. He was also the one who called his cousin in Yolo County about Mary Wohlers.

Riess: And it was okay to go and collect?

Mrs. Frugé: It wasn't okay, but he was a real collector, bona fide.

[Frugé returns]

August's CNPS Presidency, and Alice Howard

Riess: You were president of CNPS for a year.

Frugé: Let me start back and list the early presidents, because from what I read on these things, it isn't clear. Mac Laetsch, who was professor of botany, was the first president. He was only for about a year, I think. I don't know whether Mac got busy or what it was.

Mrs. Frugé: He went on sabbatical.

Frugé: Yes, at the beginning of '66. Then Ledyard was elected president, and he was president for six years, until '72, when he went on sabbatical. And those were the years in which the society really became established. That is, it might have died, or become nothing. We all worked--the board meetings were held every month there for a while.

Ledyard did a great deal, and he was full of ideas. He was very interested in this, very committed to it, despite all his other activities. Then in '72, I think it was, he had to go away. Went to Europe or something. Bob Ornduff was president for a year or two. I don't remember Bob as being terribly active, do you?

Mrs. Frugé: No. He wasn't.

Frugé: And after he was president, then came the north coast. John Sawyer was president for two years. That would have been, I think, '74 or '75, along in there. And then Jim Smith--they were both in the same department at Humboldt State--Jim Smith was president for two years. Then they asked me to be president. I think I mentioned before that my suspicion is that they didn't want to face up to Alice Howard.

By the way, you asked me what I meant by saying I was the only president who didn't know a columbine from a redwood. That's obviously an exaggeration, but what I was saying was that I was the first non-botanist. See, all the others--Ledyard is really a geneticist, but he was as much a botanist as anybody could be. I was the first lay person or whatever you might call it. That's all I was saying by that.

I think they wanted me at that point because we had some organizational difficulties. I've forgotten some of them, but one of them was Alice Howard. I became president in '79. I have papers showing that I was in '80, so it was probably '79 and '80.

Mrs. Frugé: It was sooner, because we came here in '80.

- Frugé: It couldn't have been much sooner, because one of your papers listed me. We didn't come here full-time in '80, did we?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. It was autumn, anyhow.
- Frugé: Anyway, I was retired, and they thought, Well, here this guy's retired and he is used to being an administrator and so on, and we can use somebody like that for a couple of years and then go back to botanists.
- Alice, for a long time--I don't remember much about this, but for a long time the various chapters had been, I think, taking pictures of rare plants. Is that right, Susan? And they were sending them into the society. And Alice was taking care of them, keeping them. And when we hired a botanist and really started getting serious on the rare plant program, we wanted these to go to the botanist. Well, Alice didn't want to give them up.
- I don't remember exactly how we did it, but I do remember that Alice got so mad at me that she wouldn't look at me or talk to me. Susan says she did this later on, but she started then, at our state meetings, which were held in the Faculty Club. She'd sit on the floor and look in the other direction when I was chairing the meeting. I don't think she ever got past it.
- Riess: Was she a botanist?
- Frugé: No, Alice worked for the Jepson Herbarium. She was sort of an amateur.
- Mrs. Frugé: She was a botanist, but she doesn't have a Ph.D.
- Riess: Had she been planning to make something of this collection?
- Frugé: I don't really know.
- Mrs. Frugé: She's a strange woman.
- Frugé: Yes, she's a difficult woman, and without Jim Roof's charm.
- Riess: What happened next?
- Frugé: We did take them away from her and put them with the botanist who was working on the rare plant thing. I don't remember how we did it. All I remember is that I was the fall guy. My guess is that John and Jim didn't want to be the fall guys, and here I was.

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, they didn't have any defenses against Alice. Bob Ornduff didn't, either. Mac Laetsch certainly didn't. She cowed them all. She's so sharp-tongued. They didn't take it.

Frugé: They figured I was mean enough. I had been through the wars in the university.

Riess: Was she a single woman?

Mrs. Frugé: No, she married and had two kids, and had gotten a divorce right away, which was the joy of her life because she could suffer. She kept suffering over having to raise her kids. She'd tell people, "Well, he won't help me." He lived two blocks away, as it turned out, but she said, "Who knows where he lives?" And he kept offering to do something for the kids, and she refused it.

In fact, August is the one who earlier had gotten her a raise of position. She was a secretary at the university, was it? In the Jepson Herbarium. And he got her into--what do you call it?

Frugé: I think it was through Lincoln Constance.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, it was through you, also.

Frugé: Yes, I helped her get a reclassification.

Mrs. Frugé: A much higher position, anyhow. And that's why she completely stopped speaking to him because she couldn't show her hatred when he was her benefactor.

Frugé: Anyway, you said I was the trouble-shooter. I was the one chosen--I was just mean enough--I'd already had to deal with Mildred Jordan in Los Angeles. She's the one who had the office cowed, I think, because every time she wasn't given her way, she threatened to resign. I was down there one day, and she threatened to resign. I said, "Well, thank you. I accept your resignation." And that was that.

Riess: About the rare plant project, Jenny Fleming says, "We had a contract with the Forest Service to do research on rare plants." [reading] "Members throughout the state were following Munz's *Flora* looking for rare plants... The project went on collecting data with photographs. This was for a number of years very ably handled by Alice Howard, but as happens in many organizations or in many volunteer situations, a project like this suddenly becomes your baby and you don't want to let go of the control."

- Frugé: Jenny's pulling her punches.
- Riess: "That problem was handled by our then legal counsel, who was Scott, the president of the organization, who was August Frugé, and the treasurer, who was John Danielson. They handled it, and it was difficult."
- Frugé: I don't remember that she got mad at anybody but me. But she was mad at everybody. I don't think there was any legal problem I remember. I couldn't find any minutes. What date is she giving there?
- Riess: There's not a date there.
- What else did you do as president?
- Frugé: I don't remember! I ran meetings. I was used to running meetings.
- Riess: You organized the Press's gift to CNPS of the back editions of the Natural History Guides and so on that they were able to sell at the plant sales?
- Frugé: Yes, we had some damaged, slightly damaged books. I gave them --I don't think anybody else at the Press could have done it.
- The Munz book and its supplement were eventually bound together. But we had some old ones that were not bound together, and I think we gave those and various other--you know, anything--. I couldn't give away standard stock, but there were always slightly damaged books around. Even if the corners were turned down, you couldn't sell them very well.
- Anyway, I may have overstepped my authority a bit there, but nobody knew the difference. All I remember is that, especially in those first sales, we were selling everything, and Ledyard would auction things.
- Riess: Were people like Gerda Isenberg involved with CNPS?
- Mrs. Frugé: She contributed plants. Suzanne Schettler was one of her employees, if I remember correctly, and Suzanne became very active in the Native Plant Society, but Gerda didn't do the travelling.
- Frugé: Suzanne later became president.

- Riess: And Lester Rowntree?⁸ Was she involved?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. I don't remember when she died, but it was around that time. She was quite elderly.
- Frugé: She was listed as honorary president.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but she didn't do anything. She lent her name. We were very pleased for that. I believe Jim had known her from the years before, when she was really active.
- Frugé: She lived to be a hundred, or a hundred and one, or something like that. She was down in Carmel. I think we went to see her one time--I think that connection was probably through Jim.

Susan's Work on *Fremontia*, Other Publications ##

- Riess: Let's turn now to talking about CNPS publications. I brought down a copy of "Native Notes," October '65, No. 1.
- Mrs. Frugé: Now, that was very sporadic. I don't know how far we ever got in numbers, and I didn't run across it in my folders. This was a mimeograph, wasn't it?
- Riess: Yes.
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, I remember this now. We didn't pay much attention to it, but it's about all we had. And then we published the bulletin, and from the bulletin we went to--I had to expand that--we went into *Fremontia*. That's the one that was important, and that was with Marge Hayakawa. I was trying to think: the other people who were in charge of publications or doing publications following me were Victor Wycoff, and then Gunder Hefta. And he was the last one before Marge.

August, do you recall what we had between? I have it in here somewhere, and it has slipped my mind. Another publication. But with each--we never had any squabbles or any fights about any of this, except the one thing of, How do we get enough money to make it better, longer, handsomer? By the

⁸Lester Rowntree, *California Native Plant Woman*, Interviews about Lester Rowntree (1879-1979), Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, 1979.

time we got from this early mimeograph to *Fremontia*, there were a lot of rough times. We didn't have money, and we did our best, you know, so it wasn't so tempting.

- Riess: Well, what is the route from "Native Notes"? "Native Notes" announced field trips?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. Well, we finally divided--what was the one before *Fremontia*? We divided the bulletin and something else, because we couldn't get everything out on time. If we wanted an article and had to wait for it--which we almost always did, had to wait for articles in general because at first nobody was running to us with them--we didn't get the bulletins out to give our program of field trips and lectures and all of that. I remember briefly Alice Howard took over the first bulletin that we did. And then we got bulletin editors, and they came and went. That was very dull.
- Frugé: Were the newsletter and the bulletin the same thing?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, it was the newsletter that came out.
- Frugé: You've got a file of newsletters in one of those things. They're probably a little later.
- Mrs. Frugé: I couldn't think of the name of it. No, we did the newsletter and the bulletins at the same time, so the newsletter had information and articles, and the bulletin only really was supposed to have announcements.
- Riess: And they were monthly?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Riess: And they went to all members?
- Mrs. Frugé: The bulletin went to all members; the newsletter went to all members.
- Riess: Did you keep increasing membership rates to cover this?
- Mrs. Frugé: No rates. It was all through dues or whatever anybody contributed. And the dues appreciated, but they were still very low. We didn't have enough self-image, we didn't think to charge a great deal.
- Riess: Susan, which were you involved with, then? I mean, in the beginning it sounds like everything.

- Mrs. Frugé: I never did a bulletin. But yes, I was involved all the way through in one way or another. We used to joke and say, "I'm the senator's wife's boss." And then after we came here, I was still on the publications committee, but I was too far away to do any good. And we'd pass on articles and do editing if necessary.
- Riess: How were things divided up? It sounds like you could both solicit and edit?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, whatever worked [laughs]. And whatever reached more people, was more appealing, was more fulfilling.
- Riess: How about decisions about, you know, glossy paper and all of this sort of thing?
- Mrs. Frugé: Oh, we went through that because we didn't have money for it at first, you know, and photographs. Eventually, as we had more income, we did go into them. There was no resistance to it, except from the treasurer.
- Riess: How did you finance it then? Did you have outside sources?
- Frugé: Plant sale.
- Mrs. Frugé: Plant sale, yes. But that was an inside source. Yes, it was from our own budget that we did it.
- Frugé: I don't think we ever had any outside money for it.
- Mrs. Frugé: We had no grants.
- Riess: Did you have it printed free by the Press or some such fine little connection?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. You know, we probably could have done something because we were a nonprofit organization, educational and cultural, et cetera. But we--as I said earlier about something else, I don't think we were very sophisticated as a lot. Not many of the people had ever been involved in this kind of thing at all, so we didn't know what to do, and the faculty didn't have time, and if they did, they didn't apply it to our group. I mean, the expertise and that.
- Riess: Did they contribute articles?
- Mrs. Frugé: Articles, yes. They did that. And so did a lot of people. They still do. From all over, horticulturists, anyone.

They'll send it in, just say, "I'd like to be in your publication."

Riess: Did you have to reject a lot of them?

Mrs. Frugé: Not at first. [laughing] We took anything we could get, practically. Eventually, yes.

Riess: Did you take advertising, too?

Mrs. Frugé: No. Now they do. We didn't at first.

Riess: Do you remember any discussion about that?

Mrs. Frugé: What I don't remember is anyone coming to us to put ads in. I don't remember anyone wanting to. And so it wasn't an issue. And if anything like that had come in and they weren't on native plants, we would have said no. We were very purist on everything we did.

Riess: I should think that would be grounds for rejection even of some articles, if you have a different definition of purism than your authors. Can you think of any?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, like how to raise tulips--I mean, it's so clear.

But I don't know what we would have done at first--now they use them--if Berkeley Hort came to us and said, "Can we run an ad?" because at first they sold non-native plants. We eventually got them to sell natives, and they contributed to our plant sale, so back and forth, Yes, we could hold it as long as their ads showed native plants. They were good that way.

Also because we had what is designated an "occasional sale," as it's called for a nonprofit organization, we were not in competition with the other nurseries. So they supported us, really, in that sense.

Riess: Has *Fremontia* gone on to have subscribers nationwide?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. And England, yes. That's when it really took off, and Marge [Hayakawa] was an extremely good editor. She had done that sort of thing for Strybing Arboretum, so she knew where to write and to whom to reach out to for articles. She just quietly went about doing it all right. And she had a lot of the Strybing Arboretum files at her beck and call.

Riess: And where does Phyllis Faber fit into it?

- Mrs. Frugé: Well, she was always kind of involved, more so about the time I was leaving. And Phyllis is very good. She's done a lot. Since I've been there, she's done a lot more.
- Frugé: She's the editor now, isn't she?
- Mrs. Frugé: Is she?
- Frugé: Has been for several years.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, I guess ever since Marge retired from it.
- Riess: Before Marge Hayakawa it was the two men [Wycoff and Hefta]? And the first editor was you.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but I did quite a bit with the two men. By the time Marge came, I didn't need to. She was doing it all.
- Riess: Has there ever been any compensation for any of you editors?
- Mrs. Frugé: No. Well, Marge may have.
- Frugé: Of course, we don't know now.
- Riess: How much of your time did it take to do this?
- Mrs. Frugé: As much as I could give. We did spend a lot of time with it. But no, that isn't always true. I edited a number of books. I worked for the Rockefeller Foundation and several other groups like that as a freelance editor. This was in between my freelance jobs.
- Riess: Looking at the volume numbers, *Fremontia* started in 1972.
- Frugé: I had a note that it was '73, but it's certainly about then.
- Riess: You have indexed the early issues?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. I had forgotten all about that, and I found one in here. Joyce and I did. And I think Joyce did another index. It was after I was gone, anyhow.
- Riess: In one of the CNPS oral histories there's a copy of *Fremontia*, with a piece by Ernest Twisselmann. Was that under your editorship?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, it was. He was a very shy man. I remember one night, when they had actually done the steaks, you know, and everybody had eaten--this was somewhere in the early

seventies--everybody was pretty high and particularly Ernest's brother, Carl.

I finally couldn't take it. A lot of smoke, and it was loud and all of that, so I went over and sat in the back of our car, with the back open, just, you know, to see the sky and get fresh air. And Ernest came over and sat with me, and we talked for about three hours. He said, "I don't like things like that."

[telephone interruption]

Riess: Thinking about that Twisselmann article and people who are not naturally writers--I assume he wasn't--you must have had to do a lot of editing.

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, he was an educated man, and he polished his work. Well, you do some, but Ernest wasn't backward. Not like his brother, Carl, who was a big, rough raiser of beef. Ernest didn't quite fit in, in a way.

Riess: What more do you recall about the publications?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, you know, it's funny. I tried to think of things to tell you, and I don't really--everything that came up we handled as it came up. I keep noticing in some of the minutes that we asked for more money for better quality paper, for longer length, for photographs. We weren't asking for salaries. We all reached out to people and asked our contributors to contribute to it.

Harlan Kessel came in there sometime, and some other people on the publications board, but they'd come and go. You know, there wasn't anything portentous that happened. Except for me, the best thing that happened was getting *Fremontia* up-to-date and citified and a publication that people wanted to publish in--and then we had more articles than we needed.

Riess: You talked about Jim Roof's disapproval of the name.⁹

⁹Mrs. Frugé: [moved from earlier in the interview] At a dinner he [Jim Roof] got after Marge Hayakawa, and he really ripped into her, and Marge was so ladylike, and she took it, and we were so upset because she had just become editor of *Fremontia* and we didn't want to lose her. She took it very well, and later on we tried to apologize to her for Jim, and she said, "Oh, yes. I don't pay much attention." She probably did, though, because he was too hard on her.

- Mrs. Frugé: I really didn't care what it was called. I think there was something I preferred to *Fremontia*, but it's what the board voted for, and it didn't matter. The object was to get this quality of work out.
- Riess: Once you've decided to do something that is this very high quality, how do you keep it consistently high?
- Mrs. Frugé: The right editor, immediate editor, because Marge did the immediate editing. And various of us--if a manuscript would come in for *Fremontia* that was in a particular field, I would show it to someone in that same field and get an idea of is this all right or not? Well, a lot of the times you knew. If Lincoln Constance hands you a manuscript, you don't question it. If Bob Ornduff does, you don't question it.
- Frugé: The society published a number of books. Was that during your time or afterwards?

That was during the time when he resented *Fremontia*, our big newsletter in that sense, our journal. He resented it being named *Fremontia* because it was after General Fremont, who was known not to keep prisoners. He considered Fremont a butcher, so we couldn't name it after Fremont. Well, we told him the *Fremontia*, the flower, was named after Fremont, but the journal was named after the flower, and it was quite all right. He had horror stories of Fremont [chuckling], and he took it very personally, so he dug into Marge Hayakawa for coming into this misnamed bulletin sort of thing. Of course, he then started contributing to it.

- Riess: Didn't he have a publication?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, the one from the East Bay Regional Botanic Garden.
- Riess: Was it a kind of jealousy over that?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, no, he found something to be angry at, that created a lot of dissension. And he loved the drama. That's the main thing with Jim. It was all a great game to him. Except with his studies of manzanita and his love of the garden, he was very possessive. He was like a mother tiger with the cub.
- Frugé: No, the two were quite separate, quite different. *Four Seasons* still exists, only it belongs to the garden. Originally, it was just Jim's really, I think.

- Mrs. Frugé: Almost all of them were afterwards. The ones that were before, or anything that was before, all we did was follow the recommendations of the readers and say that if we have the funds, we'll do this or we'll do that. Sometimes I think grants came in for some of the books.
- Frugé: Did Harlan succeed you as chairman of the publications committee?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. And then I was still on his publications board for a number of years in the eighties. But I had nothing to do here. He sent me some things at first.
- Riess: The publications board, then, is the key group.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, it is now. We didn't really have a board at first.
- Riess: I don't know about the books.
- Mrs. Frugé: We have quite a list of publications.

Willing Hands, Few Conflicts

- Riess: The posters were another project. Were you involved in that?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, to an extent. Wilma Follette was in charge of them specifically, but we agreed on her first artist and stayed with him. He's a good artist. We agreed on the price, and not necessarily the method of distribution, but we had to do what we could, you know, it was just getting them out any way.
- Riess: There seems to have been a good deal of willingness to try things and not anticipate exactly where they might end up.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. We didn't have in CNPS any particular--I believe we call them nay-sayers? We'd try things and if it didn't work, and I know some things didn't, we'd drop it. I think Alice was the one thorn in so many ways. She was always snarly about what we did. [laughing] And then, of course, she wanted to write articles.
- Frugé: Really, I agree with you. People made something about these two or three little controversies, but by and large I'd say it was not controversial at all. People got along pretty well.

You know, this is an awful thing to say, but I believe a lot of us kind of looked to the society, in the abstract, as a god. And we followed the goals of the god. And I don't mean that sacrilegiously. But it seems that we just did. We were dedicated, and it was internal.

Riess: In your introduction to Joyce Burr's oral history in 1992 you said, "CNPS was a sort of skeleton, our small group of people the flesh and blood. And the flesh sometimes bled, and every dollar had to count for twenty. A few of us did more work than I wish to remember." Yet you say how much fun it was.¹⁰

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, it was very absorbing, and it was fun. And it was satisfying.

¹⁰*Thoughts About Joyce Burr*, written by Susan Frugé September 1992.

"If the first meeting is not memorable, it is no matter. Perhaps Joyce and Doc Burr came to the house one evening to talk about the Botanic Garden. There was a time when I did not know Joyce, and then a time, without clear transition, when she seemed always to have been a part of my life, as CNPS became a part of it then. CNPS was a sort of skeleton, our small group of people the flesh and blood.

That flesh sometimes bled. At first, every dollar had to count for twenty, had to be bolstered by an enormous amount of work. The few of us, two or three dozen perhaps, did more work than I wish to remember. And found time to enjoy the plants and places we wanted to save.

We few--Ledyard, Jim, Jenny, all of us--endured through long meetings at our house, at the Burr house, and elsewhere, indoors and out. Later meetings were larger, included new chapters, but lasted just as long. We slept in tents, in each others' houses, and in motels. We ate sand and grit over campfires.

On trips we slogged through rainy reaches of Ferndale clay, chilled and dripping, then ate Thanksgiving dinners in the cozy sawdust-barroom of the Ferndale Inn. We baked in Anza Borrego, basked east of the Sierra, wet our feet in the Pacific at Nipomo Dunes.

And always there was Joyce, who could laugh and who could also prod us on. What zest she brought! Those formative days of CNPS were a lively, joyous, fulfilling, beautiful, and loving period, and I shall always remember Joyce as a central and moving part of all that we did.

[Introduction to Joyce E. Burr, *Memories of Years Preceding and During the Formation of the California Native Plant Society, 1947-1966*, Donated Oral Histories Collection, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.]

And we weren't envisioning all these chapters. This is just terribly surprising. We were trying to make ourselves keep going, the dedicated few.

Riess: And now what are you doing in CNPS?

Mrs. Frugé: I sell the posters. You know, people drive down and give me posters, and I sell them to the [Joshua Tree National] Park. And I used to sell them to the Living Desert Reserve. But now I can't carry them, I'm unable to lift, so I've written to them and said that we'll have to work it out another way.

And I've led a lot of field trips on the desert here myself, which is native plants, and I always talk about the Native Plant Society.

Riess: Are there other organizations you've joined that do similar work? The Nature Conservancy?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, we worked with The Nature Conservancy a lot at first because we would identify and could obtain certain small parcels. Nature Conservancy doesn't want to work in those small amounts anymore, and hasn't for years. So we're in a sense kind of out of that. But if someone from Nature Conservancy wanted a native plant specialist, now they come to the Native Plant Society and ask that one be advised for them.

And Fish and Game uses all our reports. It's--we're dignified! And I think sometimes now, looking back on it, just how unhousebroken we were. We were floundering a lot of times. But it seemed to work.

Riess: Did the Native Plant Society have a tendency to slough off people who got too intense about it?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, there were people who didn't fit in. I suppose we probably kind of froze them out, didn't we? That's usually what happens.

Frugé: I don't remember any of it, but we could have, yes.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, since we don't remember, it was evidently done rather easily. We never kicked anyone out or had blowups.

Frugé: Except Mary Wohlers, at the very beginning.

Mrs. Frugé: And Baki Kasaplaigil and Ledyard had a spat. But that was two people.

- Frugé: I told Suzanne that Ledyard sometimes got so upset that he coughed up his dinner.
- Mrs. Frugé: Horrible.
- Frugé: He and Baki didn't get along.
- Riess: Was it about organizational issues?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, I think it was a matter of male pride, that two very different people could be saying the same thing and be insulted by the other one. Baki was a Turk, August says. I thought of him as middle European. And he had his own very specific things that he approved of, and didn't approve of, and how you say them. Do you nod your head properly? And Ledyard comes in, Whammo! I don't think the two of them were ever on the same plane. I think it was personality in that sense. But I don't remember that it was anything serious.
- Frugé: Oh, no.
- Mrs. Frugé: It was nothing serious as far as CNPS was concerned.
- Frugé: Let me say over again, in spite of the talk about these three or four little controversies, by and large the organization really got along very well. There was a little trouble with June Latting at Riverside.
- Riess: June Latting?
- Mrs. Frugé: Doctor. She's a plant pathologist.
- June merely did too much, and she was representing CNPS and making statements that weren't--.
- Hey, that's an idea. You asked about our mission statement. As we went along--I had totally forgotten this--we'd make mission statements on certain subjects, and they'd be in the minutes somewhere and published one or two times, about picking wildflowers, about what you took on field trips, all that kind of thing. But I don't remember that they ever got pulled together coherently.
- Riess: But you took a stand that could become a public stand.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, and we would announce it, send it to all the chapters, to newspapers and so forth. Because that has changed. Various subjects came up or approaches came up, and we'd make our mission statement on them individually.

- Riess: Do you think that someone looking back at the history of the organization would find a gender difference? Is it true that the women were doing the work?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but in this case it was the men who had important names and the women who didn't. Who was I with my name? Yes, I suppose so. We never thought of it, though.
- Frugé: You know, people have gender differences and so on and competition in mind these days, but I don't think anybody ever thought of it. As a matter of fact, professors of botany and garden employees and ordinary gardeners and so on--we got along on the same level.
- Riess: It was without class also.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Frugé: Yes, I think so.
- Mrs. Frugé: When we were involved in CNPS things, yes. Socially, it might not have been.
- Frugé: There was no distinction. Obviously, I wouldn't dispute a botanical matter with Ledyard or anything like that, but, I mean, there wasn't any class feeling, I don't think, between university people and people who were not university, was there?
- Mrs. Frugé: No, none at all. And the other day, for another group I'm in, a professional group, I had to adjudicate a sexual harassment suit. And I sat there listening, at my age. And this gal was eighteen, and I thought if this had come up in my youth, we would have just laughed it out of the room. You know, it's so different. And she says she's so independent, she lives in her own apartment, but this man makes her uncomfortable. Get a life! Which we wouldn't say.
- So I don't remember ever any of those things happening. If a man was causing any trouble because of his gender, you just took care of it and went on. You didn't whine.
- Frugé: You slapped him down.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Frugé: Verbally. Told him to go jump, or whatever.

- Riess: The early description of Jim Roof, you know, this handsome character in the garden, is really pretty mythic.
- Mrs. Frugé: I know. It is. He was one of a kind, though, Suzanne. He was totally macho. This generation meeting a man like that wouldn't know how to handle him. [laughter] He lived in caves, he helped the smugglers.

The Early Vision, Realized ##

- Riess: [to Frugé] I noticed that in the beginning you were on the board and Susan was just a member.
- Frugé: I went through a lot of minutes, and most years one or the other of us was on the board, not both at the same time. I was vice president that first year when Ledyard was president. Then at various times I was just on the board. Other times, she'd be on the board and I'd be a visitor. In '78 I was vice president again, and after that I became president. I guess we were both on the board there later on. She was on the board as a committee chairman. We had the chapter chairmen and I think the main committee chairmen were members of the board, just ex officio.
- Riess: She was finance committee chairman.
- Frugé: For a little while, not for very long. And then she was publications, and then she was plant sale and so on. I don't have any idea how I happened to be made vice president in '66. I have no idea.
- Riess: Did it happen again after the first year that the board or the membership was assessed?
- Frugé: I don't think so. I remember that one time we all tried to cough up a little bit of money. Is that in that particular set of minutes? [July 28, 1966]
- Riess: Yes. "Five dollars toward the publishing of a newsletter."
- Frugé: Yes. And for the first plant sale, two or three people gave some money to get it started. Whether it was a loan--I remember Jim Roof did and so on. We had no idea of how well it would work. It was called an auction at first, but they took in something like \$1,500, I think, the first time, with very little expense.

- Riess: It's also impressive, the ideas that Stebbins had in 1966 about what CNPS could be. Future plans included "maintaining files of specific rare plants and plant associations."
- Frugé: That's the rare plant project. It didn't actually get started that soon, but he had the idea then.
- Riess: And nature guides and highway guides.
- Frugé: I don't think we did any of those, really.
- Riess: And a "plant mobile unit."
- Frugé: [chuckling] I don't know what that unit would be.
- Riess: And "industrial contributions." I find that mystifying.
- Frugé: I'm afraid I do, too. I mean, we contribute to industries? Or vice versa? I think probably what they mean is to work with various industries to see that they don't destroy areas that have plants in them. Some of these outfits would set aside an acre or two of what they had, instead of building on it. That sort of thing.
- Riess: Yes, mitigation. Was CNPS in the forefront of that?
- Frugé: There was a lot of that done. CNPS didn't get into great big conservation battles the way the Sierra Club did, but a lot of little things were done. And the various chapters also did, in their own areas. We actually acquired a few little pieces of property that I think we gave to the Nature Conservancy. There was some up in Sonoma County somewhere, and there was a little place over in Marin. There was a little tiny church.
- Riess: St. Hillary's?
- Frugé: Yes, St. Hillary's.
- Riess: That's one of the Nature Conservancy's prize places.
- Frugé: Well, the CNPS managed that. My recollection is that we got hold of it and gave it to the Nature Conservancy. It had one or two rare plants. Susan will remember that sort of thing better than I do.

VI UCLA OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Book Clubs

- Riess: Thinking about what you said this morning, I find it interesting that there were such differences in northern and southern California in terms of easiness of social interactions.
- Frugé: Well, I'm not sure it's between the two parts of the state, it's between the two campuses. Berkeley had the reputation of being rather stiff. It probably isn't--that difference probably doesn't exist so much now.
- Riess: Probably we should now discuss the Press's UCLA office. Reading *A Skeptic Among Scholars*, there's a way that you write about UCLA that makes it sound almost like it's part of a rich community of bookstores and book clubs. There's something you obviously liked about your time down there. I was trying to figure out what that was all about.
- Frugé: I don't know if that has so much to do with the office, but I did meet book people. I became a member of the Zamorano Club. (Now I'm a member again since we've been living down here.) I met a lot of the book-collecting people.
- Sam Farquhar, my predecessor, with whom I used to make visits down there, was very much tied up in fine-printing circles or collecting, much more so than I ever have been. I was more of a publisher than Sam. He was more of a printing fancier than I.
- Riess: Did you join the fine-printing group up here in the same way?
- Frugé: Well, I was in the Roxburghe Club, yes.
- Riess: Was that an important place to appear?

Frugé:

Not especially. And as years went by, I just dropped out because I was not a--I was doing a lot of things, and in spite of all these books around, I'm not a book collector, in the sense that people collect on a certain subject. I collect things I'm interested in, but not in the sense of a person who has a book collection.

It is different. The first book club I belonged to was the one in Sacramento, called the Sacramento Book Collectors Club. Almost everybody collected Californiana, but one man there, when a new book would come out, he'd buy a copy for his collection and he'd wrap cellophane around it and put it on the shelf, and then he'd go down and take out the public library copy to read it. He didn't even read his own. He wanted to keep them in pristine shape.

I have a few valuable books, but I don't know, there's just a difference in attitude, really. But actually, the Los Angeles office of the Press was not much related to that.

How the UCLA Office of the Press Developed

Frugé:

The university after the war was rapidly expanding. This is one of Robert Gordon Sproul's--this was something he was doing, although he kept all the control in Berkeley, which was changed under Clark Kerr. But Sproul was busy promoting other campuses. At the time when I came to the Press and Sam and I used to make trips around the state, Riverside was the citrus experiment station. That's all it was. Later it became a general campus.

La Jolla was the Scripps Institution then, nothing else. They turned that into a general campus. There wasn't any Irvine yet. Santa Barbara--the university had taken it over--it used to be a state college. And there were two or three campuses, and they had a hard time getting past their past, they were just really getting started.

Well, UCLA was trying to rival Berkeley. UCLA wasn't very old. I remember when I was at Stanford, about 1930 or so, we laughed at hearing that UCLA students were lining up to get dipped in the mud to start a tradition. [laughter] Whether that's true or not, I don't know. UCLA had been down on Vermont Street, something like that, but they moved out to the new campus out in Westwood sometime in the late twenties,

I don't know just when. So UCLA was growing very rapidly. A lot of money was being put into it, and so on.

Sam could see that all this was happening, and that it was going to go on. As I say, when I came to the Press, there were three UCLA members of the Editorial Committee, three out of eleven, so we'd already gone some distance. Sam and two or three of them had got together and got Sproul to finance the salary of a secretary, so we opened an office down there, which was nothing but a secretary. That was open a year or two before I came. She didn't have much to do except make appointments when we visited, except that we had some scholarly journals which were edited--the editors were at UCLA--so she helped them. But it was--you know, you start something because it's going to be needed, even though it isn't needed right now.

Riess: Was it started with care, so it wasn't going to have the problems that Berkeley had? Was it associated with printing?

Frugé: No. Well, there was some, but that was--you mentioned Bill Foley's name in there [in notes sent to Frugé]. But I don't know whether they were really connected there or not.

You know, even this early in the game we were very much aware--even though nobody called it a multiversity, we were very much aware of the university as being statewide. One time--I don't know whether I mentioned this in the book or not--in the late forties, I think right after Sam died, the chairman of the committee was George Stewart. Well, George had his great qualities, but he wasn't always a diplomat, and he insulted some of the UCLA members of the committee, talked down to them. George could do that.

Other Berkeley members went to the Committee on Committees and had him thrown off, because we didn't want any dissension. And thereafter there was never any Berkeley-UCLA division. I wouldn't allow it in my time. It absolutely wasn't allowed. And the committee itself didn't. I mean, it was the Berkeley members who got George thrown off.

Riess: Interesting. Did they think UCLA might pull away completely?

Frugé: No, I don't think so. I just think that they didn't want that kind of dissension.

In that letter you sent me [referring to correspondence between interviews] you said something about committee members representing campuses and representing divisions. Well, I

don't think they ever represented divisions. But, see, they were appointed by campuses. They were appointed by several Committees on Committees. That is, the campus Committee on Committees would propose somebody, and then the statewide Committee on Committees would have to really appoint them.

In those first days, of course, there were just the two campuses. Davis was a university farm. Later on, they were all represented, but they weren't then--[laughs] I lost track of what I was going to say here.

Riess: Something about the instinct to keep it one single press?

Frugé: Exactly. I remember now. They were appointed by campuses, but as much as we could, we--I say "we," I mean, as a group--wouldn't allow them to act as representatives of their campus. I mean, the academic senate might think of them that way, but that's no good for a Press if each one is looking out for the welfare of his campus--his or her. We told them, and I think by and large we were successful, they were representing the Press or the whole university. They might be appointed from UCLA or Davis or wherever, but the whole attitude was against their saying, "Well, my campus wants this," or whatever it is.

Riess: Yet if you had an appointment from Davis and the man was in enology, that's obviously a Davis interest. Did they ever appoint people counter to the obvious academic connection?

Frugé: Well, one of the great difficulties was to get a balanced group, balanced by subject matter, by discipline. Many people who made such appointments were apt to think that a professor of English was ideal, and if we hadn't--but you know, you'd have a whole room full of English professors, and that wouldn't do us any good. We always had one or two, but we had to have life sciences because we did a lot of publishing in biology of one kind or another. We did relatively little in hard sciences, but we did have two or three physicists at various times.

Riess: So before you had the sponsoring editors, you really had to count on your committee being people who had very good judgment within their fields.

Frugé: Not only before but after, because all manuscripts went up to them. Most of the sponsoring editors were not that expert in various fields. I'm getting away from the UCLA story.

Riess: There were three committee members from UCLA. Did they represent any particular disciplines?

Frugé: We had a man who was interested in mass communication. We had an English professor and one from German. You know, there were only three of them. Obviously, we didn't want three from the same department, but that wasn't so much of a problem in those early days. Later on, it became more of a problem because we had many more manuscripts.

You see, in the early days, most of the publications were the University Series, paperbound monographs written by faculty members. There was a board of editors for each one of those, a separate board. For a while, there were two. There was one from the north and one from the south. They read manuscripts and recommended them up. So they were always looked at again. Well, we were publishing ten or twelve books or so when I came. The war was just ending.

Riess: Talk about how the UCLA office developed.

Frugé: We're getting away from it, aren't we?

Riess: "How parity was achieved."

Frugé: Well, that took years.

Riess: What did you do?

Frugé: There was just this secretary, and after Farquhar died in '49, then we were--you know, if you read the book, we were locked in a big fight with not just the printing department, but also the university business office. We had to do everything to strengthen ourselves. One of them, I thought, was to build up the Los Angeles office. To get support from the chancellor there and from the committee members from the south and so on.

Staff: Glenn Gosling

Frugé: I can't remember where I got the money, but I appointed an editor whose name was Glenn Gosling. He had been an editor at Henry Holt and Company. I don't know whether they fired him or what, but Joe Brandt must have recommended him. Brandt had been president of Henry Holt. So Glenn was our first editor.

And then as fast as I could, I added other staff. One man as editor could take in manuscripts, but he couldn't copy edit everything that came from Los Angeles, so the manuscripts

had to go up to Berkeley. But as fast as I could, I added other editors.

The second one was Jim Kubeck, who was at first really a copy editor. (Later on, I'll get into the difference between the two kinds of editors.) Jim, and then in the early fifties, Susan [Frugé] became one. She was first of all the secretary, with the understanding that she'd get the first open editorial job. That was not my doing. She dealt with Glenn before I met her.

Riess: So this was efficient, that manuscripts from faculty at UCLA were edited down at UCLA.

Frugé: Yes. The idea was that manuscripts taken in by that office would be copy edited there. Copy editing is the hands-on working over of the manuscript, not the judging of it, but after it has been approved, the working over of it.

Riess: But I'm confused. When you say Glenn Gosling was the first editor, you're not talking of--he was not a copy editor.

Frugé: Well, he was both. Later on, he became a sponsoring editor, when we made the separation. But in those days we didn't have any sponsoring editors. Glenn was in charge of the office. He was the office manager.

Riess: Did he have the same philosophy of editing that you would have had?

Frugé: Probably not.

Riess: I mean, did you try to micromanage that aspect of it?

Frugé: Glenn knew more about editing than I did. He had been an editor, and I had not. Later on, I began to develop some ideas about it, but at that point I was just trying to get things going. I couldn't possibly micromanage that. And at Berkeley I had Lucie Dobbie to make these decisions.

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Frugé: Now, I can go through the people at the UCLA office. Glenn was the first editor, *the* editor. He had other editors working for him. Oh, how long was he there? Must have been three or four or five years. Glenn had difficulties. He drank too much, and he couldn't face troubles. I remember very early in the game, when I came down one time, he said, "Professor X is coming in first thing in the morning. He's

got some problem. He's complaining about this, that or the other thing." There was a problem that had to be solved.

Well, the next morning I got to the office. Professor X came in, and we solved the problem. [laughs] Half an hour later, Glenn came in. He couldn't stand trouble. You know, in a managerial job, you've got to be able to handle the trouble, and Glenn couldn't stand it.

Later on, as a few years went by, he started drinking too much, and he'd get in very late, and he'd be half-drunk and so on. I finally had enough of it, and I took him outside to a bench somewhere and I told him that he was either fired or he could go to Berkeley and work for Lucie Dobbie. I thought she could take care of him, which she did.

Riess: That's what happened?

Frugé: That's what he did. He went to Berkeley and became an editor there, working for Lucie. Later on, one day I got a note from him--he sent me down a note saying that he had been appointed director of the University of Michigan Press. Nobody asked me about it. I knew he couldn't make it. He didn't. He didn't last very long. As I say, he couldn't stand trouble. He couldn't make decisions. At Berkeley, if there was a decision to be made, he could trot in and Lucie would decide it. He didn't make it at Michigan at all. They threw him out after a year or two.

Riess: How was Lucie able to help him?

Frugé: Well, she could make decisions. Lucie was a bit--a fellow used to say she was schoolmarmish. I thought Lucie was fine. Anyway, she was strong-minded enough, and if Glenn didn't know what to do about Professor X, she would decide.

Anyway, Michigan never asked me about him. Years later, I went back there when they had another director. They wanted a survey. Two of us did it. Somebody said something to me about Glenn. I said, "They never asked me about him." And I'm glad they didn't. I mean, what would I have said? That's a difficult business. Do you say everything is fine in order to get rid of the person?

Staff: Jim Kubeck, Bob Zachery, Others

Riess: When he left, then who took the slot?

Frugé: He left suddenly. I guess that's the first time I passed over Jim Kubeck. Did it two or three times later, and so did Jim Clark. And Jim Kubeck was very good. I don't know exactly my thinking, but Jim was an excellently-organized person. He was no intellectual, and somehow I think I always felt that the head of that office should be something of an intellectual, you know, in our terms. To deal with the faculty, he should have some--. That's how I eventually got [Robert] Zachery, but not right away.

Anyway, I sent a man down from Berkeley, a temporary, for a year or two, whatever it was. This was John Jennings. He was one of our senior editors in Berkeley. What I in effect did was when Glenn came to Berkeley, I sent John down there. I'll say something about this because of the business of whether people are tolerant or not. Everybody knew that John was homosexual. He lived with a young man. Nobody said anything about it, nobody cared, at least in that context of the university.

I know that university business people and so on might have been fussy about it, maybe some faculty people. But actually, before bringing him down--I had very close relations with Foster Sherwood, who was our Editorial Board co-chairman or whatever we called him at that time. Anyway, Foster for many years was our chief contact down there, and so I told Foster what I was doing. I said, "I'm bringing John down. John is homosexual. Does that bother you?"

Foster thought a minute. He said, "No, I don't think so." So that's the only thing that ever happened. Everybody at the office knew. John never waved any flags, but when there was an office party, he came and brought his roommate, just as a man might come and bring his wife. Nobody cared. As I say, that was within the university community.

You know, I get a little riled on this subject because people nowadays seem to think that before 1960 everybody was narrow-minded and persecuted people and so on, just as they think that nobody would ever hire a woman to be head of anything. But they did.

Anyway, John was there for I don't know how long. Not too long. But then I got word about Zachery, who is a real

intellectual. He's difficult, but a real intellectual. And I hired him. He had been the chief editor at Louisiana State University Press. Before that he had worked for commercial publishers.

Riess: You put him in over Jennings?

Frugé: No, I moved Jennings back to Berkeley. I don't remember how I financed all that, because this was adding to the staff, but we were growing. We were earning more income.

But, you see, again I passed over Kubeck. Jim was a good friend of ours, but he couldn't help resenting this. It didn't always come out--I don't know where you heard about it. I mentioned them both in the book in connection with that [Carlos] Castaneda thing.¹ They were almost exactly opposites. Kubeck was organized, methodical. He was very good. I think he probably would have done a good job as the head of the office.

Zachery never knew what time of day it was, but he was an extremely capable editor. He could read five or six languages, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, and he could read hard philosophy, which I can't, and hard science. He got along very well with individual academics. Never could get along with the Editorial Committee as a group. I don't know, he got flustered or something, he could never do that. That was my job. By and large--Bob was difficult sometimes. I dealt with him carefully, and he respected me, and we got along all right.

But when I left and Jim Clark came in, they immediately clashed, and it was both their fault. Jim couldn't talk to Bob, he didn't know how to. Jim is intelligent, but no intellectual, and Bob is all intellectual. Bob resented Jim. Jim thought he could just tell Bob, "Do this, do that." And you couldn't do that with him, you had to explain things to Bob and work around him and so on. If there was some difficulty, I'd take him out to lunch and we'd spend an hour or two at it.

[added in editing] There was a special problem about Bob at the time Jim came in. Perhaps I should have explained this to Jim, but he never asked my advice about anything. I think

¹A *Skeptic Among Scholars*, pp. 148-156, discussion of Carlos Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*, University of California Press, 1968.

the vice-president--Don Swain--told him to be his own man, make a new start, not run any risk of my dominating him--something I could not, would not, have done. Thus, for example, he boxed up my office files and dumped them in the warehouse, where Muto and I found them much later when looking for historical material.

Bob, in his intellectually brilliant but rather eccentric way, did very good work for seventeen or eighteen years, bringing in many good books and starting good new programs. For all his unworldliness, he never made a bad financial deal, something I cannot say of myself. He also gave us the intellectual quality that I wanted for that office. For his virtues you put up with some eccentricities. But then he went into a kind of decline, perhaps because his wife was having mental problems. I don't know for sure.

But what should I have done about it? Do you fire a person after seventeen or eighteen good years? Or do you give him some time and try to bring him back to his earlier level? That is what I was trying to do. Jim came in, not knowing better and being impatient, and probably prodded by that v.p., he tried the sledgehammer method. So they clashed. I don't know whether Jim fired or demoted Bob, but there was a great row, Bob had a heart attack, almost died, and hired a lawyer. The university had to buy him off with enough money to retire on. So what do you think? You may have had a different story from McClung and others.

I should add that I stayed out of this affair and said nothing even when I read in a survey of the Press that the old director had dumped an impossible problem on the newcomer.

But a few months later, when Kessel was in danger of being pushed out because of a frivolous and false complaint by an employee--something about using a university car to transport his dog--I wrote an angry letter to Jim, demanding *inter alia* that the accused be allowed to face his accuser. Jim, bless his decent heart, flew to the desert to see me. The silly matter was straightened out, and Jim came to appreciate Harlan as the best sales and promotion manager he or I ever had.

All of us can stand some criticism. I could make a rather long list of things that I did wrong. Jim survived a bad start--which I blame on the vice-president, and which is now far in the past--but he had the sense and will to survive, and is now running a good show. In saying all this I am answering some criticisms that you one hinted at and that

have, for an unknown reason, surfaced in my mind. [end of insert]

Riess: Is it partly because, even though you're trying to make a parallel office, that it's never going to be parallel? So Jim walks in and he thinks UCLA is really working for Berkeley?

Frugé: Well, it could be. I don't know that much about Jim's attitudes. UCLA worked for the director, who is a statewide officer, but not for Berkeley.

Riess: If you're a Berkeley person, you must have to keep watching yourself all the time?

Frugé: I suppose. I mean, that's certainly true with some people at Berkeley. Grant Barnes, Bill McClung and so on. But it was second nature to me.

Obviously, the office couldn't be parallel in the full sense, but it was parallel to the Berkeley editorial office. Later on, they not only did their own copy editing, but when I--I eventually eliminated most of the copy editors. (That was sort of controversial, too.) But Jim [Kubeck], as kind of a managing editor down there, he arranged for design, of books as well as for editing. We started setting up type by having it done on machines like big typewriters. And Jim got everything done and sent it up to Berkeley just to be printed. So they carried that a long ways. I think that's been changed somewhat since then.

Riess: So it was almost done, but not until Berkeley had a look?

Frugé: Well, I don't think Berkeley needed to have a look at it. No, they sent it up to the production department. They sent it up just to be printed. It didn't have to be gone over by any Berkeley editor. Zachery or one of his assistants would take the thing in and go to the Editorial Committee.

At that point I was there, and if it was something I didn't want, I could have it thrown out. But they took in the manuscripts, they got the critical readings of them, prepared the memos for the Editorial Committee, and sent them to Berkeley, to the Editorial Committee. Of course, in a sense they sent it through me because I--there had to be some control. The same way as the Berkeley ones, although I gave Phil Lilienthal pretty much a free hand.

But anyway, if the Editorial Committee approved it, it went back to Los Angeles to be processed. At first, the

processing was just editing, and then it became--they didn't have designers, but they had this work done outside and had the composition done, so they were pretty independent.

Riess: These hirings, and staff changes, did you run that through the Board of Control? Or you were quite independent of that.

Frugé: I could do my own hiring. I guess we'll get to the Board of Control later. No, they didn't micromanage that way.

Riess: You had a tremendous amount of power, didn't you?

Frugé: Well, I had quite a bit. I guess it just grew up that way, or I took it. One or the other. Of course, hiring anybody, I couldn't set the salary by myself, I had to go through the personnel office. If the person needed classification, we had to have a job description and all that sort of thing.

Riess: The directorship of the University Press has remained at Berkeley. Is there anything to prevent it from being at UCLA?

Frugé: No, I don't think so. Of course, a good deal of staff and so on would have to be moved. Maybe not a good deal, but--UCLA has really just the editing, and part of production there. But along with the Berkeley staff there's a big production department that buys design and printing. And then there's the sales department. There's a paperback department, and there's an accounting, financial management. All of that is not duplicated at UCLA.

Looking at the Finances: Franklin Murphy's Vision

Riess: Has there ever been an effort to get it duplicated there?

Frugé: No. This leads me to what I mentioned a little while ago, that after I left, they appointed some kind of committee, the university did--I don't know whether this was a faculty committee or university committee--to have a look at the Press financially.

When I left, I asked for an audit, and that was done. But then they had another one. I saw the preliminary form of the report, and one item was that it was wasteful to have two editorial offices, that a lot of money could be saved by combining them in Berkeley. Well, they were wrong, and I told them so.

They hadn't really looked at it. First of all, UCLA wanted the office there, so we got free rent. And the chief expense is salaries, of course. If you moved the people from L.A. to Berkeley to do the same work, you wouldn't save any money on salaries. So it came down to that all we had in extra costs was the telephone bill and a few things like that. And for this, we got the political advantage of being located there and being able to talk to the chancellor there.

I think I told you before, or had it in the book, that the \$4 million endowment we got was really spearheaded by Franklin Murphy, who was the chancellor down there. I used to go in and talk to Murphy--I never talked to the chancellor at Berkeley, but I used to go in and talk to the one at UCLA.

Riess: Well, isn't that interesting.

Frugé: There was no need to talk to the one in Berkeley, really.

Riess: Except, as Susan points out, you were an officer of the university.

Frugé: Well, I was a statewide officer. The Press--even at the beginning, the Press was under the university president, not under anyone else. Now, the president, of course, at first was at Berkeley and there wasn't any real administration anywhere else. But as these various campuses grew up, the Press remained under the president, and when Kerr came in in 1957, I think it was, he sort of moved to decentralize the university. Sproul had built it up, but he had kept the reins pretty much in one place. Kerr decentralized it, but he still left the Press under the president's office.

My boss then was Harry Wellman, who was the number one vice president. He was university vice president. The Press was put under him, and that's when the Board of Control started, to watch over finance and things of that kind.

I'm off the subject again. I mentioned that this investigating committee, or whatever they called it, recommended that there be only one editorial office. Well, I wrote a memo and explained why it was the way it was, and I think they let that go because it's still there, although I think they've cut it down a good deal.

Riess: That \$4 million endowment. What was the yield from that each year? And how did you use it specially?

Frugé: We're getting into finances here.

The Press always had, at least in the beginning, a lot of budgeted university money, and then we had the sales income from the books, so that we had two kinds of money. This was one reason that I had as much freedom as I did, because if the book income was increasing, was coming in, we could hire people against that. Farquhar did the same thing. It was even worse with him because he had the printing department; he'd hire people against printing department money. Anyway, we had at least two kinds of money.

But you know, one trouble as you grow is that you run out of capital. [laughs] Sierra Club. All your money is tied up in book stock, in the warehouse, and in accounts receivable--people have ordered books but haven't paid for them yet. And that all has to be financed. You know, if you print a book and it costs \$10,000 and at the end of the year you've only sold \$2,000-worth of them, the other \$8,000 is sitting in the warehouse, and you've paid for those \$8,000, so your money is tied up.

Similarly, when you sell something and the customer hasn't paid, your money is tied up. Well, we were short of capital. I remember talking to Franklin Murphy. He said, "Oh, you should have an endowment for that." I said, "Fine." He said, "I'll work it." He did promote it through the regents. He had access to the regents.

Riess: So it was private money, not state money?

Frugé: No.

Riess: State? I mean, they got it from the legislature?

Frugé: No. It's not budgeted money. You know, the university has a huge amount of capital--stocks and bonds and whatever. I don't know just how this came about, but I know that Franklin promoted it.

Then, when Hitch was president he had a vice president called Graeme Bannerman. He was the financial vice president, and as such, he was on the Board of Control. He liked us, he liked the reports we gave and so on, and he went to the regents finance committee and really put it across, and they gave us--. They didn't give it to us, they set it up. It was a certain number of stocks, or whatever it was, and they set it up and they called it the University Press Fund, with the provision that we could have the annual income from that fund if we needed it, for capital. Well, I always managed to need it. I think one year maybe we missed it.

At the end of the year, it would be just put in our balance sheet. It wasn't money to be spent. I mean, to be spent for salaries or anything like that. This was capital, to be used for financing new books and things of that kind. We started out getting \$130,000, \$140,000. I think it's up to three hundred and something now. But that's available every year to add to the capital.

Riess: What year did Franklin Murphy do this?

Frugé: Oh, it couldn't have been long before he retired. This had to be in the early seventies. I don't know when, but it had to be somewhere in the very early seventies, I think. I say Murphy, but some other chancellors spoke up for us, too. Emil Mrak from Davis. But I'm not sure it would have ever happened if it hadn't been for Bannerman because he got onto the idea, and he worked with the regents finance committee, and he did it. He's the one who actually wrote me the letter and said, "You've got this," and so on.

Riess: From your experience with AAUP, was this kind of endowment common, in other universities? Or how did they capitalize things?

Frugé: Well, a lot of them, private universities, had endowments. I know Yale has quite an endowment, and Harvard has. These are apt to be gifts from private individuals. I got ours through the regents. I'm not a fund-raiser. Jim Clark is.

You know, now they have a fund-raising group. Associates, they call it. I'm one of them. And they raise money every year. They're on a big campaign to raise a million and a half dollars right now. But I'm no good at that. Jim is a fund-raiser.

Riess: And, once again, this is to create capital.

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Frugé: I collected more than they have, but in a totally different way. Gosh, how did we get to this? You asked me a question about finances.

It cost us very little [to be at UCLA], and politically we got a lot out of it. I don't know just how the two offices relate now. They've got a very good editor in Los Angeles. I don't know how the two relate.

Creating the Board of Control

Frugé: In your letter you ask how the Board and the Editorial Committee worked together. Well, they didn't. Two different functions. They were connected in one way: the two chairmen of the Editorial Committee were members of the Board of Control, so they had a say in the discussions there.

The Board of Control was two vice presidents and the budget officer, who was an assistant vice president, Loren Furtado, if you know him. That's what it was originally. It was set up to watch over financial and administrative things. We met quarterly, and we made reports to them. We brought them our financial statements, and if we'd set up a budget, at the budget time of year, why, we took the budget in to them.

Riess: Were they a board of control just for the Press?

Frugé: It was just for the Press. Kerr appointed it. What he did when he became president, he hired one of these big consulting firms to survey the Press. I've got the report somewhere. Haskins & Sells. They came around and talked to us. I'm sure I asked for a board of control because a lot of university presses have them, and, well, you need someone--. If you're under the president directly, chances are you never get to see him and he doesn't have time to pay much attention to you.

Riess: What did you see them about?

Frugé: Well, we wanted them to approve our budget, of course.

In the first days we were still getting money from Sacramento. By the time I left, we weren't. The budget officer was on the Board.

Riess: You couldn't get to Kerr.

Frugé: Wellman really ran the internal university in those years. I'm sure he talked to Kerr every night, probably. But Kerr was off on bigger things. Wellman really ran the place. Very well, too. He had been the agricultural vice president, but then Kerr made him, oh, I think, the administrative vice president or university vice president. He was over all the other vice presidents. And so we were in a pretty good position, in a way.

Riess: My questions that have to do with relations between these groups are irrelevant because you were the liaison.

Frugé: Along with Lloyd Lyman, the assistant director, and then Tom McFarland. Phil Lilienthal was an associate director, but he didn't get into that very much.

No, there wasn't any [way the Board of Control and the Editorial Committee worked together]. And you asked about the sponsoring editors. They had nothing to do with the Board of Control.

There wasn't any conflict, anyway. I suppose if the Press had been losing a lot of money or something like that--we weren't losing any money. I don't know what they get into now. They've got a bigger Board now.

Riess: You worked with Wellman. And Angus Taylor?

Frugé: Angus Taylor succeeded Wellman. When Wellman retired, he became acting president for a while, when Kerr was fired. Angus, oh, for quite a few years Angus was the chairman of the Board of Control and our chief boss. He was pretty good. He didn't have the power that Wellman had but he was fine. He was succeeded by a man from Davis that they brought in. I thought he was a disaster. I can't remember his name. He left and went to the University of Louisville or something like that, as president.

A Successor

Riess: Did you have anyone you were grooming to be your successor when you left the Press?

Frugé: Not really. I had for years Phil Lilienthal, who was the associate director, and Lloyd Lyman, who was the assistant director. Phil was mostly editorial. He and I ran the editorial together. Lloyd was sort of an administrative vice president, you might say. He was over the operating offices, the financing, oh, the billing. You know, we had a big office to do the billing and shipping and all that sort of thing. Lloyd ran all of that.

But then he left, oh, about four years before I retired, and I hired Tom McFarland, who was an assistant director at Johns Hopkins. I'm sure that Tom came because he wanted to be in line for the job. He was number three at Hopkins. There was a man of about his own age who had seniority over him. Tom was very good. I thought they'd probably appoint him. In

fact, Angus Taylor practically told me that if he had been making the appointment, he would have appointed Tom.

I thought that Lilienthal could have it if he wanted it, but he said no. I just asked him. I said, "Do you want to try for it?" and so on. He was within--he was only five years younger than I. Well, I think he didn't want to get into the trouble. Lilienthal was in many ways more capable than I am, and smarter. But I'm not sure that he could have handled the difficulties. He had a temper that got away with him sometimes. I've got a whole chapter about him in the book.

Riess: Except the difficulties had pretty much subsided.

Frugé: Well, they had. But, you know, there are always difficulties. They keep coming up.

Riess: So McFarland and Lilienthal.

Frugé: Actually, McFarland applied. Harlan Kessel applied. Kessel would have been all right. He was a sales manager, but he would have been all right because he's very good with people, a very good administrator. Either one of them would have been all right.

But this vice president--his name will pop to me pretty soon [Donald Swain]--he was determined to bring in an outsider. He appointed a committee which was chaired by Loren Furtado, who was budget officer, I guess. They recommended as the first two McFarland and Kessel. But the vice president wouldn't have any--he said, "Come back with some more recommendations." It was clear that he wanted to go outside. He and I didn't get along very well.

Riess: You think that's it, that they were tainted by association?

Frugé: I think so.

Kessel turned up a book that he [Swain] had written about some government agency, and he had said in there very plainly that it was better not to appoint people from inside to jobs like that, so Harlan smelled it out before I did. He was determined to have an outsider. He and I didn't get along. He talked to me about it a time or two, but the theory is that a person is not to influence the appointment of his successor.

Riess: And was Zachery considered?

- Frugé: He was on the list, but I never would have appointed him. He was no administrator. No, he would have been impossible.
- Riess: How did they find Jim Clark?
- Frugé: Oh, I don't know. Do you know Jim?
- Riess: I've met him.
- Frugé: Do you know him very well?
- Riess: No.

Writing off the Plant Cost

- Frugé: Jim was working for Harper's--Harper & Row then, I guess it's Harper Collins now. He was one of the vice presidents for some kind of department--I forget which. They've got twenty departments, and he was head of one of them. I guess they thought that that would--that for a commercial publisher that he'd know all about finances. But he lost \$4 million in the first few years.

But coming from Harper & Row and all that, he was not a finance man. He hired an MBA from Stanford to be his finance man, and I don't know whose fault it was, whether this guy--not from Stanford Press, from their business school. Black man, very personable, very nice guy. He must have known better. They let the inventory get out of control. The university had to write off \$2 million of inventory, just write it off.

The inventory had been in good shape when I left. Part of this was not their own fault, except they were warned. This may be more technical than you want--but I had worked up the practice of writing off what's called plant cost, that is, all the cost of--. You kept title accounting: there's an account for each book. You have so much [cost] to edit it, and then you buy illustrations, you set type, you do all this kind of thing before you actually print the book. Up to that point, it's called plant cost.

Beyond that is the manufacturing cost. That is, the actual printing of the book and binding it and so on. This is a term out of commercial publishing. Most commercial publishers write off the plant cost, as much as the tax people

will let them. A few university presses were trying to do this, and we did, we succeeded. We made enough, we had two or three very good years, so that we could go back. We were writing off every dollar of plant cost at the beginning, so it didn't go into inventory.

Let's say if the plant cost of a book was \$2 and the manufacturing cost was \$3, you could put all \$5 into the inventory and let it sit there. Or you could write off the \$2 and put only \$3 in, which is what we did. A lot of the university accountants didn't like it. That's publishing accounting, it's not the state accounting, and the university accountants--I don't remember whether we were still dealing with the Berkeley accounting office or what--they didn't like this very much.

But I had the reputation of being difficult, and if they'd said that to me, I'd have gone to the Board of Control so fast. They wanted us to put it all in inventory. I had asked for an audit when I left, and they recommended that this policy be changed, and all of it go into inventory, which might make some sense in state accounting. It doesn't in publishing.

I heard about this, and I wrote to Jim or somebody and said, "Don't let them do this." But they did. And the inventory began piling up. The only way they could avoid that would be to have a regular write-off at the end of the year to take care of it. But they didn't. As I say, four, five or six years later, some auditor said, "Look at that inventory," and it was worth \$2 million less than they had it on the books for.

Riess: Extraordinary.

Frugé: Of course, I wasn't there. I would have screamed to high heaven. And by that time I was getting arrogant, you know, and wanting my own way. I don't think they wanted to tangle with me on it. They probably said, "Well, let's wait till he retires."

Riess: In fact, you could have put off your retirement, couldn't you?

Frugé: Not then. A few years later, I could have. But I was sixty-seven. A few years later, I could have worked on a few more years.

Commercial Directions

Riess: Do you think that they wanted someone from Harper Collins or someone from commercial publishing because they foresaw the direction that university publishing was going to take, anyway? Which seems to be much more commercial.

Frugé: Do you mean going more commercial?

Riess: Yes.

Frugé: No, I don't think they knew anything about it. That's another subject. We can go right on into it, if you want.

What happened was that the average sale of scholarly books went way down, down to about half. Maybe I was lucky, but any decent scholarly book, we said we could sell at least fifteen hundred copies of it, and we could. Often, two or three thousand. Now they say on the same kind of book that the average sale is about eight hundred.

University presses have tried to handle this in various ways. Strangely enough, there are a lot more university presses. There should be fewer, probably. If I had remained, I would have had to make some adjustment in the kind of books published, but everybody has his own kind of adjustments. In those first years--you see, they had that big Horn and Born book, which did all right.² I mean, it did all right once it got on the market. I don't know whether that, or what, sort of led them astray, but they started putting out a lot of big, fancy coffee-table books, and they lost their shirt on them.

They started out with these big coffee-table books, which are very expensive. This finance man from Stanford--it's typical, he told Jack Schulman, who's a friend of ours down here who is on their Board of Control now. (Jack was from Cambridge University Press. He was a finance man.) LeRoy, the man at the Press, said there were a lot of them [big coffee table books] in the inventory. But he [LeRoy] said, "That's all right. They're trade books."

² Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A study of the architecture and economy of, & life in a paradigmatic Carolingian monastery*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979.

Jack almost fell over because that is exactly wrong. If they had been solid scholarly books, it might have been all right, but trade books can go dead so fast. And when they're dead, they're dead. They lost their shirt on those. Now they say they're trying to do in-between books. This is what Jack tells me.

Riess: The crossover book.

Frugé: But, you know, that's not a new idea. Years ago people talked about getting books with "scope," that covered enough ground, that weren't too narrow, that would appeal to a wider audience.

But sometimes it works the other way around. You're better off with a narrow book that some people have to have. Anyway, what they're trying to do now is trade books of a little different kind. They may be doing better now, I don't know, but they go in heavily for gender books, lesbian studies, and various things of that kind that I wouldn't go in for. I don't mean I would never publish a book in these fields; I mean I wouldn't specialize in them.

One of their sponsoring editors said that one of the kinds of books they wanted to publish were--what do the journalists call it? Investigative journalism. You've heard the term. They were doing investigative publishing. Which means that you're doing polemical books, political and social polemics. And I wouldn't have anything to do with that. I think that is intellectually wrong.

Riess: Something like *The Closing of the American Mind*?

Frugé: Well, I think actually that's a better book than the ones I'm talking about. That's [Allan David] Bloom, is it?

Riess: Yes. Would *The Bell Curve* [Richard J. Herrnstein, Charles Murray] be another?

Frugé: That kind of book, I think, really belongs on commercial lists.

Riess: Even though they represent "studies."

Frugé: There's a fine line. It's hard to be categorical about it. They did a book on some kind of a rape trial, what was it? that I read a review of, which was very polemical, about blaming all the upper-class whites for this sort of thing.

I wish I could think of good examples. I could find them in the catalog. But political controversy or social controversy. That doesn't mean that you stay totally away from difficult subjects at all. It's often a matter of judgment. They did a biography of Willie Brown recently. Harlan talked to me about, "Oh, they should never have done that."³

There's no way to win on that except possibly financially. You can't win because if the book is highly critical of Brown, then you're in a difficult position, you're doing a polemic against a state official and so on. If it's not critical of Brown, you're publishing a campaign biography, you're doing a blurb for him. You can't win, either way, and I don't like no-win situations. I don't know what the Willie Brown book is, to tell the truth, but a biography of a current California political figure sounds to me like the wrong thing to do.

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Frugé: I don't think Jim [Clark] controls the editorial policy of the Press. Phil Lilienthal and I did it together. I wouldn't let anybody else do all of it. I mean, you know, if you're going to be director of a press, part of your responsibility is the intellectual quality of the place, and you can't just turn that over to somebody. I might with somebody as good as Phil, but they don't have anybody like that.

Riess: To determine what is published, the Press has lists, and each list has an editor associated with the list?

Frugé: Well, to some extent. We never did talk about sponsoring editors. I started that at the Press. The idea is that no one person can work effectively in all fields. If it's a very small press, it doesn't matter much. But when you're doing a hundred and fifty or two hundred books a year, no one person can possibly do it, not just for the quantity but also for the variety.

Phil was doing mostly Asian books, but he could do anything. He did Mark Twain, too. Grant Barnes did sociology and political science, that sort of thing. Bill McClung was trying to be humanities editor. There were others. You need

³ James Richardson, *Willie Brown*, University of California Press, 1996.

people in different fields, but I never would let anybody own a field. We had an art editor, Rita Carroll, but if another editor found a good art book, they could publish it. Non-editors, e.g. Harlan Kessel, could also sponsor books.

Riess: So what is the difference between then and now?

Frugé: They have an "editorial director." I said I wouldn't have one because I didn't want to be frozen out of that. I doubt whether Jim really controls the editorial policy of the place, not in the way I did. He sponsors some conservation books and a few things of that kind. Photography.

Riess: In a roundtable on crossover publishing, Jim Clark said that there is a market now for "informational books, books about what people really want to know."⁴

Frugé: Well, that doesn't mean much to me.

Riess: "And recreational." By that he means natural history guides. "Course books." "Biographical," such as the Willie Brown. What characterizes the crossover books is "big themes in a concrete presentation, with a clear, confident voice, personal and anecdotal." What he seems to say is that we like people who tell us not only what we think but how to think it. And maybe he's assessed an audience. Do you think it's a new audience?

Frugé: I don't know.

[added in editing] But perhaps I can say something about my editorial policy or philosophy, if I may use so portentous a word, something not said in the *Skeptic* book and different not just from present policy but different from most people's thinking.

I suppose that I operated a loose, some may think a chaotic, editorial system, but this was deliberate and was intended to produce the highest quality--intellectual and literary--in the publishing list of books. And the proof is in the results. Berkeley classicists told me that we had the finest classical list in this country. Our Asian list was one of the two best. We surely had the best Latin American list, the best list of literary translations. In English and American literature we had Samuel Pepys and Mark Twain.

⁴ "Crossover Publishing: Academics and Audiences," Townsend Center for the Humanities, UC Berkeley, November 19, 1996.

All this did not come from a smooth and logical organization. It came from a loose organization of the best editorial minds I could find, working individually and in various ways, the apparent disorder held together by one strong hand--or two hands, mine and Lilienthal's. This was deliberate, planned, and, when given over-all intellectual control, produced better results than any neat staff organization could. Of course, not just anyone could manage this, but I could.

Do I sound arrogant? Think of it in this way: Lilienthal and Zachary were both superior to me in education and intellectually, but not by very much. I was within reach and could judge their work. And I had what it took to get the best out of them and to keep the others in line. So do you see my reason for not wanting a staff editorial director, even though Lilienthal could have done the job like no one before or since? You will remember what Clémenceau said about war being too serious a matter to leave to the generals.

I am not sure that anyone, except probably Lilienthal, ever fully understood why I did what I did. Certainly not Barnes, McClung, Kubeck. I did not explain--I don't think I did--and I now come late to my defense, a quarter of a century late. In ancient times I let ancient criticism roll off my back. Why do I take it up now? You tell me. Kubeck, in Los Angeles, was well organized, intelligent, had sound judgment, but I decided, for better or worse, that I wanted to go with a more intellectual if less stable person--you heard what I said about Zachary. The other two, in Berkeley, were persuasive and productive editors, but their education was limited and their judgment was, is, uncertain, so they had to be held on a long, flexible leash.

All the processing and business operation needs to be smoothly organized into hierarchies--copy editing, production, sales, distribution, accounting. But the list of books itself is the spiritual heart of the enterprise, its soul, its intellectual center, its *raison d'être*. I always intended to be director of this, not the chairman of a committee, as McClung must have had in mind when he proposed that we vote on matters. So he and Barnes sometimes considered me arbitrary, although they were good natured about it. The truly superior person, Lilienthal, never questioned this sort of thing. He understood without being told. Alas, he has been gone all these years. Zachary, too, since last year.

This is, I suppose, the difference between the Press then and now. It is largely a difference in the way of thinking, a

difference of attitude, but it shows up in the editorial organization. I might add that, in spite of the perceived disorder, we never lost any money. We finished in the black every year except one, and the loss then was a paltry \$15,000. We accumulated a surplus, bought and paid for a building. No one ever had to write off our inventory at a loss.

It may be fair--I am not sure--to say that I ran a one-man organization, in spite of having more superior staff members--I think--than any other university press: those mentioned plus Kessel, McFarland, Lyman. This may help explain why I was a hard act to follow, why the Press went through a few disasters before Jim Clark and Lynne Withey managed to pull the place together. Was I at fault for not preparing the way for a different kind of thinking? Or should the vice-president--Don Swain--have been willing to take, or let someone else take, a bit of advice? You decide. [end of insert]

One reason why the number of good, scholarly books has come down is because certain departments, English departments, for example, have been almost wrecked by this political correctness business. The English departments, and social anthropology, they don't turn out the kind of solid scholarly books they used to. I'm not sure about history departments, I think they're in better shape.

But you know, when the sale of your main product goes down, what do you do? I talked to Lynne Withey about this once. You've got to eliminate some of the more narrow, more not-quite-so-good scholarly books. Even in my *Skeptic* book I said that all presses would be better off if they'd cut off the lower tenth of the list--"lower" meaning lower intellectually.

[to Susan Frugé] Are we driving you away, doll?

Mrs. Frugé: No, I just remembered I promised Suzanne I'd go through the list of CNPS books. [Mrs. Frugé leaves the room]

Frugé: There are several things you can do. You can do books that are usable in courses. You can't become a real textbook publisher because you can't compete with the big textbook firms. But there are a lot of books--now that paperbacks exist, a lot of professors assign half a dozen books to a class if they're in paperback. You can do sort of semi-textbooks. You can try to get, you know, more important scholarly books.

And there are regional books. Many presses have saved themselves by doing books about their regions, and that makes pretty good sense, as long as you don't let it go too far. Natural history--we were big on natural history when I was there. We started that series. I know how it started. Then we did a lot of floras and other books. The Press still does some; they did a big book on snakes recently, which was fine, I think. There are a lot of things you can do.

Marketing

Riess: Did marketing and sales change from your early years to the time you left? Books sold themselves in the beginning and then by the end they weren't selling themselves?

Frugé: Oh, we jumped around a lot. Finally, I hired a man from New York to come in and survey our selling operation. He made a lot of recommendations, out of which eventually I hired Harlan. And Harlan really made it over, he made it far better than anybody else had ever made it.

Riess: What did Harlan do? What was the difference. How were you selling before?

Frugé: We did everything. We had salesmen on the road. We took ads in magazines and newspapers when we could afford them--most of the time you couldn't afford *The New York Times*, but the *New York Review of Books* you could afford. We did everything. But Harlan brought order to it, and imagination, and he saw the possibilities of a book. He didn't let any of them drop. You know, when you're doing, oh, ten or fifteen new books a month it's easy to let some of them drop.

Harlan knew bookstores. He had been a bookstore manager at one time.

Riess: In the early days the Press probably wasn't well known outside of California.

Frugé: Which made it hard to get manuscripts. It was difficult--we weren't recognized by our own faculty. And we couldn't get into the bookstores, although in my time we never tried to do as many trade books as they're doing now.

We figured we always needed a few saleable trade books in order to get into the bookstores, so they'd talk to the

salesman. If he didn't have anything to sell that they wanted, it was pretty hard to deal with them, and that was true at first.

Riess: So the natural history guides would have been one entree.

Frugé: Yes, and the paperbacks. You asked about starting the paperbacks. We started them long before we really had the books to do it with, long before we should have, in a sense. In the early days, we did a lot of things before we should have. For calculated reasons.

We wanted to get into the bookstores, and we wanted our own faculty members to think of us as publishers who got into the bookstores, and so we started a paperback list. We should have waited three or four or five years, but we started earlier. We took a gamble on it, but it worked all right, we sold all of them. The chief purpose was to be recognized as publishers. We didn't want to be thought of as trade publishers, really, but we wanted to be thought of as an academic press that knew how to sell its books.

That's why--you mentioned the New York office, that's why we established that. Everybody thought we were crazy, and we couldn't afford it, really. But we wanted a presence in New York. In those days, the book business was even more concentrated there than it is now. And we wanted somebody who could talk to book clubs, try to get a few book club adoptions, who could talk to book reviewers, book review journals.

It wasn't strictly just selling books. As I say, we were trying to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps, really. We couldn't afford the office, but we had it anyway. You know, some other presses--"You can't afford that." Well, strictly speaking we couldn't, but we thought we couldn't afford not to. [laughing]

Riess: Yes, it's a tightrope. That's exciting.

Frugé: That's what we were doing, yes. I don't know whether they still--a New York office would be less important now than it was then.

Riess: When you got yourselves on book club lists, you're talking about, like, the History Book Club? You're not talking about the Book-of-the-Month Club or something like that.

- Frugé: No. History Book Club. And there used to be lots of little clubs. You didn't always have to get the main selection. They would have some subsidiary selections. We didn't get very far that way, but even in the early days we had a Book Find Club adoption, or whatever it was called. We had a book on scientific philosophy that had a book club adoption. We tried to play all these things. It was exciting in the early days.
- Riess: You played all these things because there was the noble purpose that the books that were less obvious sellers would follow the others into the bookstores.
- Frugé: Well, yes.
- Riess: But isn't what we were saying about crossover books and all of that kind of in the same continuum?
- Frugé: Well, I don't think the crossover book, as he defines it there, is really any different from what the Press has always tried to do: have books of scope, books that weren't narrow monographs. Some of them, at least. You do both. It's the same thing I said on another subject: you don't want to be a trade publisher, but you've got to have some books that are saleable in the trade. You're walking a fine line all the time.
- Riess: Do presses like Yale and Harvard not have to walk that line because of their endowments? I haven't looked at their lists. Are they different from Berkeley?
- Frugé: The only one I've looked at is Yale. I think Yale is doing a very good job. I mean, in recent years, I think they've done a better job than anybody. The books I object to, the kinds I object to, I don't see them on the Yale list. I don't know about Harvard.
- Riess: They can afford to be a little more pure.
- Frugé: Well, they used to be a lot less pure than we were. But you have to also be jealous of the intellectual standing of the place, too. I think you ask a question in there about that Castaneda book. "Why did we give up the paperback rights?" Because we didn't think it was right for us. By the time it had been published and become a cult book, it was clear that it would sell probably millions of copies in the cheap paperback format.

You know, there are at least two kinds of paperbacks, and it really belonged in this more popular kind, and we didn't publish in that and we shouldn't try. And also the author wanted more money. The only way we could be fair to him was to farm it out. We didn't give it up for nothing. We sold it to Ballantine first for I think it was \$25,000, and that's worth, you know, ten times as much in today's money, probably.

That was only for five years. At the end of five years, Harlan didn't like their bookkeeping, and we sold it to Simon & Schuster. Of course, we got a cut on the royalties that came in. The author got most of it, but we got a cut on that. And like I say, our contract also said that we could do our own paperback for a dollar more than theirs. And we did. And it's a different market. [chuckling] Harlan sold those successfully at a dollar more than the other ones. That was a different format, the larger-size paperback and so on.

Riess: Did Harlan negotiate that, or would that be the kind of thing you would get involved in?

Frugé: No, Harlan did that. He can do that better than I can.

Riess: Is that a singular case? Was there anything else like that? *Ishi*?⁵

Frugé: No, we never sold the *Ishi* paperback rights. We kept those ourselves. The *Ishi* was a more respectable book, really. It's more of a university press book, even though it was pretty popular, whereas the *Castaneda* was questionable. We didn't know it at the time, but we're not sure it wasn't a fake. *Castaneda* went on to write four or five more books, and we didn't even try to publish those. They went to Simon & Schuster.

I sold another book for this cheap paperbacks setup. And then they let it go out of print, and then we brought it out again at a bigger paperback price. That was called *The Creative Process*.⁶

Riess: Arnheim?

⁵ Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds*, A biography of the last wild Indian in North America, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1961.

⁶*The Creative Process*, A Symposium, by Brewster Ghiselin, University of California Press, 1954.

Frugé: No. I forget the man's name. It was an anthology of pieces on the creative process.

Arnheim's books did very well.

[tape interruption]

Frugé's Authors

[Mrs. Frugé returns]

Riess: We have Susan back. But before we return to the subject of CNPS, there are a few things I want to get checked off here. [to August Frugé] I am interested in whether you proposed books to the Press? Did you have your own areas of interest in publishing?

Frugé: You mean, while I was working?

Riess: Yes.

Frugé: Well, after we started I always had certain interests, even at the very beginning. All our editors were working on accepted manuscripts, so even when Farquhar was alive I was looking for--I brought in those translations of McIntyre and that sort of thing. You couldn't do too much.

But later on, years later, when we had sponsoring editors, I carried a subject field or two. Well, that's in the book. I had to be art editor for a short time, for a few years, I guess until I retired. We had an art editor, and then she quit and I had to take that over.

Riess: You were art editor for the Horn and Born book?

Frugé: Yes. I had to be. I didn't do any hands-on editing. Lorna Price did that.

Riess: Did you read everything that the Press published?

Frugé: Couldn't possibly do that.

Mrs. Frugé: You did the classics.

Frugé: Yes, I got interested in classics. In the last few years I was there, I was the Greek and Roman editor. That didn't mean I did all those books. Zachery did some in Los Angeles.

Riess: By "reading" I mean consume. I wasn't thinking of reading as a job but reading as a pleasure.

Frugé: Well, no, I didn't come even close to it. I'm not sure I read everything that I brought in, even. I'd read parts of them, maybe.

At the end, I was the classics editor. In fact, after I retired I did this for the Press for a while, along with Doris Kretschmer, who was one of the sponsoring editors. I worked with Doris on this for several years.

Matter of fact, I brought in Peter Green. He's done about five or six books since then, but Peter was my author originally. One big book, over a thousand pages, I read the whole thing in manuscript and gave Peter suggestions. I did a lot of that. Maybe more right after I retired for a year or two.

Riess: Your vision was still fine.

Frugé: Oh, yes, I could still read then.⁷

⁷Riess: [from the beginning of the first interview] When did your vision begin to be a problem?

Frugé: About ten years ago. Something like that. I don't know whether you know about macular degeneration--many old people get it--but with me it came rather suddenly in one eye. The blood vessel breaks, and then you see things crooked, just like that. That happened to me with my right eye. Then they used a laser, and that laser doesn't give you anything back, but it stops the flowing of this broken vessel.

One eye went quite a bit before the other did. I was lucky on that score, there were several years in between before the other eye went. It gradually--you know, the little cells blink out. It gradually got worse, but before I had the break in the other eye, there was four or five years difference. For a long time I could read with one of these little frames over my head. Can't any more. I use one to sign checks and things like that. But this has been a going on at least ten years.

Riess: And were you down here then at that point, ten years ago?

As I said in the *Skeptic* book, most of the time it was not a question of the director having his choice of fields. He had to take the ones that were left over, usually. That wasn't quite true of classics, but it certainly was of art.

- Riess: And it wouldn't necessarily be true of every press, either.
- Frugé: Oh, no. I don't know of anyone who ran it quite the way I did it. I don't see any reason why they should. I mean, it shouldn't be that cut and dried.
- Riess: No, it shouldn't, but once you get so much structure, like boards of control and editorial committees--I'd think the more structure you get, the more cut and dried it gets.
- Frugé: That's true, but as I said, the editorial direction--in a sense, Phil and I did it together. I don't suppose anybody else would have done it that way.
- Riess: A friend who was a copy editor at the Press said all his dealings were with Phil.
- Frugé: We had to put the editorial department in a different building. We bought a building, just two or three blocks away, on Durant Avenue--I think it was Durant. And we put the editorial department there, and Phil went there, and he was in charge of that. After we divided between sponsors and copy editors, I never dealt, really, with the copy editors. I made that big change, which is, I guess, described in the book.
- Riess: To basically eliminate them, except for Susan Peters.
- Frugé: We didn't eliminate copy editing. We eliminated the editors, because you had better control and it was cheaper if you dealt with freelance editors than if you had them on the staff. I still believe that. You've got to have a little bit on staff.

Frugé: Yes. Actually, my doctor was in La Jolla. I went to see the ophthalmologist down there, and he said, "Oh, what have you done to yourself?" He sent me off to the retina specialist who did the laser work on it, so for quite a while we were going down there for medical things. Then we stopped that.

I had a big heart attack here. I've had a quadruple bypass, and I've got a pacemaker, had that for nine years. It's one reason I don't have much strength, the reason I hesitate to travel very much. I'm all right as long as I don't do much, but if I try to do a lot, I get very tired.

We had Susan Peters, and in Los Angeles we had Jim Kubeck. And that was it. They've got a lot more now, but I think that's retrograde. But always had copy editing.

[telephone interruption]

VII MORE ON CNPS

Stebbins' Plans ##

- Mrs. Frugé: Here is a little booklet that tells all the publications, all available, that you can get from CNPS. I don't keep the catalogs much. And then I brought this to show you, which is a present-day newsletter from one of the chapters, Bristlecone. That is Mary De Decker's baby. Each chapter sends out its own newsletter, any way it wants, which may be just information, like when we have field trips, or that is kind of a piece of literature. On plants.
- Riess: While you were gone I was asking August about a few things in the July 28, 1966 minutes. The office had been closed down, and there was discussion about negotiating to pay Mary Wohlers a half-time salary, and then [reading], "The board will make a decision as to what to do after that regarding her employment. And the board members are morally bound to say as little as possible about the decision."
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes.
- Riess: "Ledyard Stebbins read a report on future plans for CNPS." I wondered whether this would have been a report of a committee, or whether these were his own ideas, but it included "maintaining the files of specific rare plants and plant associations." That was part of the early mission, I guess.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. Our mission was simply the preservation of native plants. How to do it, we didn't know. So I think this is an evolution of it, as opposed to a first position.
- Riess: He talked about "nature guides and highway guides." Highway guides is a wonderful idea. Do you remember any more talk about that?

- Mrs. Frugé: We didn't do anything. Many of the plants that you want to see are not along the highway because the highway departments were doing their own planting. We didn't find a good challenge there, not enough.
- Riess: But it might have been a guide to what you could see on Route 395 or something like that?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. But it just wasn't feasible.
- Riess: And then "the plant mobile unit." Do you know what that was?
- Mrs. Frugé: [laughing] I have no idea. Those may have been Ledyard's ideas only--they could have easily been Ledyard's because he heard everybody talking at once. He was wonderful. And he'd throw everything in the pot and see what came out. I don't know that that was our mission or agenda, I think he was offering us terms for one, most likely.
- Riess: A report was given by John Bryant on the educational division. An educational division of this little group of about fifteen people?
- Frugé: We had more members than that. We probably had a few hundred members, two or three hundred members. But the people who did the work were a little group. When we had these speaker meetings, we got about fifty people.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but we didn't have so many of those at first.
- John Bryant later was involved in a lawsuit. John was principal of a high school, Pittsburgh High School. He was accused of abusing this boy. John had three daughters and a lovely wife, and this disturbed him terribly, and he had a severe heart attack in the middle of it, and died. And then the mother and the boy came into the school and said, "Well, these were false accusations, anyhow. It's too bad this happened to John." So the theory was that the boy killed John in that sense, because his older brother had a bad deal. It was revenge.
- Riess: That's sad.
- Ledyard was suggesting that CNPS should publish "a special issue of the newsletter dealing with junior societies." Was there an outreach to the schools?
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes, to an extent. But with John gone, the momentum was gone. The other thing was--and I guess this was a little later--

Ledyard always liked kids, and he had kids. His nineteen-year-old son committed suicide. This hurt Ledyard terribly and then he wanted to reach out more to young people so this didn't happen. But we never did much with the schools.

Riess: Mary Wohlers suggested that there be regular evening meetings for the general public to hear lectures and see slides. I don't know what is meant here by "the general public."

Mrs. Frugé: I don't either, frankly. We weren't then set up for that.

Frugé: Well, the public was invited to our meetings.

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but to see slides and all you had to have a meeting place, and at that point we didn't.

Frugé: No. We did a little later. Mulford Hall.

Riess: There is a meeting place at the Botanic Garden now.

Mrs. Frugé: It's been remodelled since. That has all been changed. We had a place there. It held, I think, thirty-five people, like sardines. That was fine for certain things, but the minute you asked the public in, we had too many people. Plus, no parking.

Riess: Was there a tradition of visiting other people's gardens?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. Only to the extent that we visited Jenny's and we visited Leo Brewer's, both of which are native plant gardens. We didn't visit anyone else's. Those two they were directly pertinent.

Riess: You mentioned earlier that you wouldn't have accepted advertising from people who were not involved with native plants. Why be so purist?

Mrs. Frugé: I think nobody was knocking at the door, that was probably the main reason. But we would have said what our rules and regulations were, and that wouldn't encourage them. Yes, we were pretty purist.

The Plant Sales

Frugé: [to Susan Frugé] You haven't talked much about the plant sale.

Mrs. Frugé: I can make it fairly brief.

It was my idea, and the first one was at the Lakeside Garden Center. We got that, and we ended up not paying extra, but I didn't tell them it was for sale for profit. Anyhow, there was some restriction that I hadn't adhered to, and because we didn't know the amount--. And of course, we were doing it to make money, not spend money--we didn't lose any.

Mary Rhyné worked on that quite a bit. [laughs] For that sale we had a lot of the wrong plants, something like twenty bleeding hearts, which weren't native. But still we did our best, and we got our name in the paper and got started. And then Ruth Bailey helped the second year.

Riess: I don't know that name.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, she died not too very long after we were in there.

Riess: Where did you get your plant materials?

Mrs. Frugé: Almost all of it was home-grown material. We didn't buy things, to my knowledge; all the material was given. And by being given it meant that the people had raised them at home, the participants. Like Marge Hayakawa, for instance, who was our fern specialist. She raised all the ferns at home, and propagated them, did everything she should do, but they were for us.

Riess: As soon as you started the plant sales your members began raising extra plants?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, they made extra plantings of their own and then brought them to us, or we picked them up on the day of the sale.

We started, actually, at the Western Research Lab. The director there gave us a plot of land, and we roped it off and tried to raise our own natives or tried to keep alive those we were given that were in cans. It was a wonderful gesture, but not successful. And too far to go for a lot of people. So then we did it at Tilden and the Botanic Garden, and now they have land at--in my last year, too--at Merritt College, given it to them for that purpose. It doesn't belong to the Native Plant Society.

Riess: They grow things out in open plots?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, but mostly in pots, so we don't dig up.

Riess: How did you work on it during the year, all the transplanting and rooting? Every day, once a week?

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, yes. Or more.

Jenny and I divided the duties. After Ruth, Jenny came right away. She was wonderful to work with because she didn't want to write any publicity. She didn't want to do any writing at all. She would talk on the phone or pot plants. That was it. And so I did the other things. We worked it out, and we worked so beautifully together. We never had one moment's contention. I just think she was the greatest.

The very last plant sale that we worked together on was '69, and she came in a wheelchair. Of course, she couldn't do anything physical--she had been in the hospital. And we got the sale done. Right after that, the following Monday, my mother died down here, so I came down here. And '70 to '80, then Susan D'Alcama--I forget exactly what happened in there. Anyhow, I don't think Jenny and I worked together on a sale after that, but we had it already started solidly.

Riess: Who else helped the first year?

Mrs. Frugé: Well, Mary Rhyne, Walter Knight--several other people were involved. It was a group action, rather than a single person doing much. Larry Heckard did a lot. He's the fellow who died in the big fire [1991] in the Oakland hills. He was a professor of botany. He worked a lot then.

Riess: One more thing. Was the seed sale a separate undertaking?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. That was entirely under Wayne [Roderick]. We sold the seed--cleaned it, culled it, everything, and packaged it up. But Wayne was in charge of that. It's very much like the one at Cal Hort now. You get your little catalog once a year, order your seed packets and all of that. Only we sold them across the counter during our sales.

Riess: Did you garden from seed in Berkeley?

Mrs. Frugé: Not much, no.

Riess: How did you learn plant propagation?

Mrs. Frugé: Oh! I did it in high school in Iowa with just ordinary plants. We were taught about corn, hybrid corn and all these things. And I always had my own garden, which my kid brother often stomped out!

I think you'll find a lot of these botanists did a lot of plant work themselves or were out hiking, looking for plants. But I just liked plants, so I was kind of always around them.

Frugé: We bought a new one yesterday.

Riess: What did you get?

Mrs. Frugé: I don't know, some house plant. I have a thing about not learning their names because there's no such thing as a house plant. All plants live outdoors, and the fact that we bring them in the house doesn't make them "house" plants. [laughs] So I resent calling them that.

Life on the Desert

Riess: You are surrounded with cactus here. Was there cactus at your plant sales?

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, we always had a cactus area. Walter-someone finally became in charge of it, and he went all over all of these areas and collected. He'd pick slips and then propagate from the slips of the cacti. He was very good.

Riess: Driving up here, I passed a sign that said, "Dig Your Own Cactus for 39¢". I can't imagine what you would get for 39¢.

Mrs. Frugé: Oh, they're the little ones. You just dig them, and you buy the pots, and then you take them home and pot them. A number of people have owned that nursery over a period of years. Actually, it has been quite a good source. But it's not startling. It has nothing new or rare.

I have some letters somewhere in here from a man who had a nursery in Twentynine Palms. He's been dead, oh, a long, long time, since '67 or so. But he was about the first one who could raise creosote from seed. He sent me some of them. I used to go down and visit him and find out how to do all those things, much as I never did it.

Riess: It seems like you would have to process it through a rodent.

Mrs. Frugé: [laughing] A trained rodent. He threw his in a compost heap. And accidentally propagated it first, and then found they were so good that he'd dig them up out of the compost heap and sell

them. Undoubtedly, a compost heap on the desert has many rodent droppings, but not the tummy. [laughter]

Riess: Is that kind of lore one of the things that the newsletters would contain?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, that's more likely to be in the chapter newsletters. Maybe a paragraph, as opposed to *Fremontia*, which has articles, long articles. Lectures would often have to do with lore.

Riess: You knew this area well, if your mother was down here?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes, for a long time, since I was fifteen or so. We've always liked it, and liked the park. I've hiked so much of it, and I've looked at what I passed, and I studied it. I'd take our wildflower posters out, the desert wildflowers. When I talked to people, I'd hold up the poster and say, "This is what we're looking at now." And I've had a lot of wind-torn posters, until they started laminating them. But I did that long before. So I've had an interest in it.

Riess: There are so many things that have been learned from the methods of CNPS. Now there are many other plant sales.

Mrs. Frugé: Well, the Strybing Arboretum plant sale--we had so little money, and we were working really hard for that, with native plants, many of which in the can looked scrawny and awkward unless you knew what they were supposed to look like at that time of year. But the Strybing people decided *they* wanted a plant sale, so they came over and talked to me, and I became sort of a docent there, especially in their scent garden, and would go over there quite a lot. And I've lectured on herbs there, and I've lectured in their big groups.

But at their [Strybing Arboretum] first sale a fellow who raised rhododendrons brought his rhododendrons to sell. It was spring, they were in full bloom, absolutely gorgeous, and they made over \$20,000. I just curled up in envy.

Riess: Then CNPS started having spring sales?

Mrs. Frugé: Yes. And I must say that they didn't need me very long. They had too many awfully bright people there who caught on by just looking at the first sale, to what should be done the next time, and they took the ball. I like to think I was one of the instigators. Or CNPS was, rather, in that sense.

Frugé: The chapters started having sales.

- Mrs. Frugé: Then the chapters did, yes. And now plant sales go on everywhere. Even our botanic gardens here, at Pomona College and so forth, they all have plant sales. But they didn't do it then. It's hard to believe it's such a recent innovation.
- Riess: What do you miss most about the Bay Area, living down here?
- Mrs. Frugé: I can't do the kinds of gardening here. It can't be done. You lose your plants, the more delicate ones, in the stress of the summer heat. It's not that--a brief spot of heat, two months would be all right, but by four months your plants are stressed out, and nobody tries to garden. Apples are dried up, quinces are dried, carrots are just little stubby orange things, tough. All plants get very tough here, foodstuff plants.
- Frugé: So we raise cactus.
- Mrs. Frugé: Well, yes, and pomegranates and grapes. My grapes are very good, and I've gotten two-pound pomegranates.
- Riess: You've experimented with trying to get things to grow here.
- Mrs. Frugé: Yes. And the birds come from the top. The lizards come through the netting. The ground squirrels come up from underneath and eat at the roots. I've taken all sorts of protective measures, and I still can't do anything, as long as we have this much water around.
- Now they have started slipping plants, native plants, for the garden they maintain at the park headquarters at the entrance area, and putting them in the ground with wire around them to keep out the rabbits. That's all right because they don't get these other creatures that I get, nor do they get as many. They do get far more variety of birds, but not the birds that we have that want to eat all our fruit.
- I have watched so many really fine long-standing gardeners here do all kinds of things to keep out the creatures. Of course, having cats helps. Having stone fences helps. But there still isn't anything that really works.
- Riess: We're at the end of the tape, and what a final note! I've enjoyed exploring these interesting and important subjects with you--the Sierra Club Publications Committee, the California Native Plant Society, the University Press. You've provided a lot of good thoughtful history, as well as introducing some complicated and amusing characters. And for

me to interview you here in this great desert setting has been a great treat. Thank you so much.

Frugé:

And I thank you for an intelligent job done with understanding and a sense of humor, a sense of proportion--rare qualities and dear to me.

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THE METAMORPHOSES
OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

AUGUST FRUGÉ

THE ASSOCIATES

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

BERKELEY · LOS ANGELES

1986

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University of California Press
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*In memory of
Samuel T. Farquhar
and
Philip E. Lilienthal*

Preliminary Note

This booklet is the forerunner of what is intended to be a much longer memoir about the University of California Press, and particularly about the years that I spent there, 1944–1976. The full and final version, if fate allows, will include accounts of some things merely mentioned here, most especially some of the larger editorial projects but also something about book design and printing, distribution, finances, and other matters. The part here printed will probably be altered and enlarged to fit the parts not yet written or now existing in preliminary form.

Like the press itself, this little account has suffered metamorphosis. It began life in February 1983 as the Kellogg Lecture, sponsored by the Classics Department in Berkeley, and was then entitled “The Classical Origins of the University of California Press”, for reasons that will be apparent in the reading. Almost a year later, with some of the personal and classical allusions dropped, and with some material added about the printing-publishing relations of the 1950’s, it reappeared under the present title in the journal *Scholarly Publishing* (Toronto) for January 1984. The present and third version incorporates several additional pages about the editorial committee of the academic senate and its relation to the press. This part was first presented in a talk to the Association of American University Presses at Spring Lake, New Jersey, in June 1984. —A. F.

*The Metamorphoses of
the University of
California Press*

AUGUST FRUGÉ

Looking backward we can see that two quite different kinds of book producing organizations grew up in North America around the turn of the century in response to the needs of universities. One, which I call the Oxbridge model, is a full publishing house that issues academic books of several kinds from within and without the parent university, selling them at risk on the open market. Its purpose is broadly scholarly; its methods are those of commercial publishing.

The second type I call the German model, because it grew up in imitation of continental rather than British practice, and because the German universities were the great exemplars. This kind of press is a service agency that exists to edit and print monographs from local scholars, especially dissertations. There is virtually no advertising or selling; distribution is by gift and exchange.

The two kinds are different in nature. One is active and ambitious, seeking out authors, paying royalties, developing a character of its own that is not coterminous with that of the university itself. The other is passive, without qualities or character of its own—hence the name service agency. But the two kinds have used the same name and have often been con-

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fused. Not many of the latter type remain, except in Latin America, but new ones are formed from time to time.¹

Publishing in the University of California was begun on the German model; it was formed and given its early character by a number of classical scholars, notably ones with German training. This model remained dominant in Berkeley for more than fifty years, longer than at any other university I know. Even now, after metamorphosis—after change in form and character—there remains a carefully chosen remnant of the old press developed by the early scholar-presidents. How the transformation came about, how the press was converted from the German to the Oxbridge type, remade in the image of the two great English presses and the private university presses of America—this is my subject. It is not easy to say precisely when the transformation began; there were preliminary changes that have to be described; but the great character change took place within my time. I coincided with it; paralleled it; survived it, arriving when the old style was still dominant and leaving after it had given way to the new. My remarks are personal, not history but notes towards a history.

II

About ninety years ago, on 16 February 1893, the secretary of the regents, J. H. Bonté, wrote a letter to the president of the university, announcing that 'The sum of \$1,000 shall be appropriated in the annual budget for the printing of monographs, etc., prepared by members of the Faculty.' And further, that 'There shall be a Committee of five members of the Faculty . . . whose duty it shall be to pass upon all questions arising with

¹ August Frugé, 'The service agency and the publishing house,' *Scholarly Publishing*, vol. 7, no. 2, January 1976, pp. 121-7

reference to same.' The recipient of Bonté's letter was Martin Kellogg, professor of Latin and president of the university from 1893 to 1899. The letter, a kind of birth announcement, or conception announcement, now hangs framed in the office of the present director of the press.

The committee on publications took as its business the accepting and rejecting of manuscripts and the arranging to have them printed. Distribution was left entirely to the university librarian, Joseph Rowell. Indeed, it seems likely that Rowell was the proposer, if not the 'onlie begetter,' of the publication program and that he promoted it in order to benefit the library. He is known for building by exchange what became perhaps the best collection of scholarly and scientific serials in any American library.

In the early years the chief publishing officer—the head of the press if you will—was no other than the president of the university. Martin Kellogg appointed the committee on publications and sat as its chairman. Under him the first few papers were issued. But the great formative years came under his successor as president, another celebrated classicist, Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Wheeler reigned—the choice of word is deliberate—from 1899 to 1919, a despot, probably benevolent. He controlled the press as he controlled everything else. In a dissertation on the early years of the press, by Albert Muto, one learns that Wheeler not only appointed the editorial committee, successor to the Committee on Publications, but also exercised the right to approve or disapprove all actions taken. He decided whether authors were eligible for publication; he pressured committee members to approve works that interested him; he determined where printing was to be done, concerned himself with such matters as the proper size of type, had review copies forwarded from his own office. I doubt whether any director since has ever delegated so little and decided so much.

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If the father of the press was either Rowell or Kellogg, then the godfather, in the Sicilian sense, was Benjamin Ide Wheeler. I have not always known this. Although I grew up, so to speak, with the university series, lived with them intimately for thirty-some years, and although I had heard of the great Wheeler, it never occurred to me in all those years that it was he who invented the press, determined its character. Reading in Muto not long ago that some twenty new series were established in Wheeler's time, and curious as to which they were, I got down my copy of the old fiftieth anniversary *Catalogue, 1893-1943*, and checked the dates of first publication.

There I found with growing wonder that nearly all the great series, the prolific ones, the ones that made the reputation of the early press, had their start under Wheeler. The two chief exceptions are Geological Sciences, first-born child in 1893, and Ibero-Americana, a latecomer in 1932. But the Wheeler group includes Alfred Kroeber's celebrated American Archaeology and Ethnology, which eventually ran to fifty volumes and several hundred papers. And it includes the most numerous group of all, the several series in the life sciences: Botany, Entomology, Zoology. Although monograph series were never so popular in the humanities, the Wheeler regime established Philosophy, Modern Philology (meaning modern European literatures), and Classical Philology, since renamed Classical Studies. There were others, of course, but the ones named produced the greatest number of papers and were the glory of the old publishing list.

If Wheeler did not create the press in his own image, he made it in the German image that he knew from his student days in Leipzig, Jena, Berlin, and Heidelberg. He would not permit any publications except monographs in series, all written by Berkeley professors and graduate students. No books;

no royalties; no advertising; virtually no sales; no practices remotely commercial in nature.

This *ancien régime* survived the monarch. After 1919 there was no revolution and not much evolution. Twenty-four years later the big 1893–1943 catalogue contained barely 13 pages listing books, and more than 120 pages of serial listings, twenty-five or thirty titles to a page. Such was Wheeler's publishing program, modified only a little since his time, when I first came upon it in 1944.

There had been proposals for change. Among these was one by Albert Allen, who was called manager of the press, meaning copy editor, printing arranger, stock clerk, jack of all duties. Allen had ideas about what ought to be done, and in 1914 took a leave of absence without pay—Wheeler would not let him go with pay—to visit the presses at Chicago, Harvard, and Yale. On his return, wishing to report his findings, he sought an audience with the president. This he never got. Three years later, when he went into the army, he turned in a written report, criticizing the press as narrow and provincial.

To me it is not at all astounding that Allen never got his hearing, for I had some acquaintance with a later president whose style was not so different from Wheeler's. There was, I remember, an occasion in the 1950s when the editorial committee, composed of senior faculty members, requested an appointment with President Robert Gordon Sproul to discuss the future of the press. They got the appointment—one year later. Sproul was also renowned in those days for refusing to take telephone calls. Since he would accept long-distance calls, I sometimes travelled to our Los Angeles office and called from there.

After Allen there was a succession of faculty managers or assistant managers of the press, most of them classical scholars. The most notable, and also the last, of these was George

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Miller Calhoun, who was assisted and spelled by Ivan Linforth. It was the two of them, as I have written elsewhere,² who transformed the Sather Professorship of Classical Literature into a lecture series with book publication. It is no surprise that this was done in 1920, one year after Wheeler. If Wheeler had served—but that is not the *mot juste*—if he had continued in power for another ten years, the most distinguished book series in the press's list, and probably the finest classical lecture series anywhere (forty-eight volumes by 1982) might never have existed.

Calhoun, like Allen, had an interest in publishing as such. In 1930 he took one of the first steps to change the old monograph press into something else, recommending to the new president, Dr. Sproul, that the press be reorganized along broader lines. Now one could never be sure that Sproul read the memos that came to him, but perhaps he did read this one, because a few years later he brought in the first outside professional manager, Samuel T. Farquhar, who was my predecessor and mentor. Farquhar's own recommendations, similar to Calhoun's, were accepted, and a new era began.

Began slowly, however, because the old system was essential to the research programs in a number of powerful departments. And also because Farquhar's interest in books was primarily that of an aesthete and collector; he was more printer than publisher, having as his background the fine printing movement in San Francisco. He came to Berkeley in 1932 as university printer, succeeding Joseph W. Flinn, who had been in charge of the plant for forty-five years. The following year Sproul gave Farquhar a second appointment as manager of the press, approving his proposal that the two organizations be combined and called the University of California Press.

² August Frugé, 'Lectures into books,' *Scholarly Publishing*, vol. 12, no. 2, January 1981, pp. 158–66

Out of that union—I say with hindsight—came more trouble and dissension than anyone cares to remember, and came also a confusion that is not yet wholly dissipated. In 1933, given the then nature of the publishing operation, the combined press made good sense. What Farquhar could not foresee, what others did not foresee, was that the union could not survive another kind of publishing program. The two operations have different goals and are basically incompatible; they cannot live together on equal terms, as in a true marriage; one must be master and the other servant, or they must separate. Their interests are too often contrary. When machines are idle and costs go on, the editors must find something to print, no matter what. And when the editors take in a book that won't go efficiently on the home machines and ought to be farmed out, then the printers lack work, and who is to pay for their time? I over-simplify of course, and there are ways around some of the difficulties, but the basic problem does not go away. And it is not a local problem but is inherent in the situation; I have seen a virulent form of it in, for example, Cambridge.

Although Farquhar set up a new fund for the publication of books, his first priority and first interest was to do something about the nondescript printing that came out of Mr. Flinn's old plant. He had too much good sense, and too clear an understanding of the university, to try to turn the plant into something like the Grabhorn Press, but he was determined to establish a standard of attractive and dignified printing that would, in his own words, 'enhance the clear transmission of thought from author to reader.' To do this he had to replace the old and worn Linotype mats and throw out the jumbo space bands that made line composition easy but left rivers and ponds of white space on the printed pages. He hired first-rate compositors and printers, and eventually put new machines into a new building, designed for the purpose and funded in

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part from accumulated surpluses and in part by the Public Works Administration. It was occupied in January 1940.

This building, still in use for printing, was intelligently planned for the needs of the time—for a good-sized plant and a small attached editorial office. The design of the building, like the books produced in those days, reflects Farquhar's neo-classical tastes, his eye for balance, restraint, harmony. This quality in the books is worth a little wonder, since his partner in book design at the press, Amadeo Tommasini, had opposite tastes—he was inventive, color-loving, flamboyant. How the two managed to work together, signing as joint designers, is a story worth telling, but not here.

In his heart of hearts Farquhar knew that his true love was printing. His chief editor, Harold Small, was perhaps the finest blue-pencil editor I have ever run across, but he too lacked the entrepreneurial instincts of a book publisher. So beginning in 1944 Farquhar made a number of appointments to strengthen the publishing side of the press. It happened that I was one of these. But the problems were great, and we were amateurs. Not much had been accomplished when Farquhar died suddenly in 1949. He did not live to see the second transformation, the publishing one.

III

It was a time of change for university presses. In the mid-1940s, when I first began to look at scholarly publishing in this country, there were only a handful of presses that could do a professional job of book publishing. Most of these were in the great private universities, and they remain today—joined only by California and Toronto—as the largest scholarly publishers on this continent.

At that time there were, I think, only two state university

presses that were equipped to do a full publishing job. The others were either small offices producing a few local books or were service agencies of the kind mentioned above. California was a combination of the two. I over-simplify but that is basically how it was.

Today the scene has changed out of recognition. There are more presses than I can count, large and small, state and private, that can do a competent job of book publishing. The great change began in the 1940s, after the end of World War II. Farquhar must have seen it coming but he could never have foreseen the trouble that was to come along with it in his own university. Nowadays a university that wants to set up a new publishing program will hire an experienced publisher and let him start from scratch. Since that was politically impossible here, Farquhar hired a number of us, all amateurs, and we started from something worse than scratch, handicapped by an entrenched monograph program and a dominant printing department.

The confrontation began well before Farquhar died. As soon as we tried to publish books and not just produce them, we found that our publishing office was no more than a small subsection of a printing plant, an editorial tail attached to a printing dog. When the dog barked, we wagged. The printers controlled the design of the books (as they still did years later in the plant of our English cousins, mentioned above); they controlled schedules and costs, and for a number of reasons California printing—in our plant and in commercial ones—was enormously more expensive than printing in other parts of the country. Book manufacture is most efficient in plants that do books only, but these plants were all in the East and Midwest. Binding was even more critical at that time, done by machine in the East and by hand in the West. Western wage scales were higher, unions stronger.

Before we could price reasonably and sell effectively, before

we could seek better manuscripts by making promises to authors, we had to gain some measure of control over our manufacture, which meant subjecting our printers to competition and buying outside some of the time. But this was a threat to the printers, to their livelihood and their pride. They demanded that all work remain home. We could not publish if it did.

Farquhar was caught in the middle, between our publishing ambitions and the needs of his beloved plant. He did what a sensible man would do in his place: he tried to compromise, make peace, keep the twain together, make it possible for both sides to live. Estimates that were once made by hefting a manuscript in one hand were now calculated in detail. Occasionally we were allowed to send work out; at other times no. Sometimes when the cost of a book got out of hand, the bill was reduced and the loss spread over other jobs. Of course word got around, and other university customers complained of overcharges.

After Farquhar's unexpected death in 1949 the smoulder of resentment burst into a flame that nearly destroyed the press. That was long ago. I will not, cannot, describe how bitter was the struggle, how difficult for everyone concerned. A hundred large and small incidents lie buried somewhere in memory and need not be dredged up. There was of course competition for the manager's job, but beneath that and more important was the basic fight between publishing and printing factions. No quarter was given. The university business office maintained that the press was a service operation, not so different from others, and sought control over publishing as well as printing. Faculty groups, stirred up by us, thought otherwise. The president temporized, as was his wont. Eventually, with business office pulling on one end and faculty on the other, the press was wrenched apart.

But it was separation, not divorce. Sproul, for all his great strength in other ways, would not or could not take the final step; we were called two departments of one press; we lived uneasily under one roof, with no love and small civility. I do not remember how many special committees, how many boards, how many special coordinators were appointed to mediate our differences and decide which printing jobs could go outside the plant or outside the state. One coordinator was a professor of English. Another was the former director of two university presses and former president of a large New York publishing house. None were effective; none had any real power. We simply worked around them and went on with the struggle—as in the old bull-and-bear fights of Spanish California, tied together so we couldn't get away from each other. It is hard to believe that this impossible situation was allowed to go on for more than half a dozen years.

In this little civil war—or from our point of view, war of independence—we were few and small. They were large and many. Their volume of business was ten or twelve times greater than ours. They were supported not only by the strong business side of the university, but also by the printing and binding unions and later by the employing printers of San Francisco. Bills were introduced in the legislature to forbid sending work out of the state; fortunately they did not pass.

In almost every way, the odds were stacked against us. And yet—when the dust had settled in the late 1950s, the relative sizes and strengths had been reversed. The printing department was out of the book business, shrunk to an office for university general printing, while the publishing side had grown to something like the press of today. Somehow, during those years—and I cannot say just how it happened—the struggle for survival was slowly won, and without any throats being cut, except metaphorically. We published a few books, sought

better ones, worked on the foundations of a publishing program as envisioned, or half-envisioned, by Allen, Calhoun, and Farquhar.

In 1958, when Clark Kerr became president, the last ties were severed between press and printing department, dissolving a marriage arranged by Farquhar and Sproul 25 years before. That the marriage did not work is the fault of no one, but the failure might have been recognized sooner. Under the new regime the printing department remained part of the business office, and the press was placed under the academic vice president, statewide, precisely where we thought it belonged. To oversee management and financial matters for the press, there was created a new board of control, chaired by the academic vice-president and including the business vice-president and another administrative officer, all statewide, along with two members of the faculty editorial committee—the two chairmen, north and south. From the beginning the new system worked well.

Not all our problems had to do with the printing office. There was the university bureaucracy itself, in particular the service departments of the business office. At that time—much has changed since—each had its own little empire, its peculiar set of powers over other departments, its book of rules and regulations. It was only later, I think, after we had managed to fight our way clear of some of these offices, that I began to see why it is that state universities have, on the whole, lagged behind the great private universities in developing effective presses. Bureaucratic restrictions, requirements that press affairs be handled through other offices or according to state government rules—these can make it nearly impossible to set up efficient business and financial management. And we had a complication of our own: while the press was part of the statewide university, the bureaus we dealt with depended from one campus, Berkeley; we were within their

reach, and they were more firmly entrenched than the newer statewide offices. So lines of authority were unclear, disagreements not readily settled. There was for example a long series of skirmishes before we—instead of the purchasing department—were allowed to order our own book manufacture, before we were even allowed to mail our own packages and avoid a 25% surcharge. It took the angry intervention of the senior statewide vice-president, in the early 1960s, before we got our first postage meter. This is only one of several examples.

IV

By the time Kerr ordered the full separation of printing and publishing, he was recognizing a *fait accompli*. But how could the transformation have come about? We were not giant killers or clever politicians. We had no special credit with the old president, who sat back and allowed the fight to go on. We had no outside support. We ourselves were more stubborn than strong.

In our days of weakness we came to see that we had one great weapon if we could bring it to bear—the power of faculty opinion in a university where the faculty is strong enough to challenge the administration. Our access to this power was through the editorial committee, appointed by the faculty itself. My great predecessor once told me, in perhaps the most important lesson I learned from him, that in the confrontation between faculty and business office, we must always be on the side of the faculty, even though we were then an administrative office with no academic standing. But in the 1940s and in spite of this conviction, press and editorial committee regarded each other with suspicion. The role of the committee in 1944, even in 1949, was primarily the managing of the university monograph series and the approximately 100 subject

boards of editors (two for each series, north and south) that recommended manuscripts up to the main committee. Their relation to the press was that of a watch-dog, a critical one. They criticized us for being slow, which we were, and for over-editing, which we did. To them we were amateurs, clerks rather than publishers, and the press was unworthy of a great university, less good than many others. One of my brightest moments, quite a number of years later, came when a distinguished scholar, about to leave Berkeley to become provost at a great eastern university, told me that he considered the press better than the university. An exaggeration, of course, but I began to feel that we were coming of age.

But that is jumping ahead. As the 40s merged into the 50s we preached the doctrine that university publishing is properly an academic activity, and we invited the faculty editorial committee to join the press. Or perhaps we joined them. I am not sure that we ever put it in so many words, and it certainly was not the act of one heady afternoon, but in some way the two bodies were so maneuvered that they became one body. And it was more than a temporary alliance before a common danger, for we lived happily ever after, long past the time of trouble.

In joining the committee the press gave in order to receive. We gave up, or shared, a part of our editorial freedom and gained in return the much greater freedom to operate a publishing house. At some presses the editorial committee or board is regarded as a separate body, a necessary nuisance imposed by the university, and is expected to meet briefly now and then to listen to editorial plans and stamp approval without seeing the manuscripts. We instead adapted the old monograph procedure to the new book program and prepared ourselves for all-day meetings, with full discussion of each project. After seeking out and taking in a manuscript, the responsible editor prepares a full dossier with referee reports

and editorial comment. Then one member of the committee, on invitation of the editor, examines the manuscript, reads it if he wishes, describes it to the group, and leads discussion of it, with participation by all concerned, staff and committee.³ Matters of policy come up naturally in relation to individual books. This is a cumbersome procedure and will seem wasteful to some, but let me add the good news: the open discussion, the prolonged give and take, the seeming waste of time—it is precisely these that bind committee and staff together, with a sense of participation and belonging. We could not have had the one without the other.

Over the years, gradually, there was constructed a friendly balance of power. Since the committee had to vote the use of the imprint, the director could not publish without its consent. Since the director was responsible for the investment funds, the committee could not order publication, as it did with the monographs. Collaboration was essential and natural. I should add that the committee never interfered with management, while the director never took the committee for granted and accepted, with some show of grace, its occasional rejection of his projects.

During the years of conflict, the press never stood alone. The director alone could never have held off the opposition, but director and committee standing together made a force that commanded respect from the administration. One chairman after another—and there were many of them and always backed by the entire group—participated in negotiations with other university powers. There was once a chairman who taught on a campus many miles from Berkeley. When I telephoned, he would drop classes and research projects, jump into his car and come driving to Berkeley to lend the weight of

³ Hugh Kenner, 'God, Swahili, bandicoots, and euphoria,' *Scholarly Publishing*, vol. 6, no. 2, July 1974, pp. 291-5

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his position to ours. Without faculty support like this, we could not have survived.

I need hardly say that the old watch-dog committee would never have given such allegiance. The new committee gave it because they were part of the press, belonging to it and it to them; they were supporting themselves. And this allegiance continued year after year, with old members educating new members, through all the changes of a committee that grew from 11 members from two campuses to 17 members from nine campuses, and that is reappointed every year with no direct, and little indirect, control by the director. It is worth adding that appointment by the faculty itself—in spite of an incredibly complex procedure involving ten committees on committees—has given on the whole excellent results, a whole succession of superior people, probably better than we could have had from hand-picked choices by director and president. And everyone knows that it is better to work with first-rate minds, no matter how strong-willed, than with those of lesser ability.

And as I have implied, the faculty became proud of the press. As long ago as 1957, a year before we became a separate department, the editorial committee went to work through the main body of the academic senate and forced the old president to arrange academic status for the manager of the publishing section—soon to be the press—with the qualifying title of director. This was something that Farquhar had requested but never obtained. The action, when taken, was not a tribute to an individual but was a way of nailing down the faculty's claim to primary interest in the press. The manager had been secretary of the editorial committee but not a member. The director, still secretary, was no longer an outsider. Press and committee had become one. The oneness, the unity, was the greatest advantage we had.

So, given the opportunity—little by little in the 1950s and

then clearly by the end of the decade—how does one go about converting Wheeler's old style press into a modern scholarly publishing house? And the answer is—that I don't know. Things happen one at a time. We never had occasion to sit down and lay out a plan to follow from here to there, even though we had some idea of where to go. There were enough good models among the presses of the great private universities—Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and others—whose company we might join in a few years, we thought, while averting our eyes from those too old and too big, Cambridge and the many-headed Oxford monster.

I spoke of converting the old press, but there could be no question of doing away with the university monograph series; their value was still considerable, and I, by then director, had no talent for suicide. The problem was to run two parallel operations at the same time, putting most of our energy and imagination into the books, giving the old program as much attention as it needed. Gradually, as research patterns changed, as for example the number of taxonomic studies declined in the biological sciences, the monographs became fewer. With the development of a microfilm library in Ann Arbor, there was no longer need to publish most dissertations. Some good humanistic manuscripts became books; the monograph option was kept open for the remaining special few, and is still open. A form of publication that had once been deemed proper to all fields of study—false egalitarianism—was gradually restricted to those fields where it was truly effective. The changes came one by one, with no dissension between editorial committee and press. So convinced was the committee that at times they offered to move faster than I thought wise. In one memorable year in the 1950s we brought out eighty-six serial monographs and a handful of books. Recent catalogues show about 200 books in cloth and paper, and a handful of monographs.

In the old press the Farquhar-Tommasini design team won a deserved reputation for handsome and well-printed books; quite a number of them found their way into the Fifty Books of the Year, selected by a jury of the American Institute of Graphic Arts. If the publishing department was not to be charged (and it was) with pulling down the standards built up by Farquhar, we had to produce books away from home that could stand comparison with the home product. There was only one quick solution, the employment of outside designers from among those already famous, such as Ward Ritchie, and those soon to become so, such as Adrian Wilson and John Goetz. When the new books began winning prizes, we could turn attention to some of the more urgent publishing problems: the kind of book list wanted, how to fund it, how to gain a place in the market and, above all, how to organize press and editorial committee for effective list building.

The book list was small. In a great and rich university, spreading over nearly all academic areas, we had a list that was neither great nor rich, 15 or 20 titles a year and few of these saleable. In a small university we might have chosen to keep the list small, tailored, homogeneous, limited to a few disciplines. But this would make little sense, some of us thought, in a huge university with several campuses and dozens of graduate departments. To do the job adequately, to achieve acceptance within the parent institution, we had to publish in many fields and prepare ourselves for growth. But growth is not a good in itself, is often the opposite; it can bring on financial disaster if not properly funded, or it can lead to a large mediocre list, another route to the same disaster. So it had to be carefully controlled.

A great good fortune was that we always had adequate capital for new books. At first these were funded against general university accounts, the system set up by Farquhar. After more accounting changes than I can remember, we came to

have our own separate balance sheet, with half a million dollars of university-granted capital, rather more than that of accumulated income from a small endowment and, after we started earning surpluses, a fair amount of accumulated income over expenses, together with an inventory depreciated to much less than its value. Later we bought a small building without help from the university. (This was recently sold and used to help pay for the new and larger building occupied in late 1983.) It all sounds easy afterward, condensed into one paragraph, but the doing took many years of scheming and manipulation with, after 1958, the understanding help of the board of control.

Few people nowadays remember, or will believe, how difficult it was in the 1940s and 50s to publish—meaning to distribute effectively—from the West Coast, when the book business was run almost entirely out of New York, with a few outposts in Chicago, Boston, Toronto. Books were sold, reviewed, publicized in New York, and the quickest trip we could make by train required at least a week. Eventually we thought we had to have a beach-head there, not so much for direct selling as for publicity, for contact with reviewers, journal editors, paperback editors, book clubs, and others. Even when air travel made trips easier, it remained desirable to have a resident representative in a small office. Later we joined with others in a London office, this one primarily for selling. And because of our Latin American list, we participated in a foundation-supported selling organization in Mexico City, one that managed to reach the break-even point before Mexican inflation brought it down. Meantime, in order to counteract our reputation as monograph publishers, we became one of the first university presses to venture into the paperback field, bringing out an initial list of five titles in the mid-1950s at a time when we were not sure we could find enough backlist titles to continue. Indeed, we missed the following season and waited

a year for our second paperback list. For several years we lived from hand to mouth in paperback publishing, but gradually the choice became easier as the backlist grew, until eventually paperback sales made up approximately half the sales volume. At home the amateur sales and promotion staff was changed for professional people lured from New York.

The key to healthy growth, the end for which all other steps were designed, without which they would have been useless, was finding better manuscripts to publish. As every publisher knows, good books don't walk in the front door unless good books are already there. One author attracts another, as they were then doing at some presses, but our reputation was for monographs. To change this without waiting out a generation required strong measures. So we were among the first university presses to set up a staff of specialized editors whose job was to prowl the academic halls, at home and away from home, to confront the best authors and bid for their manuscripts. In our early innocence we proposed to call them soliciting editors or procuring editors; after being told that we were stealing the terminology of another profession, we named them sponsoring editors, and encouraged each one to think of his/her books as a list within the larger list.

On the Los Angeles campus we had in 1949 only a secretary, whose meager job was to make appointments for the manager or assistant manager, visiting from Berkeley. Such little-brother treatment could in a few years lead to only one thing—demand for a separate southern press. To serve two purposes with one appointment—obtain manuscripts and head off secession—we employed an experienced editor out of New York and set him to work on the southern campuses. That was only the first step, of course, towards setting up a full editorial office parallel to the one in Berkeley. The new editor's assigned area had at first to be geographical, but in Berkeley, where we had more people, each sponsoring editor worked one or more

subject areas, but with no hard rules about occasional poaching on each other's terrain.

The sponsoring editors included, part-time, not only the director and associate director but also some in other departments who were interested and willing to take time from regular duties. In a not-so-large staff it was necessary to mobilize all the talent within reach. It will be assumed, I suppose, that the director would take his choice of fields; in reality he found himself taking what was left over, filling in the gaps. Since I knew a little Spanish and had been around South America, surveying university publishing for the Ford Foundation, I found myself acting as Latin American editor until there came an editor willing to take over. Meanwhile the art editor resigned and I had to elect myself, Heaven help me, to nurse along her unfinished projects. My successor—as director, not as art editor—has published some of the correspondence of those trying days.⁴ Later, through another combination of circumstances, I sponsored manuscripts in ancient history and literature, and continued to do so after retirement.

In improving the book list we found ourselves working to strength sometimes, and sometimes to weakness. An example of each may be instructive, in reverse order. One of our weaknesses paralleled a great strength of the university itself, European and American history. When we confronted the distinguished academic writers in Berkeley and Los Angeles (before the other campuses had reached maturity) we found ourselves up against our own reputation; the old monograph series in History had taken in too many mediocre dissertations along with too few good things. How could we convince our best scholars to lend their books to an undistinguished list?

Gradual improvement might take twenty years, we thought,

4 James H. Clark, 'Publishing *The Plan of St Gall*,' *Scholarly Publishing*, vol. 13, no. 2, January 1982, pp. 101-17

and looked for a faster way. It helped some to go hunting in other universities, where our reputation was not so well known, but we found bigger game in London, where many fine scholarly books are put out by commercial firms, some of whom were pleased to take on American partners. In this way we acquired American rights to books by some of the best British historians and even some by those of our own people who had British connections. After a few seasons, as these titles showed up in our catalogues, we could stop apologizing to local people and approach them on even terms.

One of the few early strengths was the series of Sather Classical Lectures, developed by the Berkeley classics department—not by the press—into perhaps the best lecture series of its kind in the world. By then there were twenty or thirty volumes, all by people outside the university and many by big names among classical scholars on two continents. So if we had any predatory instincts at all, it was natural to use these books as a springboard with the hope of making our list in Greek and Roman studies the best on this side of the Atlantic. We could, for example, pursue a British Sather lecturer on to his home grounds and get some of his later books. Or if he was tied to a London firm, we could approach the latter for American rights to his or other books in the field. There were difficulties, of course, as when a couple of firms refused American rights to anything unless we would trade them the entire Sather series, which we would not do. One of these kept us on the blacklist for several years until the then managing director retired.

These are only two examples, and not the greatest. That was probably the list in Asian studies, a specialty developed from virtually nothing into a large, splendid, and continuing collection of volumes on Japan, China, India, and Southeast Asia. Although the books were meant to parallel the several centers and institutes in the university—and although these did give

occasional help—the list was really constructed by a single hand, that of the associate director, Philip Lilienthal. It was the finest editorial effort I have ever witnessed. The same hand also managed, among other things, two large series of the writings of Mark Twain. Our lesser specialties, some of them also created out of nothing, included literary translations, art history, African and Latin American studies, natural history.

In stressing the editorial hand, I mean to say that there was never much formal help from other organizations within the university, as appeared to be the case elsewhere; there was of course more informal help than can ever be told. 'Publishers,' once wrote William Jovanovich of Harcourt, Brace, 'are men of strong prejudices and small scholarship. Like the English as a race, they are incapable of philosophy. They deal in particulars.' So be it. The greatest need of any university press was then, is now, for advisers who can supply the philosophy we lack, meaning the knowledge, the authority, the judgement, the information about significant research. We found talented and knowledgeable advisors on all our campuses. And were especially fortunate in those tireless ones who spent long hours on the work of the editorial committee—the work of the press.

And are fortunate still. Not long ago, listening to a present member of the committee, one who has worked with my successor, Jim Clark, and not with me, I was delighted to hear him state in a public meeting that the editorial committee is the best one in the University, the most enjoyable, the most satisfying. That is what we wanted years ago. Other committees may be equally concerned with the research work of the University but cannot ordinarily go beyond recommendations. Only this one, I think, is in a position to act, to empower. The twin decisions of committee and director are final; they set the publishing process in motion, and a few months later the tangible book is in hand.

24 *Metamorphoses*

Not often can a great bureaucracy move in such a straight line. Much less straight has been the descent, or development, from 1893 to the present. It has brought us in 1986 to a university press quite unlike that intended by Wheeler and the other classical begetters, but one that, I like to think, would have pleased Calhoun and Farquhar.

January 8, 1969

Memorandum to Dr. Edgar Wayburn, President

From Dave Brower

Publications Committee meeting called for January 10

Following up by telephone conversation with you two nights ago, I still feel it is a major mistake to schedule this meeting in the absence of at least two key members, Paul Brooks and Chuck Huestis. To have a meeting in which the International Series is one of the chief subjects when the only people we now know can attend are August Frugé, an outspoken opponent, and you and Will Siri, both of whom abstained from voting on the question, does not make sense to me.

Paul Brooks seconded the current International Series motion and voted for it. Chuck has favored the series in several conversations at meetings of the Publications Committee. Paul and Chuck are key members on another committee the Board wishes to have consider the Series—the Reorganization Committee. Chuck is an important member of still another committee the Board wants to review the matter—the Financial Advisory Committee. These men ought to be part of the continuity of the discussion and party to the votes on it.

It is also important to collate and distribute in advance of the meeting the information missing from August Frugé's three statements of opposition to the international effort and to much of our publishing effort as a whole. There has not been time to do this. And we still await transcript of the Board meeting and minutes of the Publications meeting.

You yourself said last night you would not expect so short-handed a committee to take action on the subject at this meeting. I do not think we should even go into this stage of the matter halfway, in the absence of principals, lacking data needed for sound action, knowing that several people are eager to make a divisive issue of the matter in the coming election.

Without taking the time to do the research and give the names and dates, let me list what the committee and club leaders have been doing in recent years to further this effort and to provide the club an opportunity to lead in one of the most important conservation objectives there is. Reading over this, you may feel with me that one of the reasons we have the financial problems we have is that we can spend this kind of time, effort, fostering of good will, and money on a matter of this obvious importance, and then end up milling around wondering whether we should have done it and making everything we touch turn to glue, instead of realizing that we have decided in effect, if not with specific language, and moving ahead.

Review of the club's international concern and work toward the Series

In 1954 the club was first represented at the biennial meeting of the IUCN and joined shortly thereafter. In 1962, largely through the work of the Leonards and George Collins, and club had a major interest in international parks and equivalent reserves represented. In 1963 Leonard made a strong statement about the club's international interests. In replying to a proposal by August Frugé that the club move with great conservatism in the publishing program, Ansel Adams mentioned the need for our publishing to seek a world audience for the purposes of strengthening conservation. Adams had seen the good work done internationally by the Exhibit and book, This Is the

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American Earth, which used evidence and photographs from overseas. The exhibit was distributed worldwide by the U.S.I.A.

2. Overseas outings started soon thereafter.

3. In 1963, in the first proposal for the Galapagos project, I wrote to the committee: "It is my belief that what men like Loren Eisely and Eliot Porter would perceive here and bring to our book would have little bearing on the specifics of the islands and a great deal of bearing on their meaning—on what kind of attitude must develop if man is really to learn his place and thereupon improve his chances of keeping any place at all. Their book would not be right down our usual line, would not be water dripping off the eaves into the same old holes, and would for ^{that} reason broaden our scope and let that breadth be known."

4. In the several meetings of the committee in which the Galapagos project was discussed, the idea that the Galapagos book would be but part of an international series on the world's ecosystems became well known.

5. The Committee knew and discussed our participation in this series with the Conservation Foundation. I circulated a letter from Russell Train on this subject to the committee in February 1966. I made it known to him and to the committee and to other club leaders that our opportunity to have John Milton participate in the Galapagos came because I had expressed our ~~continuing~~ interest in continued working with the foundation on this vital topic.

6. The Galapagos book was structured to make this goal clear. This was known to the Publications Committee when it ^{reviewed} ~~revised~~ the MS and approved the project. The importance of the goal was presented in the Milton-Buchinger piece in the Annual SCB.

7. We knew that our participation would depend upon our finding funds. This was the only limit placed upon our participation for the past three years—excepting the usual requirement that the Publications Committee must approve the content of each book we publish.

8. Accordingly, I had many meetings with The Conservation Foundation about funding as well as about researching and writing books. You and Paul Brooks had a meeting the Russell Train for this purpose. I had, with John Milton, a preliminary meeting with the Ford Foundation to seek funding for the series. The Financial Advisory Committee wished that Will Siri, Chuck Huestis, Russell Train, and I should meet at length and prepare a major presentation to the Foundation.

9. A year and a half ago we began seeking our major anonymous gift, later amounting to \$78,000, for this purpose. We accepted it for this purpose, and several smaller gifts. We have spent it for this purpose.

10. You have repeatedly urged me to have at least \$1,000,000 in hand from some foundation before going ahead in any way beyond my discretionary-fund limits.

11. Last February John Milton addressed the Board and supplied a précis on the project; at the same time Robert Richter and Robert McBride did the same.

12. We have laid groundwork in London and in Frankfurt, in Washington and in Morges, and we know how eager people are to see the series succeed in time.

13. The idea of the series, the fact that it was started, was a major consideration when we attempted the TV Special, "Farewell to a First Lady". This was to raise funds for the Series—an ideal proposal because Mrs. Johnson had never before been willing to raise funds for a domestic purpose served by a single organization (except her party). Chief Justice Warren, Associate Justice William O. Douglas, Secretary Udall, and others lauded the purpose, the books, and the series. Unfortunately, Mrs. Johnson, who also praised the idea, could not budget the time. But the idea was a great one. And its basis, on the commitment to an international interest that had been growing incrementally for fifteen years, was a fact, if not a neat resolution tied either in red tape or with blue ribbon.

14. Quick perusal shows that the subject of international titles was on the agenda in January 1968. It had been on before, and has been since. We have approved several books in other lands: Everest, Baja, Navajo, Aldabra. A modest amount has been advanced on other projects, to get them started. The item was on the agenda of the Publications Committee for discussion of the present stage of our international effort just before the December board meeting, which was likewise scheduled to discuss the subject. The Publications Committee did not get around to discussing this matter, however, because some hour and a half was devoted to the Explorer.

15. As you know, I have found an alternate source of financing the preliminary work, and even the subsequent production, of MS for the series. The organization provisionally set up to work on these titles has already made progress in engaging major authors and I could not in fairness let the other participating organizations down while the club reviewed and re-reviewed its own role. My own conscience is committed to doing what I can to make a most important project succeed—for the Sierra Club, I hope, as well as for the others.

Considering the foregoing factors, I hope you will agree that it is a major mistake to go further into this matter in the Publications Committee unless all hands are on deck, especially in view of the chairman's having, in advance of committee consideration of what to do at this stage, fully committed himself against what we have been doing for the past five years in general and the international series specifically.

Wlaes

Copies to Board, and Publications Committee, Reorganization Committee,
Financial Advisory Committee, Legal Committee

To: Publications Committee
From: A Frugé
Re: Notes on meeting of 10 January 1969.

We discussed the International Series in spite of Brower's vehement objections. Because three members were absent, I asked that the discussion be largely informational and promised to pass information on ~~to~~ ^{to} the missing members. Brower and others may comment if they think I have misstated or misconstrued matters.

Once again we met until after midnight, and once again we did not complete the agenda. We still have not heard about the present situation of the London office nor have we heard a justification of the high expense of attending the Frankfurt Book Fair. And we have not ~~yet~~ even come close to finding time to discuss a publications policy, although ideas about such a policy underlie discussion of the International Series.

We should meet again before the February meeting of the Board of Directors. Such a meeting will not be easy for me since I must be in Los Angeles from Thursday noon until Saturday noon, February 6-8. Is there any chance that our distant members can be here in the middle of that week? Or some time before then? Will each of you let me know what you can do.

August Frugé

Notes on Publications Committee meeting 10 Jan 1969

~~ix~~ Present: Frugé, Marshall, Siri, Wayburn. Absent: Brooks, Heustis, Litton. Litton's presence had been expected, but he telephoned in the late afternoon to say that his ~~reserveyxfravvkevfnavxsva~~ doctor had told him to stay in. Others present were: Brower, Wilent⁷, Schaanhaar, Nash of the staff; Director Clark; Simmons, Legal Committee

1. Minutes of meeting of December 13. Consideration was postponed because members had not had time to read the draft.
2. Rudden reported that first reports indicate December sales of about \$260,000 and total sales for the year of about \$1,266,000, more than the budget. He was not willing to make a guess on the total of expenses. Promotion costs amount to \$257,000 plus overhead of \$31,000 or a total of \$288,000. This is considerably more than the budget figure of \$239,700. Frugé objected to this unauthorized spending beyond the budget. Even if one allowed 20% of sales, the maximum percentage figure recognized by the Committee, the sum spent should not have been more than \$253,000. He pointed out that statistics kept by the American ~~Exursivvix~~ Book Publishers Council show that publishing firms operating at a profit ordinarily spend less than 20% for all sales and promotion activities. Brower and Schxanhaar defended the expenditure for 1968, saying that the Sierra Club operates under special conditions and pointing out that production delays had made it necessary to advertise some books twice. Frugé said that the special conditions of Club publishing should make for lower than usual promotion expenses. Brower and Schanhaar disagreed.
3. There ensued a discussion about the practice of deferring plant cost, brought on by a question from Siri. (Plant cost is the part of production cost of a book that is incurred before the book goes to press; it includes composition, the making of engravings and plates, and, in the case of the Sierra Club, may include the cost of expeditions.) Frugé pointed out once more that accepted commercial practice is to write off plant cost to expense as soon as a book is published or, at least, to write it off entirely during the first year. The Club's practice is to spread it over five years or 40,000 copies, whichever comes first. Thus a large part of plant cost is carried as an asset. Brower said that the color separations, in particular, were very valuable and were sure to bring in future income; commercial publishers own nothing of the kind. Frugé disagreed, saying that the plates of many commercial books are extremely valuable. The deferring of plant costs, he said, postpones normal expenses and thus makes the current accounts look better. Rudden and Siri agreed that the matter would be considered again by the Financial Advisory Committee.
4. The Committee then discussed the handling of the English gift money in relation to the Galapagos books. Rudden said that \$5 per set sold was being set aside in a special fund. Siri said that nothing should be set aside until we know for sure whether the books will make or lose money. The money can be carried in the surplus, if any, and the statement can be annotated to show the obligation. The discussion went on for a long time but without resolution. Frugé pointed out that the Financial Advisory Committee should consider the matter.
5. Marshall asked Schanhaar on whose authority he had advertised the International series last fall, before any kind of approval had been given to it. Brower said that it was on his authority. Marshall objected strenuously. Brower ~~xxxxxx~~

made a long, emotional statement to the effect that the Committee had not business discussing the International Series when three members, all of whom were probably in favor of it, were not present. Frugé said that he was not pressing for action by the Committee but felt strongly that the discussion should be started and that the Committee should be given the information it needed to think about the problem. Brower continued to emphasize Frugé's "bad" speech at the December Board meeting, saying that he could not expect fair treatment from the present group. Frugé repeated that his opinion was known, that it remained the same, but that he was seeking information, not action. He volunteered to pass the information on to absent Committee members. He pleaded with Brower to calm down and tell the Committee what is going on. After a brief recess, the discussion continued. (Wayburn had to leave the meeting briefly and missed the first part of this discussion; he returned shortly after the recess.)

6. Brower began by reading, at Frugé's request, the motion passed by the Board on December 15. (If a copy of this can be obtained, it will be attached to these notes.) Brower then summarized the background of the project, some of which was given the Committee in memorandum of several weeks ago: The Galapagos project, cooperation with the Conservation Foundation, growth of the international series idea. Is working on ~~an~~ a book series and a television series and is trying to obtain funds from the Ford Foundation. He then made a statement on the kind of books that are being planned: first an over-all or contents volume in order to excite interest everywhere; next a book on the Scottish Highlands to prepare the market in Britain and a book on the Alps to prepare the European market. He plans to publish these three volumes in 1969. To finance them, he can obtain \$60,000 per book from Ballantine. Wayburn said that he had told Brower to find a million dollars before putting out the first book. Frugé asked whether the money from Ballantine would be a loan and, if so, what kind of collateral would be required. Would interest have to be paid? Brower was vague about this, saying that he hoped the books themselves might secure the loan. Frugé had doubts and expressed worry about the kind of risk that the Club would be taking.

Marshall asked what commitments have been made to authors. Brower did not answer. Rudden pointed out that Noel Simon, one of the general editors of the series, is being paid \$600 a month from the discretionary fund. Brower: this money will be switched to advance royalty account if and when the books appear.

Wayburn asked Schanhaar and Wilentz how soon it would be necessary to promote the three proposed 1969 books. Schanhaar: Yesterday. Siri asked whether money was being spent through Shadetree (presumably a commercial ~~publicity~~ publicity ~~xxx~~ firm) to publicize the series. Brower said that the firm is on ~~an~~ a retainer, working on domestic books and also on the International series. Since the budget doesn't ~~cover~~ not cover the expense, it must be charged to the discretionary fund. The firm charges \$20,000 a year, cheap for them. Marshall repeated that it is not proper, in his opinion, to do publicity on a series that has not yet been approved.

Wayburn asked whether there was enough staff time to accomplish everything planned. Frugé asked whether American books would not be pushed aside in order to do the international books. Brower said that he hopes to do two American exhibit format books this year plus either two or three international books, even though the budget provides for only one exhibit format book. He accepted the budget but hopes to change it during the year.

7. It was late, and the Committee passed to the consideration of 1969 books, other than Brower's international plans.

A. Frugé said that no formal action had been taken to approve the planned new edition of Starr's Guide. Approval was given.

B. Redwoods book. It was immediately apparent that Brower and Wayburn were in disagreement about the text of the new Redwoods book, which is to consist of the Leydet text plus an introduction and epilogue by Ed and Peggy Wayburn. Wayburn said that he had asked Paul Brooks to read the ms. Brower said that Wayburn, as author, had no business sending the book to a reader. Publisher should get readers, author should know nothing about this. In this matter, Wayburn is working for Brower, not the other way around. (Brooks stated in his report that he preferred Peggy Wayburn's version to the one proposed by Brower, although he made detailed criticisms of both.) Brower said that his plan was for a Club edition of 10,000 copies with a probable Ballantine edition of 90,000. If Wayburn insists on his version, the Club might do 5,000 and Brower might not be able to recommend the book to Ballantine. Siri: This sounds like a South American revolution. Frugé suggested that Wayburn, Brower, and Brooks sit down and work out a compromise. Brower said no. Frugé asked Brower who should make final decision. Brower said that Brower should. Thereafter, it was suggested that the Chairman appoint an arbiter, but Brower would not agree to accept the arbiter's decision. Siri offered to be arbiter. Brower said that if Siri disagreed with Brower, Siri would have to take the responsibility for failure of the book if Ballantine would not accept it. Frugé said that he was sick of the discussion and that the parties would have to come to an agreement, with or without Siri as an arbiter, or there would be no publication.

C. Wilentz reported on other 1969 books. The Population Bomb (cloth edition) is planned for spring. So is the Wilderness Conference book and Ski Mountaineering, as well as two folios (Not Man Apart, Baja Calif.) made up from over runs of color prints. Ms of Grand Canyon on the Living Colorado is due in February, Will be 6 x 9 book.

The Norman Clyde book has been approved in principle but the ms must be presented. 8½ x 11 book. Committee agreed that C Mauk should be asked to read ms and that Brower bring in a financial proposal.

Maui. Idea approved but not ms. Ms due soon and hope for fall publication.

1970 Calendar. Wilentz said two forms are planned, hanging calendar and desk calendar. 25,000 for Club, 100,000 for Ballantine. Investment for desk calendar to be \$25,700 for fees and manufacturing, wall calendar to cost about \$20,000. On motion of Wayburn, Committee approved both calendars with expenditure of \$45,700.

8. Wilentz described project to publish an illustrated edition of Walden (from existing plates used for an earlier commercial edition) as first volume in a series to be called Sierra Club Classics in Man and Nature. Marshall questioned the need for another edition of Walden and also questioned the advisability of such a series. To him it sounded suitable for a commercial firm but not for the Sierra Club. Brower and Wilentz defended the project and asked for a decision now. Wayburn moved approval of Walden alone; but when told that the book would be advertised as the first in a series, he withdrew the motion. Siri moved approval of Walden with a sub-title Man and Nature but without a series reference. The motion lost on a tie vote, Wayburn and Siri for, Marshall and Frugé against. Brower questioned Frugé's right to vote to make, rather than break, a tie. Wayburn said Frugé was within his rights.

9. It was now 12:15 a.m. Wayburn moved adjournment, and the Chair ruled the motion passed.

Copy

RICHARD M. LEONARD
STUART R. DOLE
STANLEY R. DICKOVER, JR.

LAW OFFICES OF

LEONARD & DOLE

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December 1, 1968

Honorary Officers,
Supporters and Friends
of the Sierra Club:

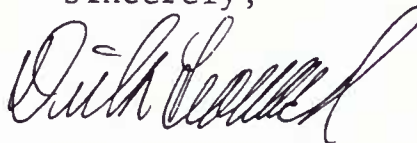
Dear Members.

I am enclosing a copy of a brilliant analysis of the Publications Program of the Sierra Club. It was written more than five years ago by the Chairman of the Publications Committee. Hindsight proves how accurate this analysis was.

The Publications Program has lost \$230,000 in the last five years and \$129,227.46 in the first ten months of this year. The net worth of the club went down \$96,705 in just this last month alone. With only \$390,020 net worth remaining, the financial situation is serious indeed.

We must elect Directors who will require a return to financial and administrative responsibility. We must save the Sierra Club.

Sincerely,



Enclosure

C
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To: Publications Committee, President Wayburn

I hope the enclosed memorandum will give us something to talk about when we have our general discussion of the Club's publishing program. You will, perhaps, find it opinionated and wrong headed. So much the better. We shall have something definite to argue for and against.

I am asking Bruce Kilgore to set up a Committee meeting on the first occasion when we can obtain complete or nearly complete attendance. It is important that President Wayburn meet with us. Since this meeting should be restricted to the one topic, only two staff members, Brower and Kilgore, will be needed.

I attach a partial draft of procedures. Perhaps we can consider this at the same time.

-August Frugé

August 9, 1963

Enclosure

COPY

MEMORANDUM

Re: Publications Program of the Sierra Club

All of you know that our meetings are long, confused, and marked by wrangling. The cause, I believe, is not our lack of good financial records, although that is serious enough; the basic difficulty is that we are uncertain about the nature of our publishing program and about where it is leading us. A few years ago, publishing was clearly the servant of conservation and of other Club purposes. Since then it has grown enormously to the point where it takes up a major share of our energies and resources. Some of us wonder whether the tail is beginning to wag the dog. In any event, there has never been--to my knowledge--an explicit statement by the Directors or by anyone else about the proper place of publishing in the Club or about the kind of publications program we want five or ten years from now.

The Publications Committee, uncertain of its role and uneasy about what seems to be an unplanned expansion, has repeatedly asked the executive Committee for guidance--not on technical problems but on the kind of program wanted by the Club. The Executive Committee has time and again thrown the question back at us. It seems therefore that we must examine the basic issues with the staff and make a recommendation to the Directors.

It is my opinion that the Publications Committee cannot work effectively until we are in substantial agreement about where we are going. Once this is true, our disputes will be about specific practical, ethical, and intellectual matters within an accepted framework. Unless basic agreement is reached and a spirit of cooperation achieved, I for one cannot feel useful on the Committee.

The paragraphs that follow will present the issues as I see them, together with arguments for and against certain positions. Many of you will disagree with much of what I have to say. I am not going to argue that we should accept my opinions in toto, or those of any other member. But it is important that we reach some sort of agreement on what the publishing program ought to be.

The Executive Director should be prepared with a clear exposition of the role of Club publishing, as he sees it, and he should be ready to predict the effect this will have on the Club, financially and in every other way, during the next several years.

The basic issue, in practical terms, is whether 1) publishing shall be the servant of the conservation and the other activities of the Club, used when needed or desirable but not a goal in itself; or whether 2) we want to embark on a long range general publishing program, influenced largely by the demands of the book market and requiring the major part of Club energies and resources. Some of us feel that we have been moving on the latter course without a clearly understood intention to do so.

-2-

If the Club is to become primarily a publishing organization--and we are headed in that direction--then the Directors and other officers should take a long hard look at all the implications, or at all those that can be foreseen. If the character of the Club is to be changed, the change should be intentional.

Let me state the arguments for and against general publishing as they appear to me. It is proper to begin by announcing my position--or my prejudice, if you will. I am not convinced that this kind of publishing is to the best interests of the Club nor do I agree with those who say that publishing is the most important of our activities. Someone else, then, will be able to make a more effective favorable case than I can.

It seems to me that the case for general publishing (i.e., for books that are not specifically and immediately related to conservation battles) must be based on the belief that the best thing we can do for conservation is to embark on a long term campaign to sell the appreciation of outdoor values to the public. In other words, it is our primary job to create a favorable climate among legislators, educators, journalists, and other people. We must also believe that general nature propaganda (such as the first Porter book) is effective enough and quick enough to be of real help in saving some of the wilderness before it is lost. We had better not wonder whether our opponents are secretly happy to have us blow off steam by selling pretty books to each other while they are busy damming the canyons and cutting the trees. We should also have confidence that books are more effective weapons than leaflets, magazine articles, and other forms of publicity.

It can be argued that a financially successful publishing program will provide funds for other Club activities. It may help to bring in new members, although we seem to gain them anyway.

I can present the opposing arguments at greater length. In the first place, general nature propaganda (using the word in a good sense) has been written and published for hundreds of years. I find it hard to believe that a few more books of this kind, no matter how well written and illustrated, will be of great practical help in a fight that will be won or lost here and now, in the next few years. And if our energies are drained off in general do-gooding efforts of this kind, then we shall have that much less time and strength for the immediate battles. It seems to me that each book should be sent out to do a specific job, e.g., to convince people that such and such an area should be protected. We don't have time for anything else.

It would be very easy to let successful publishing become its own excuse, to be more concerned with publishing than with conservation. Already we have heard appeals for reprinting and for approval of projects whose timing was clearly based on the needs of the book trade or on the wish to build gross sales during the Christmas season. And this Committee has surely spent more time on sales figures and promotion plans than it has on considering the possible good done by the books. It is paradoxical that the more successful we are, the less time we have for the things that concern us most.

-3-

It cannot be any other way. A big publishing program takes all the time and skill that a staff and board can give to it. If staff members are beginning to act and talk like publishers, this is understandable and unavoidable. If we indulge in general publishing, we must operate like a publishing business, think like businessmen and not like conservationists. But let us remember that an organization, like an individual, becomes what it does. We can't act like a publishing business without being one. The danger is particularly acute if we concentrate on expensive books for the Christmas season and seek publishing profits to help finance other activities. It is not impossible for the Club to become something like a smaller and less commercial version of American Heritage (see their recent prospectus for The American Heritage Book of Natural Wonders).

As soon as we publish to make money or for other than conservation reasons, our true purpose will become lost and our character warped out of shape. If we become big publishers, it will not be the same kind of Sierra Club.

I'm sure I sound like an old-fashioned preacher holding forth on the perils of damnation. Let me get down from the pulpit and mention a few practical considerations that might be borne in mind. The larger the publishing program, the more capital is needed. If continued expansion is intended, the Directors should expect to provide at least a million dollars of capital. A large book program cannot be put off and on like an overcoat. Publishing expenditures will continue without a let-up, so that the staff will be forced to seek popular and expensive books each season regardless of whether or not this fits the other plans of the Club. We cannot keep a big sales force without giving them something to sell twice a year. We shall have to broaden our field of interest and compete actively with commercial firms for the best authors and manuscripts. Already we are beginning to do this. Running a popular publishing business is like having a bear by the tail.

If anyone doubts that we are embarking on general publishing, let him look at the variety of our projects, existing or contemplated. A book on the Galapagos Islands, by Porter and Easley. A book about Thomas Moran, the American painter. The first Porter book, which reprints much of Thoreau and teaches love of the outdoors, but has a tenuous relation to present conservation battles. A series of outdoor paperbacks (contemplated by the Executive Director). Our ostensible range of interest, which includes Western American history and biography, natural history of the world, some kinds of science, nature philosophy, outdoor photography and painting, is as broad as that of many a commercial firm. Little by little, it can lead us a long ways afield. Is that what we want?

It is clear that we shall lose our tax exemption as soon as the Internal Revenue Service takes notice. This may not be crucial; I suppose it is possible to split the Club into two organizations. But it points up the fact that we are becoming a business.

-4-

Rather than change the character of the Club or split it in two, we might encourage a group of individuals to obtain private capital and start a publishing business of the kind we have been discussing.

The view presented above will strike some of you as extreme. Let us see whether there is a third position, somewhere between the purity and simplicity of the past and the excesses that some of us (or perhaps I alone) see in general book publishing. To the original "pure" program, we might add an occasional and carefully chosen general book, provided that it can be handled without building up a sales force that will require more and more such books. The program could then be defined in a statement of purpose that might go something like this:

1. Useful books having to do with the outdoor activities of the Club such as climbing, hiking, ski mountaineering. This category will include guidebooks to regions frequented by Club members, but we do not expect to become guidebook publishers to the world or to compete with other groups for books that are more appropriate to them.
2. Books with a close and direct relationship to the Sierra Club, such as a history of the Club, the record of a Club exhibit (The American Earth), work of a photographer identified with the Club (Words of the Earth), reports of the wilderness conferences sponsored by the Club.
3. Books that take a direct and immediate part in the battle to preserve parks, wilderness areas, and other outdoor regions. (This is the only category that will be subject to rush or emergency action.) The proposed Redwoods and Northern Cascades books are excellent examples. The second Porter book is a borderline case, since the battle was already lost and the book was designed more as art than as propaganda. A book on the part of the canyon that is not yet lost would strike closer to the mark. The Club is not committed to book publication and especially not to expensive books; when a pamphlet or a magazine article promises to be more effective, even if it provides no income, it will be preferred.
4. An occasional mood book or general book that seems particularly appropriate to the spirit of the Club. This part of the program will be subordinated to the categories above and will not be allowed to grow unduly. Preference will be given to relatively inexpensive titles.
5. We intend to husband our resources, human as well as financial, and to seek cooperation where we can find it. Whenever a commercial publisher can be found (as for a book in category 4), we shall prefer to make our own funds available for something else. We are not competitive.

-5-

6. We do not intend a steady expansion of the publishing program. We seek, instead, to develop a moderate and flexible program that will not over-balance the other activities of the Club and will not force us to seek one or more "big" books for each publishing season. We are committed to a moderate budget that we can control and that will not control us.
7. Publishing, therefore, will be considered an important ancillary activity but not a central purpose of the Club; it will not be indulged in for its own sake. It will be used to further the basic purposes of the Club: conservation and outdoor activities. We seek not triumphs of publishing but publishing that may lead to triumphs of conservation.

One of you can probably come up with a better compromise plan than this. Or perhaps the Committee will want to consider one of the two extremes. At least one of you (Ansel) has stated that publishing is the most important thing we do. If the majority of the group is in agreement, the Committee may want to recommend an unrestricted general publishing program. But one way or the other, let us come up with something specific that will enable us to reach an understanding with the Executive Committee and with the staff.

- August Frugé

August 9, 1963

273

December 6 1968

Mr August Fruge'
683 Oberlin Street
BERKELEY
California 94708

APPENDIX E
R O M U

Dear August,

When I received the copy of your 1963 report today I was moved by memories and a faint sense of guilt. I find it necessary to write you and do what I can to make matters a bit more straight (in my mind and for the benefit of the Membership).

To begin with: as you know, I was one of Brower's greatest supporters. The Publishing program seemed to me to be the best possible way to reach the heart of the membership and of the world at large. Make no mistake; I supported the program and I was convinced that it could make money and the "profits" further the cause of the Club. I was un-realistic in the face of actual costs. I still think it would have been possible to achieve a good financial pattern. I do not see how the IRS could have clamped down on us for creating income from our books, any more than it could for creating income from dividends from our invested funds.

Your report started me thinking. The lack of "figures" (on the whole publishing situation) kept me awake at night quite often! I know quite a little about publishing procedures and financial limitations. I had taken for granted that the financial "formulas" were being attended. Shortly after your report (within, next year--I think--although I am notoriously feeble on dates, I had the first realization of the cost-sales differentiation. I also had some examples of the "manipulations" of funds within the Club.

see P. 2 Page 2

I cannot recall the exact date when the "illumination" came upon me that something was terribly wrong in the whole system. I recall writing Brower a letter saying that he was headed for a real "fall". As always, criticism of Dave is painful, because there are so many valient things chalked up to his record. But, within the past two years, I realized that his dynamic surge was really directed towards a dictatorship of no uncertain pattern or objective. This is incompatable with the principles and objectives of an organiaat-like the Sierr(a Club.

Ideally, the Club could have arranged for content, dictated design and quality, and offered the "package" to a commercial publisher. As we see now, the Ballentine paper-backs are very successful and bring the Club tangeable income.

I was very critical of you in my "Brower-washed" days. I thought your attitude was depressive and negative. There was such a great euphoria about the Books that it seemed impossible that they (and their progenitor) could go wrong in any way. There is an almost fanatical ability on the part of our Executive Secretary to present everything in his favor - facts, figures, precedence, logic, and human relations notwithstanding! What is tragic is that he is passionately convinced of the sincerity of his approach; the end justifies the means - if the End has God-like, inevitable qualities. Director

To Page 1.

I first became skeptical when there were no adequate accounting figures available. For several years we had been told that "he would get to it" and sum up the financial facts. You know the history in this financial domain!! My next concern was over the frantic production lists - like a squirrel in a cage (wheel) Publishing was spinning ever faster. More books, more staff, more space, more cost, more sales (usually late) and then - before there was any chance to pause and take breath - MORE BOOKS, expanded staff, New York offices, London office, commitments without approval or adequate confirmation, world-wide expanded concepts, etc.

This is no place to list "charges"; space available! The responsible leaders and members who are now waking up to reality encourages me. But the old spell is still there and I expect that Dave and his supporters will leave no stone unturned to justify themselves. Should some miracle come to pass to pull us out of our troubles (and I dearly wish this miracle would occur!) I am quite sure that under Dave's control we would soon return to the low ebb we are now experiencing.

Leonard, Sill and I (and I think a few others of the Board now) realize that the Membership alone can save the Club. They can do this ONLY through changing the character of the Board --creating a responsible majority. I have no "ambition" except to do what I can to save the Sierra Club; I am sure the others feel the same way. We have to hang on until the solution is established.

I am convinced that it will be impossible to have Dave Brower connected in ANY way with the management of the Sierra Club; it is an all-or-nothing situation as far as he is concerned.

I have been rambling on perhaps to the point of boredom, as you know all about what I am talking about already. I want to thank you for your 1963 report, I want to say that I regret my opacity in the past, and I want to tell you how much I appreciate your courage to stand forth as you have in defense of our worthy organization!

cordially


ANSEL ADAMS

RRK
Copy
M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277
October 12, 1996

William Roberts, Archivist
U C Berkeley

Dear Bill:

By UPS I am sending you two boxes of files, as mentioned in our telephone conversation. The small box contains miscellaneous U C Press Sales papers for the period 1946-52. These were salvaged by me from a discovered box of the files of A.J Biggins, who was our sales manager at that time. A handwritten index enclosed.

The larger box contains financial records, mostly of the period of my tenure, 1944-77, but including some earlier things that I dug up in one way or another. These are of no present interest to the Press, I think; they have their copies of the B of C Minutes and of the statements This is important material, and you will have little of it, I think. Some may be in the Presidents' papers.

I will get at my general and editorial files as soon as I can. First, I must read proofs of my book for the Book Club of California. Willa Baum wants me to do an oral history, but I don't know the timing.

I presume that Archives--as distinguished from the general library--has copies of the two books that Albert Muto and I published about the University Press . I send a copy of this letter to Muto, who has some files but not financial ones. Good wishes,



University of California Press

Financial Records, deposited by August Frugé, October 1996. Material macro sorted but not sorted page by page. My eyes are not up to further sorting; I am legally blind and can read only on a machine. Papers are mostly in chronological order, but not always. There will be some duplications.

Most of this material comes from my files at the Press, thrown out or boxed up by my successors. The present Press files will contain little of this, although they do have the "official" file of B of C Minutes.

Each of the items numbered below is in one or more hanging folders. Some of the latter contain several manila folders.

1. Notes on the Financial History of the U C Press, 1893-1976. 37 pages. I wrote this in 1987, ten years after retirement, in order to give the officers and the Board of Control some background for the financial troubles they were then experiencing. Archives may already have this document among the set of descriptive papers that I gave you some time ago, but it is needed here since it will help the researcher understand the relation of the financial papers to each other. With this hisstory is one subsidiary paper.

2. Financial statements, mostly from the 1960s and 70s. Separated into two manila folders, one for balance sheets and one for operating statements. In only rough chronological order. Probably some duplications.

3. Scientific Account. Papers on this, 1955-56. This account existed from 1893 until sometime in the 1970s--although not always under this name--and is mentioned in many documents.

HRK

4. Board of Control of the U.P. Minutes and related documents, from its begommomg in 1961- to 1977, plus a few later items. Three fat hanging folders, without green tabs. The financial board of the Press, set up by President Kerr. Very important. Archives does not have any of these papers, I think, and this file is probably fuller than the one at the Press, containing more related documents. In chronological order, mores or less. Perhaps some duplication but not much.
5. Board of Control correspondence for same period and largely with VP Taylor. One thick hanging folder. Fairly well sorted but may have some duplications with item 4 above.
6. Audit, Internal, 1959.
7. Audit, Cresap, 1959. One fat hanging folder. This is the audit ordered by President Kerr when he took office. Out of this came the Board of Control and the final separation of Press and Printing Department.
8. Audit, Internal, 1977. This is the audit I requested when leaving the Press after more than 30 years. From this-- and over my objections--the practice of writing off "plant" cost at time of publication was changed, leading to financial disaster a few years later.
9. Audit, Internal, 1986. Post disaster audit. Because of this I wrote the Financial History listed as number 1 abov e..
10. Miscellaneous Financial papers and Reports. One fat fouler arranged by decades and one thin folder by subject. Among the later items there will be some duplication with the files listed above.

AF 10-12-96

cc Albert Muto

#

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277

July 12, 1997

Suzanne Riess
Bancroft Library
Berkeley CA

Dear Suzanne:

It was good to see you here on the desert; both Susan and I enjoyed talking with you and we look forward to your next visit. As far as the interview went, you did your part beautifully, intelligently; I have less confidence that I said anything worth recording. Perhaps I will next time. In the meantime a few small matters.

I would like to know more about you. Do you have a vita or anything of the kind that I could see? In particular, I am interested that you go back to the late 1950s; I thought you too young for that.

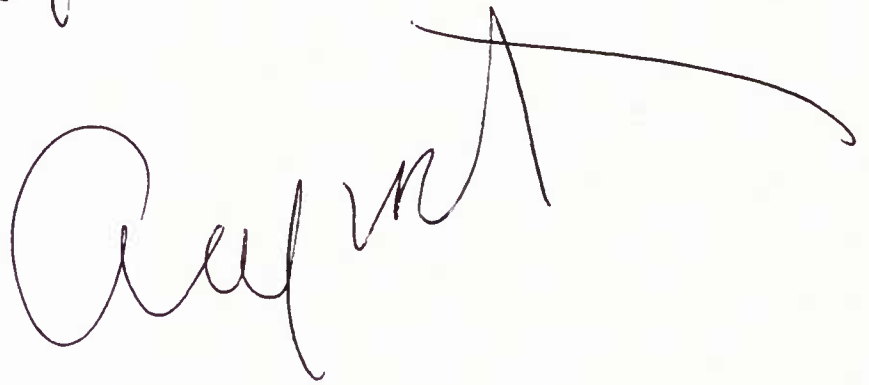
And you, I think, were going to send me a list of the oral histories that you have done. Or is there a general, catalogue? I once had a list or partial list but think it may have related only to wine matters. It would be good to know what exists in two areas: Sierra Club/conservation and printing/publishing/book design.

Before we go at the Sierra Club, you might read--if you have not already done so--the chapter on Brower and the Club in Susan Schrepfer's book. I do not care for her interpretation. In general, too much socio-philosophical analysis, an analysis that suffers from something like the post hoc ergo propter hoc fallacy and is not always convincing. In connection with the 1969 fight -- appended tenuously from the redwood story -- she

makes something that was rather simple into a complex ideological tangle. When I once called myself a skeptic I had in mind much of what is called scholarship, particularly in the social areas.

Again thank you, and I look forward to hearing from you.

all best

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "August", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277

July 23, 1997

Suzanne B. Riess
Bancroft Library

Dear Suzanne:

I have been putting down some notes about a few topics, some of them previously discussed. These may be more helpful to me than to you, but here they are for your perusal. I have the feeling that we may have been too sketchy part of the time the other day. In this I hope I am wrong. Let me know what you think.

I am confused about the structure of this oral history. Perhaps you supply this or determine it. I hope so, because I don't have one in mind. Perhaps you will, at least, let me know what topics you think we ought to pursue.

#

1. UC Press, Los Angeles office. Mentioned in the book but not, I think, gone at directly. Importance of this: As the University grew beyond Berkeley, it was clear to Farquhar and to me that the Press had to grow with it and be a Press to the whole University.

(Editorial Committee was changing. In 1944 there were 8 members from Berkeley, 3 from Los Angeles, and a vice-chairman from LA. Gradually this was changed until in 1976 there were 17 members from all nine campuses, with no more than four from any one campus, and with two co-chairman, north and south. At times we had co-chairmen from Davis, Riverside, Irvine, Santa Barbara. Even in 1944 we could see this coming.)

At that time L A office was a secretary only and she had little to do. I appointed first editor, Glen Gosling in 1950. Then John Jennings, briefly, and then Bob Zachary for ca 20 years. First copyeditor, Jim Kubeck, who stayed as number 2 until his retirement after my time. Zachary and Kubeck are compared in

Chapter 10 of book in discussion of Castaneda. Do again and more completely? LA became a full editorial office, parallel to the one in Berkeley, although some Berkeley editors (McClung, Barnes) had to be restrained from treating it as a mere branch of Berkeley editorial. Decentralization of editing, design, and part of production. Called (wrongly) inefficient, i.e., double expense, after I retired in 1977. Explain this. Furthermore, political reasons for office were compelling. Relation to UCLA. Talk of second press. Big regents' endowment would not have come otherwise. We considered offices on other campuses but decided this not practicable.

Office is still in existence, but now has to pay rent, and I do not know its relation to Berkeley. Financial situation must be more uncertain now. In 1976 the Press was running in the black with no operating subsidy. That no longer true. Lost ca \$4 million in first few years, much of it for one big reason. This mentioned briefly in Chapter 20 of book. Go into more fully? I don't remember how much of this I put into my Notes on the Financial History in 1987. And this may not be the best place for it.

We might follow all this with something about other offices in NY, London, Mexico, all different. London with two other presses. Mexico with all AAUP presses. London mainly sales but also an extension of editorial work with British firms. Also a kind of extension of our old relation with Cambridge. London office may no longer exist, or be needed, but was needed then. Yale's better use of the plan. Some, but not all of this is in book but in a different order and without same causation. This is true of next topic also.

2. University press publishing and the AAUP. My introduction to the Association. This the source of ambition for UCP. The Kerr report of 1949 on American university presses. My participation in association affairs. President in 1958 and 1959. Establishment of central office in N.Y. First (only) general meeting in Mexico. Thus my trip for Ford Fdn around South America and consequent opening of Mexico office (CILA). Relation to Latin American

translation program. Life and death of Cila -- if not covered in previous section.

The great age of American university presses came after WW2. That age may be over. See enclosed article. Sales of standard scholarly books is way down. Reasons: library budgets, computers, perhaps too many presses, changes in curricula, largely the doing of the universities themselves. Political correctness. Presses in desperation turn to trade books, fiction, regional books, sensational stuff. My thoughts on this. Attempts to solve the problem of the (too?) specialized book; also of the second-level book. Note plan proposed in the enclosed article. There have been others like it. Rather different was my proposal to the National Enquiry in 1979 for on-demand publishing as a second level . (Have you seen my big two-part article on this, just mentioned in Chapter 21 of book?) A still unsolved problem, as discussed in that chapter. Somewhere in the above should be some remarks on Oxford and Cambridge and on the scholarly books published by British and American commercial firms. For example, note that Routledge, pilloried in the enclosed article, was once one of our British partners in sharing scholarly books.

In 1984, I think it was, I was the first university press person to be chosen for something called the Publishing Hall of Fame. Such things tend to be publicity affairs, and I don't know whether this one still exists, but it may be worth a mention.

←

3. The UCP and the Sierra Club. SC founded ca 1892 not just by John Muir but by faculty members of UC and Stanford. Leconte brothers and others. Francis Farquhar's long editorship of SC Bulletin, then an annual similar to the Alpine Journal, London. One of very best, scholarly and also finely printed by Taylor and Taylor. Schrepfer dismisses Francis as a mere accountant, but he was much more than that. His other editorial work, such as the famous Brewer journals of the 1860s, published first by Yale and then by UCP, and his History of the Sierra Nevada, and work on place names. His great mountaineering book collection now at

UCLA. Dave Brower got his first editorial experience with Francis on the Bulletin and then succeeded Francis as editor. It must have been Francis who got Dave the job with brother Sam at UCP. The Press published Dave's prewar Manual of Ski Mountaineering.

Dave came back after the war and worked as an editor under Harold Small and then in various ways for me. We have already said something about his work as expeditor and then as a kind of production coordinator. When Dick Leonard and I managed the transfer of Dave to the S C as executive director in 1953, he could no longer be editor of Bulletin, a volunteer position, and he asked me to be editor and chairman of the publications committee. I did the first for half a dozen years and the second for about twenty years. In the first I had the help of Max Knight of the press; and Dave continued to do the production and some of the editing work.

The Bulletin was later turned into a monthly with a professional editor, and Dave started the big illustrated SC books. A brilliant editorial innovation and an equally brilliant job of book production, standing over the printers to make sure that color illustrations were the best anywhere. After his "failure" in production work at the Press Dave must have taken much satisfaction from his design and production (as well as sales) success at the SC. But he did not know when to slow down or how to modify, as commercial publishers followed with similar books and the market became smaller.

The only direction he knew was straight ahead at full speed. The books became the cause of much fighting in the pub committee, which included at times such as Wally Stegner, Ansel Adams, Paul Brooks of Houghton Mifflin, Will Siri, George Marshall, Ed Wayburn, Martin Litton. Book program began to be too big for the Club, overbalancing it and also threatening to bankrupt it. (When I, and others, said it was too big, Dave accused me of jealousy.) Many members became alarmed, and not just the old guard. More important here were the chapter volunteers and the S C Council.

The 1969 electoral fight, assigned sociological and philosophical causes by Susan Schrepfer, was really simpler than that. * A huge number of members, surely a majority, were afraid that Dave was wrecking the SC. This was especially true of the big California chapters, then the largest part of the Club; the growing eastern membership, I think, saw the Club in a different light and probably favored Brower. And it was the chapters, the thousands of California volunteers, and not the old guard led by Leonard, who were the heart of the opposition and who voted Dave down to sixth position in the next election, below all five of the reform slate, with his followers farther back. Every chapter newsletter--I still have a file of these--campaigns against him. I once heard an awed member say that Dave looked like Jesus when he spoke to the multitude; this member and nearly all his friends admired Dave but regarded him as a Club wrecker.

The wrecking was of two kinds, financial and organizational. The book program was over-extended, out of capital -- also out of the members' control -- and book sales were falling off as commercial competition increased. And at this point Dave proposed to take on the problems of the entire world in a new and larger series of books. The forerunner, the Galapagos book in two volumes, was a back-breaker, and he proposed more. The pub com was blowing apart; the membership was furious. Ed Wayburn said to me before the September board (and general Club) meeting at Clair Tapaan, "You had better be there. It is going to blow sky high/" And it did.

Club members thought they were hiring an executive who would coordinate the conservation work of chapters and committees; there was a lot of this all over the state and elsewhere ; Dave did not invent it, but he turned to big national issues more, and more publicly, than did others. He may have played the coordinating role for a while, but this was not in his

* Her analysis may make some ~~sense~~^{sense} in relation to the redwoods matter but none in relation to the SC fight.

nature. After Dinosaur he became a leader with followers. A brilliant leader, but-- The chapters were down graded; the staff, his staff, became the Club, quite the opposite of what most members wanted. Some part of this was probably inevitable, but it might have been handled more diplomatically. Dave, in his passionate commitment, did not have time for diplomacy. For example, when he came to the pub com with a new book project, he had already carried it part way, spent money on it, chosen a photographer, etc., so that the committee faced a near fait accompli and could not, without loss, and without repudiating Dave--which no one wished to do-- turn it down. He was often near tears with frustration during our arguments, but I probably did not put this in the minutes.

The big national ads about Grand Canyon and such (not a pub com matter) were not generally opposed but there were hard feelings about Dave's disobeying orders of the elected president (Wayburn) about one of them. The crux of the Diablo Canyon controversy was not whether to be tough or soft on conservation, as Schrepfer seems to think. That was--had to be-- Dave's campaign pitch, but the real issue was: Who's in control? After a referendum in which the Club membership had voted a stand on the Diablo matter, Brower and his directors, then a majority and including Litton, Eisler, etc., decided to ignore the members' vote and implement an opposite stand. This triggered the below-up of September 68. If one wished to tear an organization apart, what surer way to do it? After this the chapters mobilized. Berry changed sides. Dave decided to run for the board even as a paid employee. Two or three of us were asked to run against him in the new election, along with Adams and, later, Wayburn. So much for Schrepfer's sociology.

After Dave left and founded Friends of the Earth--and was again kicked out--we hired John Mitchell (a Brower supporter from the east) as editor of the book program, which was continued in a more moderate fashion and with no trouble between editor and pub com. I could comment on some of this, including the Canyonlands trip and the book by Ed Abbey and

Phil Hyde. By 1975 or so it was time for me to retire. Later Harlan Kessel and Jim Clark of UCP were members of the pub com, but I know little of what took place after my time.

Three or four years after the big election fight, the new majority began to fall apart. More non-Californian directors, sympathetic to Dave, were elected. They spoke of some of us as the East Bay bloc. Wayburn, as usual, played the middle against both sides. A shrewd politician. No need to go into this, I expect. But after I have run through my old minutes, I can probably add some interesting details about the earlier times on the pub com: individual books, happenings, people.

#

Dave and Anne are friends of mine. He, to his great credit, never seemed to bear a grudge. Anne would not speak to me for a couple of years, but she got over this, and we get along well--entertaining them here and eating Dave's pancakes in Berkeley. Dave spoke at the reception for my book. I do not wish to appear to be attacking him at this late date, and would like to make this clear early on. I am willing to spell out what happened in an honest way, correcting Schrepfer's misinterpretations. I do wonder how Wayburn and Siri described the occasion, if they did. It would not have been humanly possible, I think, and no matter how honest he wished to be, for Dave to have seen the matter for what it was.

But the years have passed, and does anyone now care?

#

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "August". The signature is written in black ink and features a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right from the end of the word.

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277
July 25, 1997

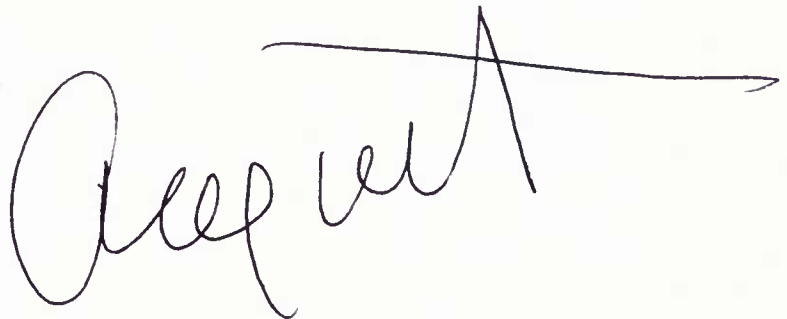
Dear Suzanne:

We have put your name on the calendar for September 25-26. That should be a good time.

Thank you for all the oral history lists, including the catalogue print-out of your own work. This latter is confusing, as you say, but it does give an impressive picture of what you have done. We are especially struck by that on Julia Morgan and colleagues, having owned and lived in the house that Walter Steilberg built for Ira Cross at 1454 Le Roy. When we first moved in, Susan intended to ask Steilberg to visit, and then read in the paper that he had been, I think, killed in an auto accident. Did you manage to interview him?

Your interview with Wayne Roderick, a friend of ours, reminds me of the possibility that we might do something on The California Native Plant Society. But Susan and I will need to go over some things first, and we wont plan on this for September unless you say so. Speaking of gardens, it is too bad that no one got to Jim Roof. He would have made an interesting subject.

Good wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "August Fruge". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal line extending to the right from the top of the last word.

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277
August 28, 1997

Dear Suzanne:

You are away from Berkeley, I know, but there are some small matters on my mind, and I might as well put them down now, numbered for convenience of reference. I don't suppose you would want a clean desk when you return.

1. First of all, I thank you for the various letters and documents. I am much impressed by the volume and quality of the work you have done for the oral history project. Yes, you should work that catalogue print-out and other info into a bibliography of your work. Or get someone else to do it.

2. If we are going to discuss the Sierra Club thing in September, I would like to see--as I think we discussed--what Will Siri and Ed Wayburn had to say about the fight over the book program, mid and late 1960s, the blow-up at the directors' meeting of September 1968, the election of 1969. See my letter of 23 July, item 3. Other oral histories may include something on this, but these two will serve my purpose.

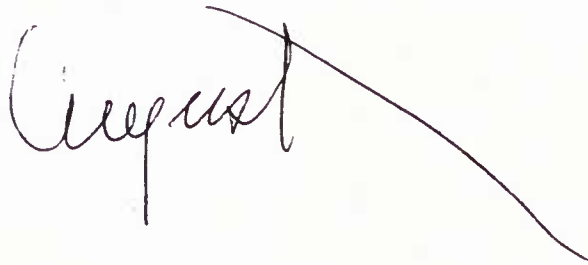
3. Thank you for looking up Walter Steilberg in the oral histories. The woodpaneled living room mentioned by the Ira Cross interviewer was forty feet long and quite wonderful. We often regret having left it and the rest of the house for this so very different desert place. As for the garden, Susan had at an earlier time visited there with a faculty wives group. This and her special interest in the garden were mentioned later when there was some

competition among buyers, and Cross told the agent to sell it to "the "chrysanthemum lady."

4. A small matter of curiosity, one that need not be answered by letter: In your art historical rambles through Berkeley and the University, I wonder whether you ran into my "friends" Walter Horn and Ernest Born. They play quite a part in one chapter of the Skeptic book, and you may also have seen Jim Clark's little publication of my correspondence with them. (Did I give you this?) Both men were publicity-conscious, and I wonder whether they might have gone after an oral history.

5. Even more casual question: Do you see the N Y Review of Books? The first article in the issue of 26 June is a long piece on the visual arts in America. It is not my business to concern myself with your reading, but I found this review complex and fascinating and I cut it out for Susan. And cannot refrain from asking how (and whether) it struck you.

All best.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "August", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right from the end of the signature.

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277
 September 13, 1997

Dear Suzanne:

Re the ^{Dress} Pares and the Sierra Club : Thank you for the Siri and Wayburn excerpts. Turning through these I get an idea of what I may be able to add and of what I cannot do. I cannot discuss these old incidents in detail, as they did. They had done their homework thoroughly, and they were speaking only a few years after the events. Some thirty years have now passed. I can give a general account that is rather different from theirs and that is from the viewpoint of a publisher.

Almost from the beginning I was less sanguine a^bout the nature of the publishing program--and its effect on the club--than were some others, including Siri and Wayburn, but I was in[^] an awkward position .

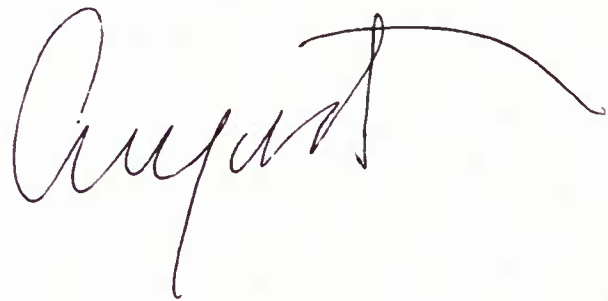
In the old minutes I have found a couple of documents (enclosed) that show my^d doubts. In later 1968 Dick Leonard circulated a 1963 memo of mine in which I anticipated some of the problems to come--not a hard thing to do. And it is amusing to read Ansel's apologetic note, he having passed from uncritical enthusiast to violent critic.

The Siri and Wayburn papers bear out my conviction that Susan Schrepfer's interpretation of the trouble and the 1969 election (her chapter 9) is a fabrication of academic thinking. In spite of the many moves, the basic matter was really rather simple. The chief underlying problem, and one of the immediate causes, was the overblown publishing program. Like Siri and Wayburn, I failed to control it.

** *

I now have a fairly clear idea of this one topic, but otherwise I find myself with little grasp of where we are going. I hope, and expect, that you will take charge, do the organizing, and tell me how to proceed. The structure will have to be yours.

All best,

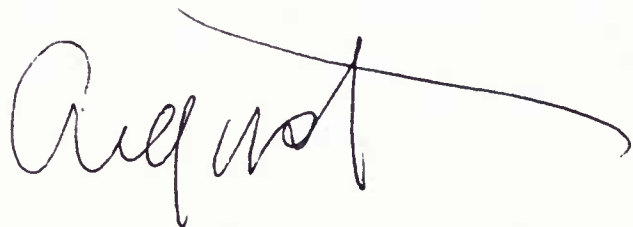
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "August". The signature is written in black ink on a white background. It features a large, flowing initial 'A' followed by the letters 'u', 'g', 'u', 's', 't' in a connected, fluid style. A long, sweeping horizontal stroke extends from the top of the 't' across the right side of the signature.

M/M AUGUST FRUGE 6945 CANYON RD 29 PALMS CA 92277
December 29, 1997

Dear Suzanne:

So we shall see you on the 15th, not the 14th. One of your letters was unclear about the date, but I think I have it right.

About the Sierra Club, the papers you sent were, I suppose, only a small sample of what the Bancroft has about SC publications. I have much more than that, which I will give to them if they want. But I wonder whether we do not need to go back to the SC for at least a short time. Rereading my informal minutes of the meeting of 10 January 1969, I am struck that almost the whole sorry SC business is epitomized, characterized in this one document: the distrust of each other, the unknown commitments, the heckling by Marshall, the voodoo accounting, the emotional breakdowns forcing recesses, the butting of heads by president and executive director. Siri likened it to a South American revolution. I had to call a halt by saying I was "sick of the discussion." This is the way it was, not always but often, something not shown in the official minutes. And this, I think, was the heart cause of the SC blow-up. In their oral histories Siri and Wayburn speak critically of publications but do not, I think, show the hard truth. Schrepfer rides off on her sociological horse. I doubt whether my own comments to you, which I don't remember well, are adequate. If a purpose of oral history is to get at what really happened (Wie es eigentlich gewesen war, as Ranke wished) then I would like to use this document, or parts of it, to provide an interpretation different from those we have. How else can we justify bringing up the matter after so many years? Or is it better to leave the truth varnished? What do you think?

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "August". The signature is written in dark ink and has a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

the



WAYWARD TENDRILS Newsletter

APPENDIX M

293

Vol.10 No.1

A WINE BOOK COLLECTOR'S SOCIETY

January 2000

THE GENESIS OF A BOOK

by
Thomas Pinney

[In 1995 wine historian Tom Pinney completed his investigation into the making of one of the classic books of California wine literature, *The Story of Wine in California*. His quest included an attempt to identify the over one hundred photographic illustrations in the book, which he did very successfully. We are pleased to publish Tom's essay on the book and notes on the illustrations in our Newsletter. *Tendrils* will agree that no other book about California wine has had its history so fully chronicled. — Ed.]



The Story of Wine in California [Text by M.F.K. Fisher; Photographs by Max Yavno; Foreword by Maynard A. Amerine. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962] is a remarkable book in at least three different ways: it is the

work of not one but two distinguished artists; it is the first book of its kind ever produced on the subject of wine in America; and, quite unknown to its authors, it recorded the California wine industry at a crucial moment in its history.

Max Yavno

To take the artists first. Max Yavno (1911-1985) had a distinguished career both as a commercial and as a "fine art" photographer, mostly working in California. Born in New York City, he earned a degree from City College by working days and attending classes in the evenings. Later he studied business administration and political science at Columbia. He did a stint with the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and worked with the Photo League of New York in the late 1930s. After serving in the Air Force during the war, he moved to California, first to San Francisco, then to Los Angeles, where he maintained a studio from 1954 to 1975 doing commercial photography, particularly for advertising accounts. Yavno had begun exhibiting in group shows as early as 1939 and had his first one-man show in 1946, in Los Angeles. His work came before a wider public through two books written

around his photographs: *The San Francisco Book*, with text by Herb Caen (Boston, 1948) and *The Los Angeles Book*, text by Lee Shippey (Boston, 1950). Later, the University of California Press would further distinguish Yavno's work by bringing out a book entirely devoted to him, *The Photography of Max Yavno*, with text by Ben Maddow, published in 1981.

Yavno's work has been seen as having a social content of distinctly left-wing tendency: given his artistic origins in the 1930s and his liking for urban scenes, this would seem to be an easy conclusion. But one should not allow easy conclusions to determine the question. As one of his long-time admirers has said, what Max really liked were "people and patterns." If critics wish to fit the results into political arrangements, that of course, is their privilege. It is not, however, a necessary response, and the photographic work in *The Story of Wine in California* certainly does not seem to demand it. It is also the accepted view that Yavno's work in the years when he was supporting himself by commercial photography must be distinguished from the work before and after that period—in other words, that he



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was "only" a commercial photographer from 1954 to 1975 and something other than that in the early and late years of his career. Since the pictures that he made for *The Story of Wine in California* overlap the divide between his commercial and non-commercial periods, one must not exaggerate the rigidity of the division.

Yavno's interest in the California wine scene as a subject for picture-making went back at least as far as the late 1940s, and as early as 1951 he had discussed the possibility of a book with the University of California Press. Throughout the decade of the 50s, on trips up and down the state, he went on making pictures of the people, things, and processes in vineyards and wineries, with the intention that they should go into a book, as, ultimately, they did.

M.F.K. Fisher

When she died in 1992, M.F.K. Fisher had become not only the best-known writer on food in this country but the object of quite extravagant praise as a stylist ("I do not know of any one in the United States today who writes better prose" is W.H. Auden's much-quoted remark). Among those to whom the arts of eating and drinking bordered on the sacramental, she had been raised to something like cult status. Her standing was not quite so exalted in 1951, when she was first asked to write *The Story of Wine in California*; it was nevertheless very high, and the choice would have seemed an excellent one to any good judge.

Mary Frances Kennedy Fisher (1908-1992), to give the names that lay behind the provocative initials, had produced a distinguished body of work by 1951. The daughter of a small-town newspaper editor, she grew up in a southern California still rural and unsophisticated, described in her memoir, *Among Friends* (1971); after private school and inconclusive episodes at three different colleges, she went off to France as the bride of an aspiring academic (see her *Long Ago in France: The Years in Dijon* (New York, 1991); that marriage ended in divorce. A second marriage ended in her husband's death; a third in yet another divorce. She lived in France, Switzerland, Mexico, New York, California. At various times, she says, she sold Chinese jade, tutored rich dullards in French, worked in a picture framing shop, and did scripts for Paramount. Through all these ups and downs, the interest in food and drink in all their variety, appeal, and association, grew and developed. Her first book, *Serve It Forth* (1937), was followed by *Consider the Oyster* (1941), *How to Cook a Wolf* (1942), *The Gastronomical Me* (1943) and *An Alphabet for Gourmets* (1949), a series gathered together in the

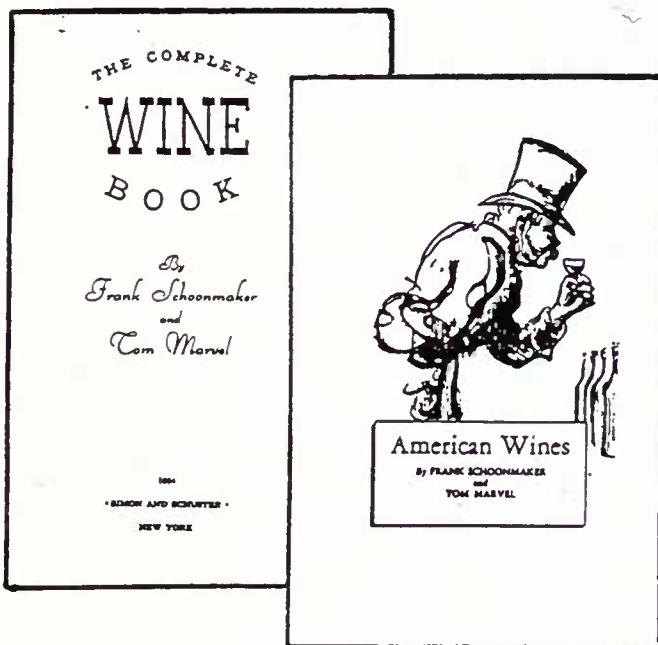
anthology entitled *The Art of Eating* (1954). These books were at once recognized as without precedent for originality and charm of expression in the literature of food. They were not cookbooks, though they gave plenty of recipes and showed a gifted and creative cook at work; they were part personal essay, part history and lore, part philosophy, part description and narrative, and always entirely individual. The critics inevitably demanded that a writer of such imagination ought to write novels. She had, in fact, already done so: *Touch and Go* (1939) appeared under a pseudonym; a second novel, *Not Now but NOW*, was published in 1947. But it was as a writer on food that her reputation rested—though that bare phrase hardly suggests what is meant. It was the piquant and utterly new combination (at least on the American scene) of high literary skill with the homely and utilitarian subject of food that set her apart from and above the humble crew of writers whose subject was also food. In 1949, as though to suggest the tradition to which she belongs, M.F.K. Fisher published a translation of Brillat-Savarin's *The Physiology of Taste* (a translation recently distinguished by a sumptuous reprint from the Arion Press selling for \$2,500).

By 1951, when she was asked to write *The Story of Wine in California*, Mrs. Fisher had amply demonstrated her interest in wine and the variety of her experience of it. Her initiation into the culinary culture of France had been in Dijon, the capital of Burgundian food and drink. With her second husband she had lived on a vineyard property in Switzerland and had made wine there; when the threat of war drove them away she was compelled to leave behind "a full cellar...some 1,800 liters of beautiful thin pale wine" (*Current Biog* 1948). In the 1950s she had spent time in Aix en Provence and in a house in St. Helena, California, in the heart of the Napa Valley. "I just like to be in wine country," she once told an interviewer, and though that was long after *The Story of Wine in California* had been written and published, she might well have said it earlier.

First Book of its Kind

No such book as what became *The Story of Wine in California* had ever been published in this country. American literature about wine was a very shallow-rooted plant, growing in the thinnest soil. In the first place, the fourteen years of Prohibition (1920-1933) had simply cut off the subject from American awareness, and it was a long and difficult task to restore it. Immediately following Repeal there was naturally a sudden spate of books about alcoholic drink; the treatment of wine in such books tended, inevitably, to be elementary accounts of the

different sorts of wine, where they came from, how to serve them, and what to drink them with—in other words, what the anxious novice needed to know, or thought he needed to know, about a subject held to be inexpressibly complex and mysterious. Many of these books were written out of ignorance or affectation or both, and it was no thanks to the authors if the readers came away with any useful ideas on the subject at all. Among other things, the American in search of truth was told that a Champagne bottle should be opened with a corkscrew, that Bordeaux and Burgundy bottles have the same shape and that their corks are wired down, that some connoisseurs prefer French to Spanish Sherry, that Pouilly resembles Sauternes, and that *Aguardiente* means "water for the teeth." A few of the would-be guides, however, were of a better sort. Julian Street's simple *Wines: Their Selection, Care, and Service*, first published in 1933, stayed in print for many years, and was in fact not so bad. By far the best authority to emerge was Frank Schoonmaker, who knew the subject, and knew how to write as well. His *The Complete Wine Book* (1934), written with Tom Marvel, was notable as a work of intelligence and good judgment in the midst of a welter of books both uninformed and pretentious.



But how could one have expected anything else? America had never been much of a wine-drinking country, even before Prohibition. Americans had then been legally cut off from any proper experience of wine for fourteen years, and they had now to re-educate themselves in a subject known to have a long tradition and to challenge the highest connoisseurship. Of course they were anxious about

it (to the extent that any of them took any interest at all), and of course they were at the mercy of any self-appointed guides who wished to put themselves forward. They were without the sure and simple guidance of the knowledge that wine had only to be good to drink, and that it enhanced food.

Things might yet have gone well if American winegrowers had been in a position to supply the market with good sound table wines of recognized identity and reliable character. They could not. The years of Prohibition had, paradoxically, enlarged the vineyards in order to supply grapes for home winemaking. At the same time, this growth had destroyed their quality. Grapes for home-winemaking had to be shipped over long distances to customers who only wanted something that still looked good at the end of such treatment. So the good grapes, which tended to be small or not very showy or excessively delicate, were pulled out and replaced with inferior varieties whose fruit was good-looking and stood shipment well but was not worth much for wine. The varietal selection in California vineyards was certainly not what it should have been before Prohibition, but it was far worse when Repeal finally arrived. It has taken years to correct that situation, one of the most lasting effects of Prohibition.

To compound this problem, much of the wine that was offered to the public immediately after Repeal was wine that had been in storage for a long time, more often than not to its great disadvantage—if it were not distinctly on the way to becoming vinegar, it very likely had some other defect, having gone flat through oxidation or having acquired various molds or infections while in storage. All sorts of doubtful wines were blended with sounder wines in order to obtain something fit—or nearly fit—to sell. And newly-made wine might not be much better than what had gone off in storage. Novice winemakers, working without an adequate knowledge of basic procedure and with makeshift equipment, were likely to produce poor stuff, and frequently did. Nor was every seller in the market particularly scrupulous. In the early days especially, it was a temptation to take what you could get while the getting was good and to let tomorrow take care of itself. The public was uninstructed, did not know what it wanted, and would, for a time, accept whatever it was given. Finally, all this confused renewal of things took place at the end of 1933, when the country was still stuck in the depths of the deepest economic depression it had ever known.

Two consequences were soon clear. First, Americans did not buy much wine at all: the high hopes of the winegrowers were cruelly disappointed, for only a fraction of the expected sales was actually realized in the first half-dozen years following

Repeal. Second, what wine Americans did buy was likely to be fortified wine—bulk sherry, port, and muscatel from the Central Valley vineyards—rather than dry table wine.

These conditions made the development of a lively literature about wine quite difficult. The industry, dominated by a few very large wineries, had settled down into making a few standard wines, mostly sweet and fortified, for a public which was not at all critical, did not drink much wine, and was quite unadventurous in its tastes. The best of a tiny handful of books about American wine in those unpromising days was again the work of Frank Schoonmaker, again in collaboration with Tom Marvel. Their *American Wines* (1941), did the best it could with a disappointing subject; inevitably, much of what they had to say did not describe a present reality but looked forward to a time when, somehow, the winegrowers of the country would realize the possibilities of American wine apparent to the eye of faith. The only other book worth mentioning from this time is *ABC of America's Wines* (New York, Knopf, 1942) written by Mary Frost Mabon, the food and wine editor of *Harper's Bazaar*.

The war years, when wine was in short supply, created a strong demand and high prices, but apart from heating up the market did nothing to alter the basic situation for the better. And when the artificial conditions of the war disappeared, the California boom collapsed: by 1947, standard table wines that had been eagerly sought at \$1.30 a gallon suddenly went begging at thirty cents a gallon. Most wineries were seriously hurt financially, some went out of business, and the industry fell into the doldrums.

At the end of the 1940s, then, after wine-growing in America had been renewed by Repeal, had passed through the hard times of the great depression, had enjoyed the forced prosperity of the war years, and had gone into postwar decline, it would have been difficult to be optimistic about its future. As a subject for writers, American wine simply did not exist.

Through all this, however, a small but steady counter-current could have been felt by the few who were prepared to seek it. The ideal of high quality that had inspired some winegrowers before Prohibition had stubbornly persisted through all the vicissitudes that followed. A small group of Napa County wineries were the saving remnant, Beaulieu and Inglenook especially. To them might be added a scattered few other names: Wente in Alameda County, for example, or Masson under Martin Ray in Santa Clara County, or the more recent Martini in Napa. The fine winemaking tradition of Sonoma County still lay largely in ruins, though there was a

hopeful stirring in the renovation of the old Buena Vista winery beginning in 1943. And here and there on the map of California tiny, almost experimental, wineries began to appear dedicated to making nothing but the finest wine—Hallcrest (1941) in Santa Cruz County, Mayacamas (1941) and Souverain (1943) in Napa County. They all struggled against great odds. They wanted to make dry table wine when the market wanted muscatel. They wanted to grow the noble varieties—Cabernet rather than Carignane, Riesling rather than Burger—when the market recognized no varietal distinctions; they wanted to supply well-made, properly-treated wines when the market knew only ready-to-drink bulk wines. The extra time, the extra effort, the extra cost of such an aim was neither regarded nor rewarded under such conditions; but the conditions, so these few dedicated winemakers hoped, might be altered.

A step in that direction—one of the few useful things emerging from the war years—was made when Frank Schoonmaker, who was a wine merchant as well as a wine writer, took up the marketing of American wines when his importing business was strangled by the war. Schoonmaker insisted that the American wines he sold could not be labeled with European names—no "burgundy," "claret" or "rhine wine"—but must have a clear indication of origin. There being no tradition of local place-naming in this country, Schoonmaker turned instead to the device of labeling the wine according to the variety of grape from which it was made, the so-called "varietal" labeling. This was an old practice—the first successful American wine, produced in Ohio before the Civil War, was sold as "Catawba," after the native grape from which it was made. But the practice had long since fallen into disuse and, when revived, was regarded with suspicion and hostility by the trade at large. Varietal labeling did at least two highly useful things: it made it possible for the American public to learn the difference between superior and inferior wine grape varieties and so to make it worth while to grow the former; and it sharply differentiated American "varietals" from the traditional wine types of Europe. A wine called a Napa Valley Cabernet Sauvignon had an identity that the same wine sold as a California claret could never have.

Assisting the counter-current towards quality was the work of the University of California, centered at Davis. Beginning immediately upon Repeal, the University's viticulturists and enologists resumed the work that had been started in 1880, when the Legislature had created a university department to assist the state's winegrowers. This work had two major purposes. The first was to match the right varieties with the right sites in California. Since only time can tell what are the "right" varieties and the

"right" sites, to say nothing of their ideal combination, this is inevitably the work of generations; but by exhaustive testing of varieties and their wines from different regions, and by classification of sites, the University made great advances in the work. The other aim was simply to establish what were the best winemaking techniques and see that they became general throughout the state. It proved to be easier to carry out successful research in such things as yeast cultures, press design, temperature control in fermentation and storage, and the many other subjects investigated, than to persuade a not very prosperous industry to accept the results of that research. But gradually the findings of the University scientists began to filter down to the level of practice in vineyard and winery.

"... the first serious effort ..."

A couple of books that were published about this time suggested which way the tide was flowing. Vincent Carosso's *The California Wine Industry: 1830-1895*, published by the University of California in 1951, was the first serious effort to grasp the history of winegrowing in the state. The implicit assumption of such a book, that the history of winegrowing in California was worth studying thoroughly and attentively, could be seen in retrospect as a first step towards persuading the public that here was something of value and interest. More directly, John Melville's *Guide to California Wines*, published by Doubleday in 1955, took the challenging view that there was already sufficient variety and sufficient quality in actual California wines to merit a guide to them. It was perhaps significant that Melville was a Dutchman and so could bring a fresh perception to a winemaking scene in which hardly anyone else could be persuaded to take an interest. Melville found the subject "as fascinating as it is inexhaustible," but added, truthfully enough, that "comparatively little is available on it in book form."

Such was the background against which the Fisher-Yavno *Story of Wine in California* needs to be seen. It was a peacock of a book suddenly appearing on a scene where a few useful barnyard fowl might be found¹ but where nothing so splendid had yet been dreamed of. How did this happen?

1. By 1960 the technical publications sponsored by the University of California were numerous and valuable, notable among them the Bulletins by M.A. Amerine and M.A. Joslyn, "Commercial Production of Table Wines," 1940; by Joslyn and Amerine, "Commercial Production of Dessert Wines," 1941; and by Amerine and A.J. Winkler, "Composition and Quality of Musts and Wines of

California Grapes," 1944. These summed up the research on their subjects to date. The first of them was developed further in Amerine and Joslyn, *Table Wines: The Technology of their Production in California* (University of California, Berkeley, 1951). One may also mention Robert Lawrence Balzer's *California's Best Wines* (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie, 1948), a small book fleshed out with historical anecdotes, how-to instruction, and recipes, but nevertheless a pioneering book.


[In our April Newsletter, we shall experience the difficult birth of *The Story of Wine in California*. In the third, and concluding installment. Tom's "Notes on the Illustrations" will be presented. — Ed.]



SILVER THOUGHTS ON BOOK COLLECTING

[In the Fall 1999 issue of *Fellowship of American Bibliophilic Societies*, Joel Silver, Curator of Books at the Lilly Library of Indiana University, wrote a very interesting essay on "The Rules of Book Collecting." We excerpt the following nuggets. — Ed.]



he practice of collecting according to a governing central idea or subject has long been considered basic by most book collectors. In doing so, we can not only build an enjoyable collection in an area in which we're interested, but we can also add to the store of bibliographical and historical knowledge in an area that may not have been explored in quite the way we're approaching it. ... The collection formed under the umbrella of this central idea should include the finest examples that the collector can obtain or afford, as well as any other reference or tangential publications related to the guiding idea of the collection. ... Rarity, which figures much too largely in the popular view of book-collecting, is entirely subordinate to that of interest, for the rarity of a book devoid of interest is a matter of no concern. ... The satisfactions—emotional, physical, intellectual and spiritual—that come from collecting books are chiefly realized by their gatherers and owners. ... But in its essence the pastime of a book collector is identical with the official work of the curator of a museum, or the librarian of any library of respectable age. 

THE GENESIS OF A BOOK

by
Thomas Pinney

PART II: A Difficult Birth

April 2000

[We celebrate the birth of The Story of Wine in California in our continued history of this California wine literature classic. — Ed.]



ts genesis was, in fact, a very long and difficult process, some of which can be reconstructed from the surviving documents. At some moment in 1951 the Wine Institute, the trade organization of the California wine industry, and Max Yavno, who had already

been attracted to the possibilities of the subject, agreed that Yavno would make a series of photographs for the Institute to illustrate the entire process of winegrowing. At the same time, the University of California Press, under the direction of August Frugé, began to plan the publication of a book about California wine that would use a selection of Yavno's Wine Institute photographs in combination with a narrative text. Frugé wrote to M.F.K. Fisher in November 1951, inviting her to write that text. Mrs. Fisher, who was then living in her parents' house in Whittier, was evidently attracted by the idea but not ready to commit herself. Yavno called on her with some samples of the pictures that he had been making, and, even though she was still not ready to sign a contract, Mrs. Fisher's imagination began to go to work on the idea of the book. A long letter from her to August Frugé dated 24 May 1952 is full of suggestions about what that book should be and how it should be developed, suggestions that, despite the many interruptions and delays that obstructed the creation of the book, had a powerful influence on the outcome. The book, she wrote,

should be light and easy. Everything in it, every phrase, should be agreed to by such experts as Amerine, maybe Winkler, maybe some such amateur as Harold Price. BUT for people, or do I mean PEOPLE, the book should be basically lively, light and easy as I've said, gay. It should tell in a dozen different ways the warming truth that wine cannot spring from the soil and be poured into a goblet without man behind it... human beings, loving vile?? wonderful basically living men.

She went on to suggest that the photographs ought to begin with intimate and sensuous shots of grape leaves, shoots, and flowers, then go on to show how

the grape must be separated from its parent vine and go to the press:

how that happens is a wonderful mixture, photographically, of ox-cart techniques and the latest production-belt methods: tiny Escondido and Napa wineries vs. Fresno and Cucamonga wine-factories run by Eastern distilleries.

She suggested that the sequence run (as it does in the book) from the southern border of the state northwards, "giving an impassionate resume of the geographical set-up of the present industry." The photographs of machinery and technical procedures should be

not too technical but correct, to give some guy from Montana who only knows about cows an idea, and a good one, of the subtle intricacies of producing a bottle of honest-to-god wine.

Frugé responded to Mrs. Fisher's suggestions by saying that he was "pleased, and perhaps even a little bit surprised," after her protracted hesitations, to receive her notes towards the book, and that he would use them "to work up for Max something approaching a shooting script."

More than a year after this letter Mrs. Fisher was still interested but still uncommitted, while Yavno went on making photographs. Finally, by early 1954 she had agreed that, if she could have a final set of pictures from Yavno "by the end of May at the latest," she would try to supply a text to accompany them. Unluckily Yavno, though he had produced an abundance of photographs, could not be persuaded to go into the darkroom and produce finished prints of his work. Mrs. Fisher therefore wrote in June 1954, that she could have nothing to do with the enterprise before September 1955: she and her daughters were going to France and would not return to St. Helena until then. But she thanked Frugé for

letting me feel myself a part of your project. I have great faith in it. It is too bad that things have lagged so often, but as one who has sat in on some of the periods of enthusiasm and activity, I must say that I feel there is plenty of life in it yet...and I hope that all continue to feel the same way.

At this point, with the photographer reluctant to print his photographs, and the writer gone off to France, the project was shelved.

The Wine Institute, though it had commis-

sioned Yavno to make photographs back in 1951, seems not to have been directly interested in the book, which was wholly a University of California Press enterprise. The Institute was now soon to be involved, however. In 1955 a new group, called the "Premium Wine Producers of California," was formed within the Wine Institute in order to carry forward the gradually-building idea that California produced not just wine but fine wine. When they learned of the projected but now dormant *Story of California Wine*, they were at once interested. So far the promotion of California wine through the Wine Institute had been carried on by so-called "generic" advertising, most of it in the form of print ads. The Premium Wine Producers wanted, instead, to employ public relations in their cause—that is, the formation of good opinion through the agency of wine tastings, wine festivals, newspaper articles, organized tours, books—the whole apparatus of publicity without direct advertising. From an early point in their deliberations, the Premium Wine Producers had put the idea of a book about California wine high on their list of desirable items. It was not long before the Premium Wine Producers and the University of California Press were in touch, the one in search of a book, the other with just such a book waiting to be taken from the shelf and revived.

In June of 1958 the Press' proposal for a "California grape and wine picture book" was put before the Premium Wine Producers with a request for a subsidy towards its publication.¹ The proposal was explained again at a meeting in October 1958, but no action followed. In April 1959, a sub-committee of the Premium Wine Producers was appointed to settle the question of financial support but was still unable to make up its mind. After the fashion of committees, meetings continued through the next two years. The minutes of the sub-committee preserve something of the intimate history of the book, as in these details from a meeting held in San Francisco on 2 August 1960:

The secretary...outlined the background of this project and explained the purpose of the meeting, viz., to try to resolve some of the basic issues still pending which have retarded positive action looking toward completion of the project. These issues include the selection of an author for the text and captions; the use of color plates; the number of copies of the book to be printed; and the possibility of industry assistance, such as advance commitments to buy copies, agreement to acquire any excess (i.e., unsold) copies, and various others.

Mr. Frugé outlined the difficulties his office faced with respect to authorship,

financing and editing. The basic question now requiring attention, he said, is this: Is this to be a large, handsome book for limited distribution, or a small, popular one for mass production? The answer to this question will resolve a number of others, he added. Mrs. Carroll [Rita Carroll, designer for the Press] pointed out that the size of the run (i.e., number of copies) will have a direct bearing on the authorship question, in particular.

Dr. Amerine said it was possible that Mrs. M.F.K. Fisher, who had been designated originally as the first preference for author, may return to California this Fall after a prolonged sojourn in Europe and if so, may be available to write the text thereafter. His offer to collaborate on the book, he said, was "strongly tied in with Mrs. Fisher" and the understanding that she alone would do the text. He would be reluctant to enter into any other collaboration agreement, he added.

The group consensus seemed to clearly favor Mrs. Fisher as the first choice. Alternatives considered, in case she may not be available, were the Messrs Mark Schorer, George Stewart, Henry Miller, and Wallace Stegner, together with a number of others who for one reason or another were mentioned only briefly and casually²

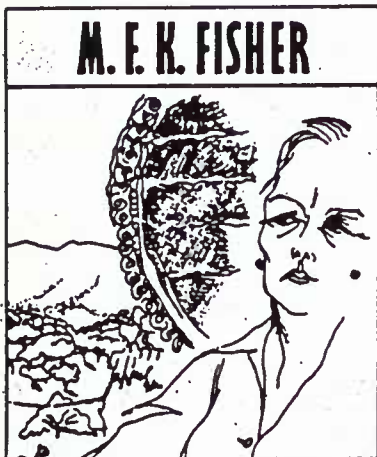
Mr. Frugé and Dr. Amerine indicated that full industry financial support of the book, as originally outlined by Mr. Frugé and proposing a figure of \$6910 (including author's honorarium of \$1000), would now come to something in the neighborhood of \$15,000.

At last, almost three years after the proposal had first been made, and after much deliberation and much consultation with authorities of one sort and another, the sub-committee recommended that the Wine Institute allow \$10,000 towards the publication of proposed volume. That was in March 1961.

The Premium Wine Producers could make recommendations, but they could not compel the Wine Institute to spend the money, and there were obstacles within the Institute itself. The big producers—the wineries making standard wines by the millions of gallons—were suspicious of the handful of wineries that aimed at making "premium" wines, and though both groups belonged to the Wine Institute they often disagreed about their aims and methods. Why, the big producers may have thought, should we subsidize a book that promotes "premium" wines and implies quite invidious comparisons with our "standard" wines? Moreover, they had been used

to direct advertising rather than to the indirections of "public relations." In helping to overcome this sort of reluctance the eloquence and conviction of Louis Gomberg were of crucial importance, according to the recollections of both August Frugé and Rita Carroll. Gomberg, a lawyer by profession, a former official of the Wine Institute, and now an independent consultant to the wine industry, was also serving as secretary to the Premium Wine Producers group. He believed in California as a source of good wine, and he understood the importance of publicity. While others hesitated or resisted the doubtful idea of subsidizing a book, Gomberg never doubted that it was a good idea, worthy of whole-hearted support.

In any event, and no doubt at least in part because of Gomberg's advocacy, the Wine Institute made a grant of \$5000 to the Press in 1961, and with that the book became an active project again. It should be noted here, however, that in one form or another the book would have gone forward anyway: the Press had informed the Premium Wine Producers in March 1961 that "they intended to put the book out, with or without industry aid" (Minutes of 3 March 1961). The Institute had also made an earlier indirect contribution to the costs of the book by buying a set of photographs from Yavno many years before, when the book was still only a shadowy proposal. These were to be used for Institute publicity, but might also be used in the book. Through this arrangement, several of the pictures that appear in *The Story of Wine in California* became quite familiar images through their repeated use in pamphlets, brochures, calendars and other promotional items produced by the Wine Institute.



Subsidy in hand, the University Press could now settle the unanswered questions. It was decided that the book should be a "large, handsome" one, with color plates, rather than a "small popular one for mass production." Mrs. Fisher was again asked to provide a text, and this time

the work went on quickly. Early in 1962 it was finished and in the hands of the Press: the subsidy had also allowed the Press to increase her fee from an originally-proposed \$1000 to \$2,500.

The support of the Wine Institute was not without its price. Lest any "unfair" advertising seem

to be provided by the book, none of the subjects—people or places—was to be identified. That restriction, it has always seemed to me, seriously diminished the historical value of the book. The Wine Institute also asked for the right to review the manuscript of the book, with authority to "suggest changes in the text, captions and photographs selected, or accept them as proposed."³ A subcommittee of the Premium Wine Producers was appointed to carry out such a review, and presumably did so: its members were Otto Meyer, head of Paul Masson, John Daniel of Inglenook, and John Ellena of Regina Grape Products (Cucamonga).

Early in 1962 the Wine Institute gave another \$5,000 towards the costs of the book—specifically for the costs of the color plates, as August Frugé remembers—and asked for the right to "see the text in its revised form and the photographs and transparencies finally selected for the book."⁴ To this, Frugé replied that things were now far too advanced to allow any revision, and that neither photographs nor text could give offense: "I believe that all the objectionable pictures have either been omitted or heavily cropped," he wrote; as for Mrs. Fisher's part, she "was quite cooperative and, so far as we know, a suitable compromise was found for each problem." She was, as the published text shows, careful not to offend the big producers, who, as she tactfully says, "with the most hygienic and spotless equipment produce uniformly good wines for almost every purse and palate" (p.14). Mrs Fisher was no wine snob, and was certainly happy to see "uniformly good wines" made widely available through mass production. On the other hand, she pays no respect to the then-familiar notion energetically promoted by the Wine Institute that "every year is a vintage year in California." Instead, she emphasizes the risks, the failures, the uncertainties of grape growing, dependent, like any other agricultural enterprise, on the whims of nature:

Will it be a hot summer and raise the sugar content to the right level for a great wine, a good wine, a poor but still drinkable one? Will there be a late and murderous frost? Will there be cruel drought and blistering sun, to wither the finest grapes as they swell out to full perfection? (p.36).

This was certainly not the rhetoric of the Wine Institute.⁵

Mrs. Fisher's preparation for writing the text probably did not demand much homework, for the knowledge of California's special history and conditions shown in the text is such as anyone might have worked up in a short time with the aid of some judicious advice. She clearly understood the basics of the subject from her own experience; she had, after

all, had a vineyard in Switzerland. And she had lived some years in St. Helena, in the heart of Napa Valley, where her enthusiastic interest in wine was not likely to miss any chances for instruction. The received tradition of California history that she was working in, however, accepted a number of things that later inquiry has shown to be wrong. Serra did not bring grapes with him in 1769, for example: the first European grapes were not planted then, nor did that first planting take place in San Diego. There is no evidence that Jean Louis Vignes brought in "Frenchmen...with cuttings from their finest vines," and the handful of San Francisco residents in 1840 certainly were not critics of the wine that "flowed from their own rolling hills," there being no significant production of wine in northern California at that early date. She gives, as did everyone else at the time, far too much credit to Agoston Haraszthy, who was not the first to bring in new grape varieties to the state, who did not introduce the Zinfandel, and who was emphatically not "the father of modern wine growing in the Western world." But it is precisely because the book belongs to its particular moment that it can say these things. One may also note a few more or less technical confusions. Phylloxera did not arrive in Europe from California; it was the other way around. Grapes are not "crushed" in presses (p. 80) but in crushers, and the practice of opening the doors of a cellar in the winter has nothing to do with disgorging champagne (p.99). These are minute specks on the surface, however, leaving the persuasive enthusiasm of the text untouched.

Max Yavno's part in the book extended over more than a decade, and one wonders how many thousands of pictures lie invisible behind the one hundred and eleven that were finally chosen for publication? Unlike Mrs Fisher, who could remain quietly at home, he had to be strenuously busy in the work of making pictures. For this, he had to travel the length of the state to visit wineries and vineyards, find vantage points for photography, go up in airplanes, arrange studio shots, revisit scenes in different lights, weathers, and seasons—in short, do all of those things that make documentary photography a challenge to patience and persistence. When he worked on the problem of getting wide-field pictures of wineries he told an editor at the Press that "it is impossible to get them from anything but a very tall tower." The editor thereupon arranged with some friends at the California Air National Guard to

take Max up on a special flight to photograph some vineyards and wineries from the air. Knowing the National Guard pilots, I think we should get some rather interesting, not to say spectacular, pictures. Whether Max will

survive mentally and morally is something else again.⁶

But more important than any such assistance were the photographer's own high formal standards. Rita Carroll, who designed the book, made several trips with Yavno in search of sites to be photographed. Sometimes, she recalled, the subject was known in advance; sometimes they sought out suggestions from all quarters; sometimes serendipity decided:

Foremost in my reminiscences are the untold hours "on location" spent waiting for the precise moment when Max finally clicked the shutter. He was a perfectionist. Every blade of grass, each vine, shadows and clouds had to be just what he anticipated. His concern was almost entirely with the mechanics of the situation rather than the subject.

Maynard Amerine, who was evidently a strong influence in determining the character of the book, was a fitting choice to write an introduction. At that time Professor of Enology and Chairman of the Department of Viticulture and Enology at the University of California, Davis, Amerine's work went back to the beginnings of renewed University research following Repeal. Through his association with W.V. Cruess, with whom he collaborated on the exhaustive testing of grape varieties and their wines from different sites in California, he linked up with the research work of pre-Prohibition California; his work in writing the basic guides to California winemaking after Repeal was a map of the industry's future. He enjoyed a unique position both as an important contributor to the work of winegrowing in California and as a member of the University: he was thus in the industry but not of it. He had also the experience of having served on the board of editors of the University of California Press and so could lend an understanding hand to the progress of the book towards publication.

This account of the genesis of *The Story of Wine in California* may now conclude with a brief account of its birth and reception. The book was officially published on 29 September 1962 at a price of \$15 in an edition of 7,500 copies—a very high price for a book then, and a very large press run for a university press book. By the end of October, nearly 4,000 copies of the book had been sold, and an active promotional campaign continued. As the Press reported to the Wine Institute subcommittee:

UC President Kerr had given a copy of the book to each member of the University's Board of Regents, as Christmas gifts; copies of the book had been presented within the last several days to former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and to President John F. Kennedy, at informal presentations by Chair-

man Meyer [of the Wine Institute] and Governor Pat Brown, respectively; and ... an important announcement in the book trade regarding high honors accorded the wine book will be made in April.⁷

The high spirits that appear in this report did not last long. As perhaps a further evidence of the book's unusual character, it attracted remarkably little notice from the reviewers. *Time* magazine mentioned it, to be sure, but only in a joking, one-sentence notice (7 December 1962). Brief notices appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and, surprisingly, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. The trade journal *Wines and Vines* gave the book an intelligent notice by the editor, Irving Marcus, who evidently knew something of the book's history. And that seems to be it. Sales soon fell off. There was no widespread and sustained notice in the press. The Wine Institute, despite Louis Gombert's pleas, made no purchases for promotional distribution. After the early flurry of sales, another two thousand or so copies were worked off, but partly at sale prices. Later, the bindery in New York informed the Press that a thousand unbound sheets of the book had been "lost," and with that the commercial life of the book ended. It did not recover its expenses, and the Press had confirmed, through the experiment, that not much of a market yet existed in this country for a celebration of California wine. This was a meager reward for the patience and persistence of August Frugé in bringing to publication such an unusual and interesting book, but the history of publishing is strewn with such inequalities between merit and reward. Frugé, incidentally, makes no mention of *The Story of Wine in California* in his memoir of his career at the University of California Press, *A Skeptic among Scholars* (1993): it was not, one supposes, an important disappointment.

Much has changed since 1962. Wine books—whether coffee-table confections or solid technical treatises or anything in between—are now a staple part of American publishing. And the trade of winegrowing mirrored in such books has itself changed almost out of recognition. We may now turn our attention to the third of the book's claims: its record of a trade that was just about to undergo quite revolutionary changes.

NOTES

.1. They were now known as the Academy of Master Wine Growers, a change of name forced on them by resentment on the part of other members of the Institute of the word "premium" in their original name. If they represented "premium" wines, it was hotly demanded, then what did that make the wines of the other producers? In the face of the protest, they yielded and adopted the inoffensive "Academy" name. In this discussion, however, it seems simpler to continue to use the original name.

.2. Mark Schorer, George Stewart, and Wallace Stegner were all Bay Area English professors, with numerous published works to their credit. Henry Miller, the "odd-ball" of the group, was the author of *Tropic of Cancer*. The proposition that he do the California wine book is delightfully absurd.

.3. Roy W. Taylor, Public Relations Director, Wine Institute, to August Frugé, 19 January 1962.

.4. Taylor to Frugé, 9 May 1962.

.5. Not all have agreed. The late Roy Brady, knowledgeable lover of wine and collector extraordinaire of its printed word, wrote February 1963: "In my opinion, and in this virtually everybody I know agrees, *The Story of Wine in California* is a disgrace. I doubt that M.F.K. Fisher wrote the text. I have long admired her work and I do not find any of her style in the book. Quite to the contrary it sounds like the commercial enthusiasm of 717 Market Street. It is no secret here that the Wine Institute was the guiding hand behind the book. The pictures are fine — too bad there's no description of or rationale to them."

.6. Emlen T. Littell to M.F.K. Fisher, 4 December 1953.

.7. Minutes of Premium Wine Producers of California, 31 October 1962.



"The Blessing of the New-Born Book"

[In our next issue we shall conclude Prof. Pinney's study with his notes on Yavno's brilliant and historical photographs. — Ed.]



WILLIAM C. DOWLING

Saving Scholarly Publishing in the Age of Oprah: The Glastonbury Project

The noble concept of scholarly publishing as contribution to human knowledge finds its crucible in the emerging struggle between traditional and the new trend-based scholarship. Centred around an increasing preoccupation with names and personalities, the so-called 'tabloid scholarship' threatens traditional work not so much by demonstrating better sales records, but by drawing the power of evaluation and oversight to those who seek to engender and capitalize on the lure of sensational themes to the exclusion of genuine works of scholarship. At the rate at which the zero-sum balance between the two scholarships is shifting, 'the crisis of the monograph' may soon become a crisis in the sphere of human knowledge. The Glastonbury Editions project seeks to return control of scholarly publication to the academy and to shore up the case for publication of genuine scholarly works: through carefully controlled methods of peer review, editing, production, manufacturing, and marketing, the project will produce handsome, reasonably priced monographs carrying an assurance of intellectual quality.

UNTIL ONE DAY LAST FEBRUARY, I thought I had a pretty good understanding of what is now generally called the crisis of the monograph – that is, the drying up of resources for 'intensive studies of small but worthwhile subjects'¹ in favour of trend-driven publishing, today even by some leading university presses, on subjects formerly associated with punk rock lyrics, supermarket tabloids, or the Oprah Winfrey show. For as an eighteenth-century scholar I myself had published several specialized literary studies, and as co-owner of Winthrop Press, a small part-time publishing operation based in Princeton, New Jersey, I had learned a good bit about the economics of short-run book production. The one thing I hadn't done, as it happened, was actually lay eyes on any example of the new trend-based scholarship.

BARBIE'S QUEER ACCESSORIES

So on that day in February, with no intention of following any trends, I had gone up to Micawber Books, our most dependable local purveyor of 'serious' titles, in search of Aulus Gellius, a new study of the *Noctes Atticae* by the British classicist Leofranc Holford-Strevens. I knew it was a long shot. The book is published by the University of North Carolina Press, and I had seen other UNC titles on their shelves, but even Micawber seldom carries anything as specialized as studies of minor second-century Latin authors. It wasn't there. I special-ordered the book and, the weather being chilly and the afternoon grey, fell to browsing in Micawber's recently expanded section on Gender and Cultural Studies. This was my awakening. I stood there reading for an hour, by which time I saw that I would never understand the crisis in scholarly publishing until I had at least attempted to understand how this section of the bookstore had come into existence. The book I took home from the cultural studies section that day was *Barbie's Queer Accessories*, written by Erica Rand, a 'dyke activist' – the phrase comes from the back cover – who teaches art history at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. It was published by Duke University Press. In the months since, I have read a great number of works in gender and cultural studies, but that first encounter, happening almost by chance, seems to me now to have been entirely serendipitous. Nothing I have read since does a better job of exemplifying the new trend-driven scholarly publishing than *Barbie's Queer Accessories*. To read it through is to see why, for better or for worse, the traditional scholarly monograph is on its way to extinction.

To begin with, *Barbie's Queer Accessories* is written in the quasi-autobiographical mode that has become the trademark of so much writing in cultural studies. It is difficult to resist its note of personal engagement. Rand begins with the story of how her interest in Barbie dolls arose, almost by accident, from an otherwise wholly routine incident. A friend had sent her the latest copy of their favourite lesbian sex magazine, and while leafing through its pages Rand came across a photograph of a woman inserting a Barbie doll – 'feet first' – into her vagina. Here, Rand saw instantly, was something more significant than a mere bit of lesbian pornography. She loved the photograph and immediately wanted to teach it to her students in art history and women's studies.

Yet there was a danger. In a world still swayed by homophobic attitudes, a Barbie-in-the-vagina photo might be taken as an immature or sophomoric attempt at 'transgression' rather than an occasion for serious intellectual analysis. 'I worried,' as she puts it, 'about inserting a Barbie dildo into the heterosexual context of the university classroom.'² In this moment of pedagogical perplexity lie the origins of *Barbie's Queer Accessories* as a work of scholarship. For as Rand consults colleagues and friends about the problem, the question of the Barbie dildo drops into the background – she does eventually introduce the photo into classroom discussion, and nothing much happens –

while Rand herself begins to be widely known as someone with an interest in Barbie dolls.

The ostensible subject of *Barbie's Queer Accessories* is what in cultural studies is called counterhegemonic discourse – 'the Barbie features that,' as Rand puts it early on, 'make her seem to resist the free play of accessorizing signifiers'³ – but a reader soon understands that Rand's heart isn't in the talk about counterhegemony and accessorizing signifiers. The real subject is the book itself: how it came to be written, what Rand went through in writing it. Thus, for instance, Rand's account of how her early research as a Barbie scholar took the form, very often, of simply gathering anecdotes: 'My friends told me about how they had loved or hated Barbie and about what they had done with and to her – how they had turned her punk, set her on fire, made her fuck Midge or Ken or G.I. Joe, or, on occasion, gotten the much advertised "hours of fun" by following Mattel's directions. People I hardly knew who heard of my interest were anxious to tell me their Barbie tales.'⁴

The serious intellectual substance of *Barbie's Queer Accessories* always has to do with personal experience. Rand does undertake a dutiful review of Mattel's own 'official' history of Barbie, but this is quite unabashedly journalistic filler, the sort of thing one might find in a magazine article about the toy industry. The moments at which the writing comes alive – the reason, one sees, that the editorial board at Duke must have been drawn to it in the first place – are those in which Rand talks about her own personal involvement with Barbie dolls. Thus, for instance, her extended account of a dollhouse-like 'environment,' *Barbie's Dream Loft*, originally created for Rand by an artist friend. As restaged by Rand herself, the scene features two dolls, a blonde Barbie and a Chicana Barbie, in a 'top/bottom dyke sex scene' in which the latter plays the dominant role: 'she stands bent over blond Barbie with a hand on blond Barbie's butt, a hand moved now and then to suggest alternately spanking, anal penetration, and the more run-of-the-mill hand-to-vagina activity generically known as finger-fucking.'⁵ The intellectual substance of the *Dream Loft* section lies in the way Rand is able to turn her own sense of inner conflict to the purposes of serious cultural analysis:

*Among other problems, I struggled with how to assign roles to my two Barbies. Putting Chicana Barbie on top reinforces racial stereotypes of the dark brute overpowering the less animalistic white girl; the hair contrast alone places my Dream Loft firmly within the hetero-generated tradition of lesbian representation, which often features an aggressive, dark-haired vixen seducing a blond innocent. Putting blond Barbie on top would have subverted these stereotypes but performed white supremacy. In terms of race there was no way out of the dominant discourse.'*⁶

This is a standard sort of analysis in cultural studies. Allowing for some adjustment among 'theoretical' registers, most of the books in the section in

which I originally came across *Barbie's Queer Accessories* were written in this mode. Its significance lies, I think, no matter how one may happen to feel personally about Barbie studies or the paradoxes of lesbian representation, in the way it is today driving out of existence a more 'traditional' sort of scholarly publication. For it is not simply that demand for specialized studies like *Aulus Gellius*, the volume I had come to buy, has all but disappeared – as I shall show, current statistics suggest that such studies will in a very short time cease to be published at all – nor that the demand for books like *Barbie's Queer Accessories* has, at least over the short term, mushroomed. It is that a hidden play of institutional and economic forces has conspired to put them in direct competition.

An essential point here – what I mean by talking about 'hidden' forces – is that a decline in demand for books in the *Aulus Gellius* category and rise in demand for *Barbie's Queer Accessories* need not be related. It is true that one has an intuitive sense that the two must be connected. Chevrolet sales go down and Toyota sales go up: isn't this likely to be related to the zero-sum nature of competition in the automobile industry? The problem is that books, unlike automobiles, need not exist in precisely this zero-sum relation to one another. We could easily enough imagine, for instance, a situation in which sales of books on taekwon do or astrology rose spectacularly and books like, say, Rawls's *Theory of Justice* or Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment* stopped selling altogether, and yet the two occurrences were wholly unrelated. By the same token, we could very easily imagine a situation in which demand for both taekwon do books and *The Machiavellian Moment* rose dramatically simply because, for whatever reason, people had begun to read more.

This is a point that seldom comes up in recent writing about the 'crisis of the monograph', where, beyond occasional grumbling that only titles about gender or identity politics seem to sell these days, most of the talk has been about production costs, library budgets, warehouse storage rates, and the like. So it is that we get the essential clue to the zero-sum relation between *Aulus Gellius* and *Barbie's Queer Accessories* in quite a different quarter: the journalistic celebration of Cultural Studies that has tended to pursue the story on the level of names and personalities – a long *Lingua Franca* article on editor William Germano and the triumph of what its critics have called 'tabloid scholarship' at Routledge, for instance, or a piece in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* on Nicholas Pfund of NYU Press, or, on a weekly basis, items in the *Chronicle's* own recently instituted 'Hot Type' department devoted to the new and the topical in university publishing.

The reason that this journalism strikes me as crucial is that it has emanated from the same space – located, as one might say, somewhere between *People* magazine and the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* – occupied by Cultural Studies itself, such that one is constantly aware of tremors of an assumed 'transgressiveness' just beneath the surface. For otherwise, on the face

of it, these would simply be marketing stories, as readily told about General Foods as Routledge or NYU Press. Thus, for instance, we hear in *Lingua Franca* that Routledge once favoured sober, academic-type covers for its books. No more: 'The cover of *Spectacular Bodies*, a study of gender and race in action movies, is typical of Routledge's hunky, puff-'n'-pant aesthetic. It features a muscle-bound and tattooed Jean-Claude Van Damme. *Arresting Images*, a collection on art and censorship, juxtaposes an image of the artist Leon Golub dressed as a cardinal with a bound torture victim, her nude chest dripping with blood.' Or, from the Routledge in-house organ *The Cultural Studies Times*, a list of the 'top-ten reasons why you need a cultural studies section in your bookstore' ('#6 – To create a hip pick-up scene'; #8 – Where else would you find Barbie, Disney, and Madonna next to one another?').

The tendency in these stories is to focus on two elements, the personality of the protagonist – portrayed as a brash young ex-academic or would-be academic who has dared to overturn the stodgy orthodoxies of conventional scholarly publishing – and the 'sensationalistic' quality of the titles he or she has dared to publish. Thus the picture of Germano, the central figure in *Lingua Franca's* Routledge story, moving through the corridors at the Modern Language Association: 'Germano's devotion to the culture of academic celebrity remains strong. "When I go to MLA," he says, "I don't go to hear papers. I go to ask people whom I respect who's hot, what's going on, what are you really excited about? That's much more important than spending two hours listening to a lecture." And, apparently, what people are really excited about is Tonya Harding: Routledge's most-hyped forthcoming title is *Women on Ice: Feminist Responses to the Tonya Harding/Nancy Kerrigan Spectacle*.'⁸

The emphasis, in short, is on what is being published and how it is being packaged: Tonya Harding, Jean-Claude Van Damme, nude torture victim dripping with blood, Barbie as dildo. The same note occurs in *The Chronicle of Higher Education's* account of Nicholas Pfund. ('Fast-moving and aggressive reports the *Chronicle* somewhat breathlessly, 'Mr. Pfund may represent the future of scholarly editing.'⁹) There is the usual story of a marketing miracle wrought by paying attention to trends – NYU, we learn, 'has doubled sales in the past four years, to more than \$3.2 million annually. And with Mr. Pfund at the helm, it has an all-important buzz going for it' – and then the list of titles that have brought in the profits: 'what do people want to read, according to Mr. Pfund? *Drag: A History of Female Impersonation in the Performing Arts*, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd*, *Lesbian Erotics*, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, and *Heavenly Sex*, "a lighthearted tour of sexuality in the Jewish tradition," by Ruth Westheimer (who is an adjunct faculty member at N.Y.U.) and Jonathan Mark.'¹⁰

Yet it would be a serious mistake, I think, to suppose that the subjects or topics or titles of these books play anything but a minor role in such stories of marketing success. For there is, first of all, the simple fact that the culture of

which they report is immensely more 'sensationalistic' than anything that could be found on the Cultural Studies bookshelves. Tonya Harding and female impersonation are not, after all, news to the millions who view TV 'trash' talk shows, and who, if they should happen to want more information, would be far more likely to turn to *People* magazine or a supermarket tabloid than to a title published by Routledge or NYU or Duke University Press. Then there is the fact that large commercial publishers, with far greater resources and even fewer misgivings about being accused of intellectual prostitution, have taken aim at the same market. It is its bleak sense that the very notion of intellectual prostitution has ceased to have meaning among American publishers, for instance, that drives *The New Republic* to an almost desperate irony in reporting on a new children's series to be put out by Random House:

Last week Maureen O'Brien of The New York Post reported that Random House is planning a series of fast tabloid books about sensational crimes...for children. A spokeswoman for the publishing house told O'Brien that these books will be 'exposés of the most provocative, frightening, other worldly and until now "adult" current events.' We're not sure what 'other worldly' means, but the meaning of 'until now "adult"' is perfectly clear. Random House is preparing to pander to kids. The same spokeswoman admitted that 'if another Jeffrey Dahmer and Amy Fisher were to come along and make the news, that's precisely the type of crimes that we would want to cover in these books.' (See Amy fire. See Jeffrey chew)... The first volume is called Unabomber: Handled With Care. Another shrewd publicity person at Random House did us the favor of sending along the book's first three chapters. They are special. Chapter One tells of a botched explosion on a Boeing 727 carrying seventy-two people.... 'The bomber went to a lot more trouble than he had to. He could have bought a lot of the stuff at Radio Shack.' (Cool)...And so on. We wish the publishers luck in hell.!!

Were they simply entries in the Jeffrey Dahmer—Amy Fisher market, there is no reason to suppose that books like *Women on Ice* and *Barbie's Queer Accessories* would be selling any more copies than the average scholarly monograph. There is simply too much competition, both in the media generally and, within publishing, from commercial firms like Random House, to explain their success as being due to an attentiveness to market trends to which traditional scholarly publishers have remained oblivious. This is what directs us, I take it, to look for an explanation in a source of 'transgression' having very little to do with Barbie dildos or nude torture victims and a great deal to do with a titillation presumed to arise from seeing authors trained in serious scholarship — an ancient tradition of disinterested learning caught, so to speak, with its pants down — displaying an absorption in such topics.

To see the marketing success of publishers like Routledge, Duke, and NYU as a narrative or story, in other words, is to see that its underlying plot has all

along been a version of *Belle du Jour*, Buñuel's film about an upper-class woman who has a secret life working in a Parisian brothel. The thrill lies not in the scenes that take place in the brothel — one has always known, after all, that houses of prostitution exist — but in all the scenes that don't: the prim society lady at home in her proper surroundings, the servants and the rich furnishings and the ceremony of afternoon tea. It is this that gives meaning to the rest: the lady waiting until her husband is gone for the day, putting on dark glasses and a borrowed coat, parking her automobile blocks away, making her furtive way to the inconspicuous hallway where she rings the buzzer and gives her assumed name. The hovering sense of a 'violated' propriety is the story, in a manner of speaking: take it away, and *Belle du Jour* is simply about a prostitute going to work. The recent success of various Cultural Studies titles seems to me explicable on similar terms.

Yet there is a twist. The *Belle du Jour* scenario would seem to make sense, on the face of it, only if there were some market of general readers thrilled to discover that university-trained scholars — minds presumed to be at home with Plato and Kant and Shakespeare, popularly supposed to be the custodians of some 'higher' learning — have, once one has penetrated the veil of intellectual hypocrisy, exactly the same preoccupations as the average viewer of *Roseanne* or *Oprah Winfrey*. The problem is, of course, that no such market exists. For it is academics themselves, by and large, who provide the market for these titles. No one who actually buys *Barbie's Queer Accessories* is shocked by its 'transgressive' patter about finger-fucking, and no one who might be so shocked buys books like *Barbie's Queer Accessories*.

The zero-sum relationship between books like *Barbie's Queer Accessories* and books like *Aulus Gellius* thus demands to be understood as, after all, something entirely internal to academic publishing, involving a kind of pantomime or shadow-show in which a specific academic audience is encouraged to imagine, to its considerable delight, a ghostly 'establishment' driven to apoplexy by the idea of Barbie or Madonna studies. The shadow-show itself has largely been, in the way of such entertainments, a fantasy or illusion, but it has had real and important consequences. For most Cultural Studies titles are something like those special-effects movies in which a cartoon-character protagonist is introduced into an actual setting. *Barbie's Queer Accessories* 'transgresses' only so long as its academic readers are able to think of its being actually presented as a credential for tenure or promotion at a real college or university. For the same reason, it is important that the contributors to *Women on Ice* be 'feminists,' which, translated, may mean 'academic feminists,' which in turn means university-trained scholars who may be presumed to be 'transgressing' in writing about 'tabloid' subjects like Tonya Harding.

In the next section I want to look briefly at the crisis in scholarly publishing, but I want then to return to what might be called the *Roger Rabbit* aspect of the Cultural Studies trend, which is the way the phenomenon of imaginary-

transgression-in-a-real-setting has demoralized scholarly publishers, seeming to put a power of evaluation and oversight traditionally invested in the community of scholars themselves into the hands of figures like Mr. Germano and Mr. Pfund. For the real death-knell of the learned monograph is not to be heard, it seems to me, in any dreary recitation of declining sales figures and shrinking library budgets. It is, rather, the sound of Mr. Pfund cheerily spelling out to a reporter from *The Chronicle of Higher Education* his own predilections in publishing: 'I'm just not interested on an intellectual level in figuring out how to publish tremendously esoteric texts. What I want are books that people read, that deal with subjects that are of interest to a range of people. That entails a willingness occasionally to say it's not our responsibility to publish a book, no matter how good, if it's going to lose a lot of money.'¹²

THE GARGOYLE OF TRUTH

No reader of the *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* needs to be briefed on 'the crisis of the monograph,' but I want nonetheless to cite a few sources and run through a few figures to get a sense of how the crisis is being perceived in circles outside academic or university publishing. Here, for instance, is part of a letter from John G. Ryden, the director of Yale University Press, to Hugh Kenner, who quotes it in a recent *Common Knowledge* article on scholarly publishing: 'Yale and every other university press in America has seen the sale of the scholarly monograph... decline by two-thirds. Where we once expected to sell perhaps 2,500, we now sell 800-900. Over the years smaller print runs pushed up costs and therefore prices in an ongoing spiral. Scholars virtually stopped buying books. Library budgets declined in the 70s; in the 80s they dropped again and serial purchases cut deeply into funds available to buy books.'¹³

In the same vein is 'The Endangered Monograph,' written as a recent 'Director's Desk' column in *Perspectives*, in which Sandria Freitag gloomily summarizes the ways university presses have been trying to cope with declining sales. 'The first strategy is often to cut print runs. Many presses have reduced their typical print runs from 1,000 to 750. When titles sell only 350 to 450 copies in the first three years, however - and this is often the case - this strategy does not allow presses to recoup their production or inventory costs.'¹⁴ Freitag then briefly discusses 'docutech,' a system in which as few as five copies per run can be produced by a single machine using laser imaging and xerography to go straight from disk to bound book, but concludes that such technologies still result 'in discouragingly high per-unit costs. So while a press may avoid inventory costs and the pall of hundreds of unsold copies of a monograph, it has done so only by raising the cost of a title so high that, generally, the market will not bear it. The vicious spiral continues.'¹⁵

Or, finally, 'The Crisis in Scholarly Communication,' written for *The Chronicle of Higher Education* by Sanford G. Thatcher, director of Penn State Press, is as

much a *cri de coeur* as a recital of statistics, though in this case the statistics very nearly constitute a *cri de coeur* in themselves. In the last ten years, Thatcher reports, Penn State Press has published 150 titles in literary studies, putting it among the leading scholarly publishers in that field. 'We cannot be sure exactly how many people have read these books, but we do know how many have bought them. Of the 150 titles, 65 per cent have sold fewer than 500 copies and 91 per cent fewer than 800. Only 3 per cent (generally those dealing with American literature or gender issues) have sold more than 1,000 copies.' The result has been a draconian change in policy: 'The market for books of traditional literary criticism has now shrunk to the point that it is no longer possible for a small, unendowed press like Penn State's to continue publishing such works.'¹⁶

Thatcher's column in the *Chronicle* seems to me noteworthy on several counts, one being that it does a better job of conveying the current sense of demoralization among traditional scholarly publishers than anything else I have read, another that it is particularly clear on two points that otherwise tend simply to lurk ominously in the background in such discussions. The first is a purely technical point: 'American university presses might buy some time,' says Thatcher, 'if they were willing to follow the example of European publishers and raise book prices to cover the full cost of small print runs - to, say, \$150 for a 250-page book with a print run of 400 copies.' But this is based on an assumption that is, as we shall see, worth looking into in some detail: 'Many publishing costs - such as acquiring manuscripts and copy editing, designing, typesetting, and marketing books - are fixed, in that they don't vary with the size of the print run.'¹⁷ The second point usefully emphasized by Thatcher - it is the gloomy subtext of most of these discussions - concerns the close connection between scholarly publishing and tenure and promotion in American colleges and universities. Much of Thatcher's column is based on a survey taken by Penn State Press among authors on its own list, and the results in this department are especially dispiriting: 'according to the survey of our authors, the deciding factor when they do buy a book is "the reputation of the author." This suggests that the careers of younger scholars publishing their first books are especially at risk. If faculty members are required to publish books to gain tenure, how will they manage to do so if presses can no longer afford to issue books by unknown authors that are likely to sell only a few hundred copies?'¹⁸ When university presses like his own have to simply cease publishing specialized studies, says Thatcher elsewhere in the column, something is badly amiss in the scholarly world, 'which relies on such publications to make the process of tenure and promotion work.'¹⁹

But what are those specialized studies that Penn State Press is no longer able to publish? Thatcher's mention of 'gender issues' as one of the only two categories in which Penn State titles have sold 1000 copies is enough to let us guess that we are dealing here with the zero-sum relationship discussed earlier

Most books that attain even this modest level of marketing success will be those that, like *Barbie's Queer Accessories*, manage to attract a somewhat wider audience by promising to transgress the norms of conventional or traditional scholarship. In the background, then, gathering dust on the shelves of unsold volumes, will be all those books – 97 per cent, in the Penn State case – that, like *Aulus Gellius*, embody precisely the 'higher' learning whose very conventionality gives the transgression its point: studies assuming a certain background in ancient and modern history, philosophy, literature, and languages, and very often presuming beyond that a genuine interest in some writer or intellectual milieu that, from what might be called the *Barbie's Dream Loft* perspective, must seem hilariously obscure.

One could not look for a better example than Aulus Gellius, the subject of Holford-Strevens's study. For the author of the *Noctes Atticae* wrote long after the great age of Livy and Horace and Virgil, and even among scholars who take a serious interest in authors of the Antonine period he has not been seen as a commanding figure. The *Noctes Atticae* is itself a collection of occasional pieces, composed, as Gellius tells us, during the winter evenings when he was staying in a villa with a friend outside Athens. The work consists of anecdotes and chatty observations, remarks on books and Greek and Latin grammar and curious points of natural history, little glimpses into Graeco-Roman life as it settled gratefully into a long calm after the terror and insanity of Caligula and Nero and Domitian, the incest and murder and capricious tyranny of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian years as one reads about them in Tacitus or Suetonius.

To anyone drawn to the *Noctes Atticae*, a great part of the attraction has always no doubt lain in the way they permit a modern reader to bask, as Holford-Strevens once says, in the afternoon sun of ancient culture, to dwell with Aulus Gellius and his friends in a Roman intellectual milieu that was beginning to turn backwards to its own earliest roots and, beyond that, to the enormous debt to Greek literature, philosophy, and political theory on which so much of the Roman civic and literary achievement was based. Modern scholarship has done a great deal to recover the details that make this picture so compelling – the large-scale absorption of provincials into Roman administration, so that the empire becomes gradually and peacefully a homogenous entity; the completion and perfection of the road system that allowed one to travel easily from one end to another of its vast extent; the hundreds of cities of the empire that became 'little Romes,' with their amphitheaters and their baths and libraries²⁰ – but it is only in works like the *Noctes Atticae* that we are permitted to hear the voices of the age.

Yet those voices are conversing in Latin and Greek, which is no doubt why a book like Holford-Strevens's *Aulus Gellius*, even given the great attractions of what one scholar calls the Antonine golden age, could hardly be expected to sell a thousand copies in the 1990s. For the *Noctes Atticae* takes place during one of those cultural moments that Foucault describes so compellingly in *The Order of*

Things, in which a language has begun to turn opaque – gradually ceasing to be transparent to its representations, because it is thickening and taking on a peculiar heaviness²¹ – and so becomes an object of curiosity in its own right to its educated speakers. Thus it is that much of the *Noctes Atticae* is about matters that we would call philological or grammatical, with Gellius and his friends endlessly absorbed in the interplay of Greek and Latin meanings as these have created the mental universe dwelt in by educated minds in the second century.

In practical terms, this means that Holford-Strevens must assume on the part of his readers at least enough Greek and Latin to make sense of the world – to a very large extent, a world of books, filled with echoes of earlier poetry and drama and philosophy – that it is his business to re-create. So, for instance, we have the scene in which Gellius, who has just made the sea passage from Greece to Brundisium, comes ashore and takes a stroll around the marketplace to regain his land legs. He comes across a bookstall in which a great number of old Greek books are for sale. They are in battered condition, but they are cheap. He buys the lot, and then spends the next two nights reading them, copying into his commonplace book their tales about strange people in faraway places, cannibals, and one-eyed humans – we are in the immediate vicinity here of Othello's 'Anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders' – and tribes who are able to kill by uttering praise.

Some of these same stories, says Gellius, he later found in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. The point made by Holford-Strevens will be precisely that a great deal of this has demonstrably come directly from Pliny, that the story of the sea voyage and the stroll around the marketplace has been imported into this context to bestow verisimilitude on a borrowed template onto which Gellius will then overlay other curious bits of Greek anthropological learning. The argument depends, inevitably, on a close analysis of the language used by both Gellius and Pliny:

That the order is the same is an argument for dependence, supported by linguistic similarities. At NH 7.16, NA 9.4.7–8, and nowhere else till Symmachus, Ep. 6.77, we find the verb effascinare; Pliny writes 'in eadem Africa familias quasdam effascinantium . . . : to Pliny's 'effasciant intermantque' correspond in Gellius 'exitialem fascinationem' and 'intermant' Pliny is therefore a source, but not the only source: whereas at §25 he states that the Astomi are clad in leaves, 'uestiri frondium lanugine', Gellius (§10) gives them feathers like the birds', 'avium ritu plumantibus'. An original πρῆπον, it seems, has been diversely understood as 'fern' and 'little feather'.²²

As a work of scholarship, Holford-Strevens's *Aulus Gellius* is a superb exploration of this literary and cultural moment. It is also, significantly enough for the present discussion, a perfect example of the sort of work that can no longer be published, or even considered for publication, by Penn State Press

run editions of out-of-print works, most recently J.L. Williams's *Old Princeton Stories*, published last year in a limited (300 copy) memorial edition in connection with the 250th anniversary of Princeton University. That experience permitted us to see that it is possible to publish and market an attractively bound and printed 200-page scholarly monograph at a cost of \$12-13 per volume, with a cover price to libraries and individual buyers of \$19.95. It is possible to do so, moreover, at a high level of intellectual and scholarly quality – the level, say, of specialized studies published by university presses like Princeton or Harvard before the present crisis – and to offer a reasonable guarantee that this quality will be recognized in the process of tenure and promotion.

I will fill in the details in a moment, but I'd like to point out in passing that, although the Glastonbury scheme depends on a newer electronic technology, it might otherwise be seen as a return to an older tradition of monograph publishing that dominated in the United States up to about World War II. For it is only in the postwar period that university presses began to model themselves on trade publishers, leading now to a 'crisis' defined in terms of sales volume and profit margins. Yet I remember, when I began my own research as a doctoral candidate in eighteenth-century English literature in 1968, relying heavily on various admirable scholarly studies produced on the older system – Thomas Mayo's *Epicurus in England* comes to mind, as does R.D. Altick's *Richard Owen Cambridge* – on which no one had thought of making a penny. They were, usually, PhD dissertations produced on the European model, plainly printed and austere bound, their business being solely to make available the results of original research. They were, to borrow Auguste Frugé's phrase once again, 'intensive studies of small but worthwhile topics.'

The one element in the older system that could not be revived today and that need not be – it is, as we shall see, precisely what the newer electronic technology allows painlessly to be eliminated – is outside subsidy. This was occasionally managed through departmental or university grant money, but sometimes too by asking for personal subvention from the fledgling PhD. Charles Kindleberger gives a poignant account in his recently published autobiography:

Before the Second World War Columbia University continued the European practice of requiring a candidate for the doctorate to turn in seventy-five printed copies of the dissertation, which it would exchange for similar works from European universities that belonged to the cartel. There were two ways this could be done. The dissertation could be bound together with four or five other theses in social science, in which case it would never come to light again, or the candidate could arrange for a separate publication, in almost all cases heavily subsidized by him or herself. Luckily, my new wife brought a dowry of about \$6,000 to our union, and I took half of it to give to Columbia University Press. A Mr Wiggins, my editor, urged strongly that I print no more than 400 copies (at our expense). I begged for more, and he grudgingly agreed on 600. Seventy-five went to Columbia,

under the policy reported by Sanford Thatcher. Not that Thatcher pretends to be anything but seriously downcast by the decision forced upon him. It is 'a sad admission for a publisher like me to make,' he says, having brought himself to announce that Penn State will no longer publish specialized literary studies, 'as I have always believed it to be the primary mission of university presses to publish monographs.'²³ But in the current climate, Aulus Gellius has become one of those 'tremendously esoteric texts' in which Nicholas Pfund professes so complete a lack of interest in comparison to the titles that do appeal to him and the readers sought by NYU Press: *Lesbian Erotics*, *Clarence Thomas and the Tough Love Crowd*, and *Drag: A History of Female Impersonation in the Performing Arts*.

No one who has studied the present situation can doubt that Penn State Press is, in its decision to give up publishing studies like Aulus Gellius, simply a bit ahead of the times. The same bleak story is being played out at every university press for which statistics are available, and it cannot be long before Sanford Thatcher's announcement begins to be repeated by directors of other presses. Yet there is a problem here. Aulus Gellius, however small its present readership, is a genuine contribution to knowledge. It will be there on the shelves of a few great libraries a hundred years from now, read and studied by scholars who retain a serious interest in the culture of late antiquity, long after the last copy of *Barbie's Queer Accessories* has been pulped and the names of Tonya Harding and Nancy Kerrigan and Midge and Ken and G.I. Joe have vanished into oblivion. And in a situation in which works like Aulus Gellius are no longer published, it seems to me, we may with some justice cease to speak about a 'crisis of the monograph' and begin speaking of a crisis in the sphere of human knowledge.

There is, I think, a way out of this dilemma. Its essence is caught in a proposal made, partly in a jocular and partly in a visionary spirit, by a friend of Hugh Kenner. 'I have in front of me a letter,' writes Kenner in his *Common Knowledge* article, 'that urges an extreme proposition: "Scholarly publishing must be isolated even from the scholarly market."...So university presses "should be endowed, heavily subsidized, whatever, on the principle that scholarship...is a gargoyle meant for the eye of Heaven alone. The point of academic publishing shouldn't be to sell copies, but to place one copy each in the L. of C., the BL, and the Bodley."²⁴ The comparison seems to me inspired: genuine works of scholarship as being in some essential way like those gargoyles intricately and lovingly carved by medieval workmen because, though invisible to the onlookers below, they would always be visible to God and the angels. The Glastonbury project as I am about to describe it might be taken simply as an attempt to translate this notion out of visionary and into practical terms.

THE GLASTONBURY PROJECT

The Glastonbury project – to be precise, the Glastonbury Editions project of ... has emerged from Winthrop's experience in producing short-

as noted, a few to professors and friends. The rest were sold under an arrangement whereby I got half the gross price, and Columbia University Press the rest for its marketing effort. The Press insisted that it be sold for \$3 a copy. Three dollars times, say, 500 copies is \$1,500, half of which is \$750. Three thousand dollars less \$750 is a net cost to Mrs K. of \$2,250.²³

This particular episode has, as it happens, a comic denouement. The dissertation turns out to be an unexpected best seller (if one may use the term about a publishing operation with such modest expectations that 600 copies counts as a large press run), and Columbia University Press simply has no policy to deal with such an eventuality. The original edition sells out. As second-hand copies begin to command higher and higher prices in used bookstores, Kindleberger's editors eventually decide that something must be done. And so it was to come about, he reports, that when 'copies went to more than \$20 on the secondhand market, the Columbia Press invited me to put up some more money for a second printing.' He declines with some asperity, a reprint house then buys the copyright from him for a modest fee - \$150, not nearly enough to make up the original investment of the newly married Kindlebergers - and that is the end of the story.

Yet the episode, for all its innocent comedy, gives us a serious look into a world of scholarly publishing that existed not so very long ago, when sales volume was very nearly the last thing on the mind of university presses. And it suggests, beyond that, that in such cases as Kindleberger's monograph a simple adjustment of marketing calculations would have been enough to make even the old system self-sustaining. Had the dissertation been priced at \$6 - not exorbitant, we are entitled to suppose, since second-hand copies were within a short time commanding over three times that price - Columbia would have recovered its costs from sales alone, while Kindleberger would not have been called upon for a subsidy and would as author have received, in return for permitting Columbia to publish the volume, the twenty-five copies he gave to friends and former teachers.

Here we are very close to the Glastonbury model. In what follows, I am going to describe the publication of an imaginary 208-page monograph on the terms now envisioned by Winthrop Press, all figures being based on our recent experience with *Old Princeton Stories*. The run - as will, we expect, be the case with all Glastonbury editions - will be 300 copies. Of these, 150 will go to major university libraries with whom we expect to establish an approval arrangement. (Not, we think, a serious obstacle, given serious assurance of the book's intellectual quality and a cover price just under \$20.) Ten review copies will be sent gratis to learned journals of the author's choosing. Twenty-five copies will go to the author. Of the remaining 115 copies, the number of individual sales needed to bring the edition to the break-even point is 40. All revenue returned after the sales of the first 190 copies will then be reinvested in the publication

of subsequent titles. (An edition of 300 copies that sold out would mean a net return for this purpose of \$2202.)

I will give a detailed breakdown of the figures on which these calculations are based, as well as technical details for those interested, but here I want to step back for a moment to say something about the state of electronic publishing technology that has made such calculations possible. The major item is, of course, typesetting. Only a few years ago, as Hugh Kenner recalls, the very phrase 'camera-ready copy' conjured up a picture of pages typed on an IBM Selectric - usually for this reason called 'cleanly typed copy' in directions to prospective authors - and printed photo offset. The result, inevitably, was books that looked as though they had been typed on an IBM Selectric. 'Cleanly typed copy,' Kenner points out, 'after all, looks like just what it is: typescript. But Times Roman pages, justified and hyphenated and complete with italics and boldface and different sizes for body-text and quotations, are now within the reach of anyone who can call up software and operate a keyboard.'²⁶

To people inside scholarly publishing, where typesetting from author-provided disks has already brought about a silent revolution, lowering what used to be the single most expensive item in book production to one of the cheapest, this will come as a purely routine matter. The Glastonbury project depends on the present ability of scholarly authors to provide error-free, attractively designed copy using WordPerfect 6.1 - which has advanced kerning capabilities - or any program that permits stripping to ASCII and reimportation into WordPerfect. The figures given below are calculated on camera-ready copy provided by the author according to guidelines - mainly involving uniform design as regards numbering, placement and style of running heads, and so forth - supplied by Winthrop Press. (Since Thomson-Shore, the printer used by Winthrop, has now begun offering a discount of \$0.30 per page on electronic jobs that submit text copy on 'error free' files, these prices may be expected to drop even more in the near future.)

The technical details of our imaginary 208-page Glastonbury edition are as follows. (Readers with no interest in book production may skip this paragraph.) The prices are calculated for a trim size of 5" x 7" (for any larger 'standard' trim size, deducting 8 to 16 pages from length brings pricing calculations out to approximately the same totals). The paper stock is 60# Glatfleter Offset B18, 360 ppi. Binding is Smyth sewn in 32s, cased into Roxite A grade cloth, with 88 pt. binder boards, 80 lb. endsheets to match text stock, rounded and backed, with head and footbands and a foil-stamped spine in one colour. This makes, we have found, a handsome and substantial volume, far more attractive than the old 'PhD bound dissertation format' and yet austere enough to be consistent with the ideal of genuinely learned publication. Outside of shipping (bulk pack in 275 lb. test standard size wall cartons and, therefore, very reasonable) this yields a cost breakdown as follows:

Plate prep	\$765.00
Paper	\$194.00
Press	\$315.00
Binding	\$1,077.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,351.00

This works out to \$7.80 per copy. A multitude of other costs remain to be figured in, but it is worth noticing at how great a distance we are here from Sanford Thatcher's estimate of \$100–150 dollars per copy for short-run monographs. The remaining costs we have averaged out at \$4.81 per volume. This includes the costs involved in running Winthrop Press as a no-frills publishing operation – shipping to libraries and customers, labels, office overhead, correspondence with authors and referees, and so forth – as well as the incidental costs involved in making a single scholarly title available for purchase: copyright copies, fee for ISBN listing, the 'marketing packet' provided by Winthrop to authors, and so on. As perhaps goes without saying, we are able to keep costs this low partly because Winthrop is so small-scale an operation. (So far, for instance, we are easily able to handle inventory control and financial record-keeping with one piece of inexpensive software, Peachtree First Accounting.) On the other hand, we calculate on being able to maintain this level of overhead up to a maximum list of five titles a year.

The total cost to Winthrop for a 208-page book thus works out to \$12.61 per copy, making possible the \$19.95 cover price and the 190-copy break-even point mentioned above. On the Glastonbury scheme, everything outside of library sales is now turned over to the author. Here, once again, Hugh Kenner has anticipated our essential strategy. It is possible to argue, says Kenner, having pointed out that in the age of WordPerfect and laser printing any author can turn out a 'book' indistinguishable from a volume published by a university press, 'that the author of such a document doesn't need a publisher at all. Such an author likely knows who and where the audience is, and likely possesses a mailing-list.'²⁷ This is precisely the basis of Glastonbury marketing procedure for individual sales. Winthrop will provide authors with an attractively designed template for a 4" x 6" book notice – reproducible on cardstock at a very modest cost at Kinko's, or, even more attractively and only a bit more expensively, by Labels Unlimited printing onto Avery 5380 perforated cardstock – with the expectation that notices will be sent, depending on the title, to 200 to 300 potential buyers.

It remains to say a word about quality control, the issue that, more than any other, tends to loom silently in the background in discussions about the crisis in scholarly publishing. The issue concerns what we have heard Sanford Thatcher talk about as the relation between scholarly publishing and the 'tenure and promotion process.' For a number of reasons – the fact that it has been a source of tremendous personal anxiety or dread for many individuals, or that

nearly every academic department is guiltily aware of a certain arbitrariness or inconsistency in the way it has applied the rules in the past – open discussion of tenure and promotion comes closer than anything else in contemporary academic life to having a taboo status. I have no intention, myself, of entering into the subject, but I do want to say something about how it comes to bear on the aims of the Glastonbury project.

The way scholarly publishing enters into the tenure and promotion process has traditionally concerned the question of the imprint. Twenty years ago, it was much harder to get a specialized literary study accepted at, say, Princeton than at what was then generally called a second- or third-tier press, such that acceptance at Princeton University Press meant a certain 'automatic' guarantee of academic or intellectual recognition for a scholarly author. Since over the longer haul of twenty or thirty years any established scholar could point back to terrible work published by 'top' presses and brilliant work published by 'lower-tier' presses, the value of such recognition was never entirely unproblematic. But it was nonetheless a powerful institutional fact, just what one of Hugh Kenner's press committee colleagues had in mind in going through a certain sardonic pantomime: "We control," Ralph Rader would say, "The Imprint"....he'd emphasize the formality of The Imprint by a downward punch with an invisible Great Seal.²⁸ For the process of scholarly refereeing within a recognized order of selectivity was, until very recently, able to operate, however imperfectly, as something like a minimal guarantee of intellectual quality.

This is no longer true. For whatever reason, the refereeing process has been more seriously compromised during the present crisis than anything else in scholarly publishing, to the point that even leading university presses tend now to think primarily in market terms when considering manuscripts for publication. This is why, for instance, there has been a kind of stampede in recent years at 'top' presses to add editors in such areas as gender and cultural studies, and why old-line editors, whose expertise lay in the immensely complex business of getting submitted work reliably evaluated on purely intellectual grounds, have gradually been pushed to the margins or phased out. The model that now dominates, in short, is that of someone like Germano at Routledge: 'An editor can walk into my office and say: "I've been talking to some smart people in this field and they are excited about topic X.... I think we should commission a collection." We'll consult our marketing department, and if they think it's a good project being done by the right people and they can sell it, we'll send out a contract. When the book comes in, then we might get a reader's report to see whether it is correct in all its details.'²⁹

The imitation of this model by established scholarly presses has then produced what I earlier called the *Roger Rabbit* effect, with the tenure and promotion process coming increasingly to serve as the real or actual setting against which the Cultural Studies title acts out its 'transgression.' At nearly every major university, books accepted by publishers like Routledge under the

conditions described by Germano are today being considered by departments, tenure and promotion committees, and deans and provosts on the terms once reserved for works of genuine scholarship. And, as more university publishers imitate the model, making it harder to tell the difference between a book published by Routledge and one published by NYU or Rutgers or Duke University Press, the problem becomes more acute. We have entered a period, in short, where young academics may quite realistically expect tenure and promotion for having written *Barbie's Queer Accessories* or contributed to *Women on Ice*, while authors of specialized studies like *Aulus Gellius* may just as realistically expect never to be published at all.

The Glastonbury project will aim to resolve this problem by asking distinguished scholars to read for us – without fee or other recompense, and purely on the grounds that doing so will return an enormously important power of evaluation and oversight to the scholarly community – on the following understanding: (1) that they recommend for publication no manuscript that would not have met the standards of a 'leading' university press in the pre-crisis period, and (2) that, should the work be accepted, they be willing to write in support of the tenure and promotion of any author whose work they have recommended for acceptance. Since we mean to invite as specialized readers only scholars who have themselves already published at least two works with major university presses, this amounts to a virtual guarantee that acceptance into the Glastonbury series will mean not only publication but the 'automatic' support of two major scholars at the time of tenure and promotion review – precisely the point at which the capitulation to market pressures has left younger scholars, especially, most vulnerable.

I have been writing as though the Glastonbury project is already in operation. In fact, we are still putting many of the pieces together, so let me end with a brief description of where we stand. The project will be formally announced, we hope, in January of 1999. Thereafter, we aim in the following three-year period to publish just one title – either an edition of an important 'forgotten' work or a study strongly based in original research – in the area of eighteenth-century English or American literature. (This is the area in which I've done most of my own work, and in which I therefore have the widest range of contacts among established scholars. For similar reasons, the Glastonbury project will initially be doing its heaviest recruiting of readers and editorial board members among leading scholars in ALSC – the Association of Literary Scholars and Critics – the professional organization in which I am most active.) Subsequently, we hope to move into Victorian literature and intellectual history – the specialization of the co-proprietor of Winthrop Press – and from there outwards into Renaissance and medieval.

The name of the Glastonbury project comes from the monastery in the west of England, during its early period a well-known centre of medieval learning, where a later pious legend was to locate the graves of Arthur and Guinevere.

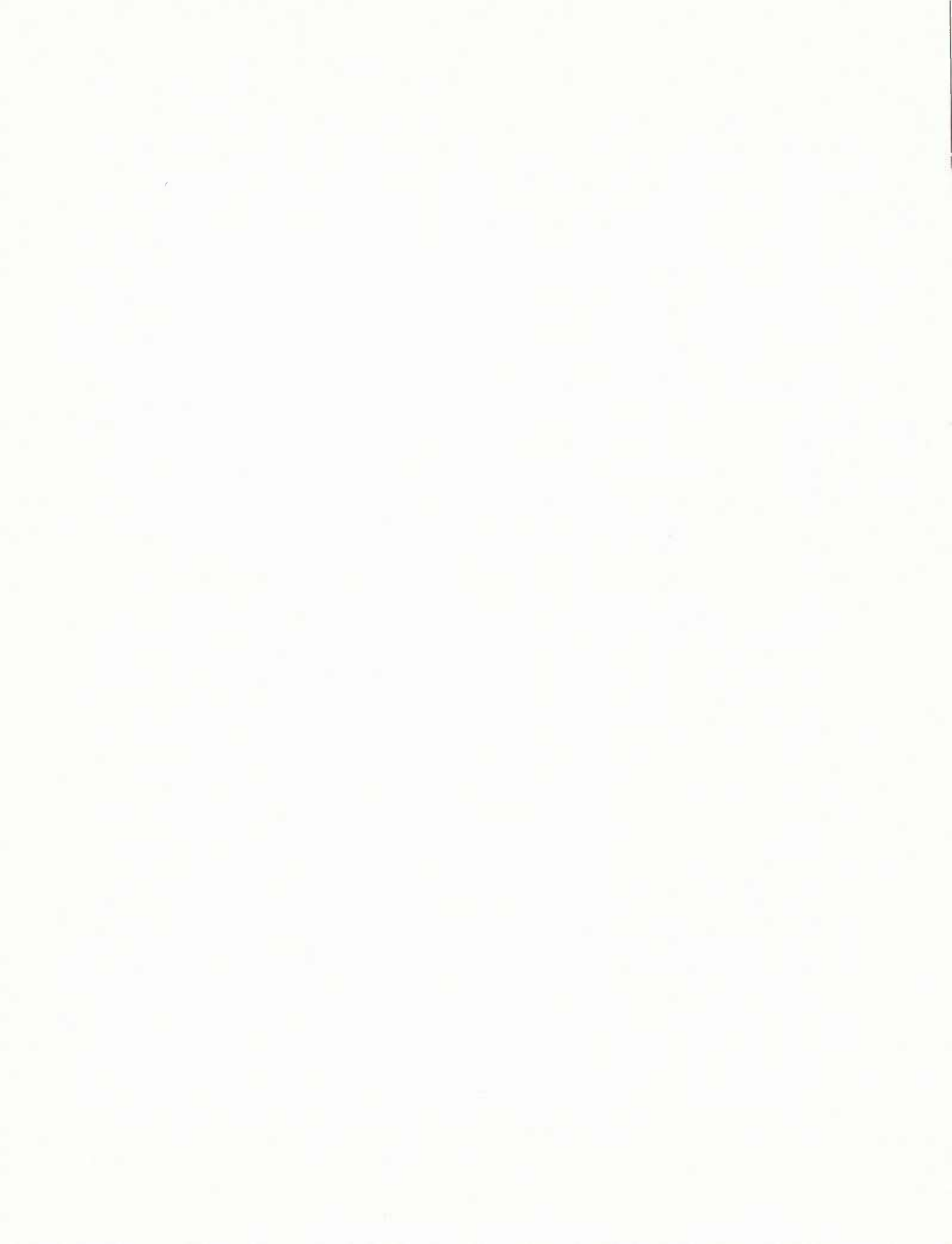
There are many reasons why the name was chosen – the reputation of the monasteries as solitary outposts of learning in the dark ages, a lingering sense of the visionary associated with Arthur, *rex quondam rexque futurus* – but its main inspiration has all along been a certain memorable passage written by the moral philosopher Alisdair MacIntyre: 'What matters at this stage is the construction of local forms of community within which civility and the intellectual and moral life can be sustained through the new dark ages which are already upon us. And if the tradition of the virtues was able to survive the horrors of the last dark ages, we are not entirely without grounds of hope. This time however the barbarians are not waiting beyond the frontiers; they have already been governing us for quite some time.'³⁰ The words occur at the very end of MacIntyre's great work *After Virtue*, a title published in 1984 by Notre Dame University Press.

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- 2 Erica Rand, *Barbie's Queer Accessories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1995): 2
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- 30 Alisdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press 1984): 263



Hi Willa and Suzanne,

Here's a copy of the August Frugé article that will be published in the Book Club of California's *Quarterly News-Letter*. The book itself will be published this summer. Enjoy this—it's wonderful stuff.

This is Harlan in Oakland, the city of Ebonics-speak. 5th February 1997.

Duhaut-Cilly's 1826-1829 Voyage, a Zamorano 80 Classic of Early California History, Now Published for the First Time in English Translation—a Book Club of California "First"

August Frugé and Neal Harlow

Editor's Note: The following article is adapted from The Book Club's publication, A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, and Around the World in the Years 1826-1829 by Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, translated and edited by August Frugé and Neal Harlow.

—Harlan Kessel

Previously available only in the original French or the Italian translation, this book is probably the richest and most vivid eyewitness account ever written about early California. Bancroft wrote that the author's "...opportunities for observation were more extensive than those of any foreign visitor who had preceded him." What Bancroft did not say, having seen only the Italian translation, is that the author was also a talented writer and artist.

The original volumes are quite scarce, while the only English version, published serially in 1929, is incomplete and rendered nearly unreadable by an honest but misguided attempt to be literal and follow the French syntax. The meaning behind the words is obscured, the literary style muffled, and a fine personal narrative, complete with its own villain, is effectively lost. Our (Frugé and Harlow) task, then, is to restore life to this splendid book.

Master of a trading ship, the *Héros*, Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, or du Haut-Cilly, whom the Californians called Don Augusto because they could not pronounce his name, spent nearly two years, 1827 and 1828, on the coast of California, seeing it from one end to the other before proceeding to the Sandwich Islands, China, and home around the world. His long account, in French and mostly written aboard ship, was published in two volumes in 1834-35. The author was also an artist by avocation and put into the book four lithographs of his own sketches. These, strangely enough, are known to us mostly from copies made by an Italian engraver in 1841.

As an observer, this captain had many advantages. A foreigner who could see with the perspective of an outsider, he was also a Catholic, friendly to the Francisco padres and trusted by them. "They were happy to deal with a captain of their own faith," Duhaut-Cilly wrote. "Never would they have discussed these matters with an American or an Englishman." On his visit to Mission San Luis Rey in June, 1827, Duhaut-Cilly wrote:

On the 12th, in the evening, volleys of musket shots and fires lighted on the plaza proclaimed the festival of the following day....At first I was placed with several others on the balcony of the padre's house, overlooking the entire arena, but I and my curious companions were soon pursued by the young Indian girls who had been relegated to the same place to avoid accident [from the ongoing bullfight]. There were more than two hundred of them, aged from eight to seventeen, and they were all dressed in the same way, with petticoat of red flannel and white chemise. Their black hair, half as long as themselves, floated about their shoulders. They came in crowds about us, demanding copper rings or pieces of money, and at first we amused ourselves by throwing *reales* and watching them rush together and tumble over each other in a way that was wonderfully funny. But little by little they grew bolder and so familiar with us that they threw themselves upon us and even tried to dig into our pockets. Their bursts of laughter and their squalling cries, drowning out the bellowing of the bull, reminded me of the critical position I once found myself in on the island of Java, when I was attacked, quite unarmed, by a troop of monkeys. I should say, of course, that these malicious Indian girls did

not bite, but they tore at our clothes and scratched us and intended to leave us no more money in our pockets than the monkeys of Pulo-Marack had had in theirs.

The moment had come, we decided, to effect an honorable retreat. To accomplish this we used a stratagem; taking all the small coins that remained to us, we threw them as far as we could, and as soon as the pack left us to run after the quarry, we took advantage of this short respite to make our escape. Going down to the padre's lodging, we took shelter behind a barricade that had been set up in front of his door.

They do not kill the bull, as in Spain. After they had taunted, tormented, and tired him out for half an hour, a carriage gate was opened onto the plain, and as soon as the animal saw this exit, he ran out as fast as he could go. The horsemen sped like arrows in pursuit, and when the fastest one caught up with the bull, he seized him by the tail and, spurring his horse at that moment, overturned him and sent him rolling in the dust. Only after this humiliation was the animal allowed to regain the pasture. This exercise, which requires as much agility as strength on the part of the horseman, is known in the country as *colear el toro*, tailing the bull....

Other Indians, in the manner of Lower Brittany, divided themselves into two large teams, and the players of each, armed with curved sticks, attempted to propel a wooden ball toward the goal, while those of the opposing team strove to drive it in the contrary direction. This game appears to appeal equally to both sexes. It happened that the married women challenged the young girls and the latter lost. They came crying to complain to the padre that the stronger women had taken unfair advantage, holding their arms when they tried to hit the ball. Fray Antonio, with the judgmental gravity of Solomon, required a complete account of the affair.

During the explanation the good missionary was seated gravely under the arcade with eyes half closed, the index finger of his right hand resting on his brow while the middle finger, passing under his nose, formed a sort of T-square, a pose that gave him an air of profound meditation. When the Indian girl had finished pleading her cause, he raised his head and declared the game

null and void. But he could not prevent himself from smiling in his cowl and he said to me in a low voice, "Poor little dears! We have to do something for them. (Las pobrecitas! Es menester de hacer algo para ellas.) It is in this and in similar ways that I have managed to gain the trust of these Indians."

A veteran of the Napoleonic wars at sea, Duhaut-Cilly was an educated man with literary tastes and who could read and converse in at least three languages, Spanish and English as well as French. His badly chosen trading stock, which he had expected to sell in three or four months, forced him to spend a much longer time visiting all the California ports and pueblos, most of the missions more than once, and even the Russian establishment at Bodega and Ross. Thus his trading misfortune is our good fortune in this fine book. Here is a portion of Duhaut-Cilly's journey to Fort Ross in June, 1828 (after a perilous crossing of what is now called Russian River):

At eleven in the morning we arrived at the colony called Ross by the Russians. It is a large square enclosure surrounded by a thick wooden palisade twenty feet high, strongly constructed and topped with iron spikes of proportionate size and weight. At the northeast and southwest angles are two hexagonal towers pierced with ports and loopholes. On the four sides, which correspond to the cardinal points, are four gates, each defended by a carronade of fixed breeching set in a port as on a ship. Within there were also two bronze field pieces with caissons. A handsome house for the commandant or governor [Pavel Shelekhov], pleasant lodgings for the subalterns, large storehouses, and workshops occupy the square. A newly constructed chapel serves as a bastion in the southeast corner. This citadel is built near the edge of the cliff on an esplanade about two hundred feet above the sea. On the left and right are ravines that protect it from attacks by the Indians from the north and south while the cliff itself and the sea shield it from the west. The ravines open onto two small coves which serve as shelter and landing place for the small boats of the colony.

All the buildings at Ross are of wood but well built and well maintained. In the apartment of the governor are found all the conveniences

valued by Europeans but still unknown in California. Outside the compound are lined up or scattered the pretty little houses of sixty Russian colonists, the flat huts of eight Kodiaks, and the conical huts of as many native Indians.

East of the settlement the land rises gradually to great heights covered with thick forests that block the wind from north to the southeast. All these slopes are partitioned off to protect the crops not from thieves but from farm animals and wild beasts.

* * *

There appears to be great order and discipline at Ross, and although the governor is the only officer, one notes everywhere the signs of close supervision. After being busy all day in their various occupations, the colonists, who are both workers and soldiers, mount guard during the night. On holidays they pass in review and drill with cannon and musket.

Although this colony, in existence for fifteen years, appears to lack nothing, it cannot be of great account to the company that found it. As the principal source of revenue they counted on the hunt for sea otters and seals. The first of these is nearly exhausted and no longer provides anything; as for the second, the governor keeps about a hundred Kodiaks on the Farallones throughout the year, as I have said elsewhere, but that hunt, once quite productive, declines with every passing day and in a few more years will amount to nothing....

The colony of Ross inspires in the traveler's mind only somber and melancholy thoughts. The reason, I believe, is that this society is incomplete. The governor is a bachelor and has no woman in his house; all the Russian colonists live in the same state. In this establishment there are only the women of the Kodiaks and those of the Indians. No matter what relations may exist between them and the Russians, the visitor, to whom these women are objects of disgust, cannot help regarding this little community as deprived of that sex whose sole presence makes life bearable. The tasks that usually fall to women are here the portion of men, and this difference shocks the eye, weighs on the

heart, and causes a pain that one feels in spite of oneself and before discovering the true reason for it.

We went with Mr. Shelekhov to view his timber production. In addition to the needs of his own settlement he cuts a great quantity of planks, beams, timbers, and the like, which he sells in California, in the Sandwich Islands, and elsewhere; he even builds entire houses and ships them disassembled. The trees felled are almost all conifers of several kinds and especially the one called *palo colorado* (redwood). The only virtues of this tree are that it is quite straight and splits easily; for the rest, it has little resin and is very brittle. It is the largest tree that I have ever seen. Mr. Shelekhov showed me the trunk of one that had been felled recently; it was 20 feet in diameter measured 2 feet from the ground and from one burl or buttress to the other; the main trunk was more than 13 feet in width. I measured 230 feet from the stump to the crown, lying where it had been parted from the bole. Imagine what a huge quantity of boards can be obtained from a tree this size. The stacks of them from one such covered a considerable stretch of ground. Not all *palos colorados* are this prodigious but one can see many that three men would have difficulty stretching their arms around and that would make, as a single piece, the lower masts of our largest ships of war.

Duhaut-Cilly saw the California missions at almost the last time they could be seen at the height of their development and before the disaster of secularization. At San Gabriel in June 1928 he attended the reading by Dominican and Franciscan friars of the decree expelling Spaniards from the two Californias. To the *comisario prefecto* of the missions, Vicente de Sarría, he offered passage to Manila (declined) and he was also a near-witness of the escape of Padre Ripoll and Padre Altimira from Santa Barbara. A few years later, in 1832, the great missionary Antonio Peyrí left San Luis Rey, which he had built into perhaps the most successful mission of all. Duhaut-Cilly's account of his visit there in the summer of 1827 may be the fullest and most charming description ever written of a mission in its glory days.

The villain of the story was the supercargo, a man called Monsieur R____ by his captain. Jean Baptiste Rives had spent some years in the Sandwich Islands and had come to London with King Liholiho, who died there of the measles. In Paris Rives negotiated with

some merchants to send a trading ship, the *Héros*, to California and the Islands. At the same time, and unknown to the captain and his principals, Rives promoted the dispatch of a competing ship, the *Comète*, which sailed a few months later. This little tale of two ships—they met in Monterey—is a story within a story.

Almost nothing has been known about the captain/author/artist. By good fortune we have obtained from his descendants in France, and from several obscure periodical sources, some pertinent information about the man and his family, about his experiences in war and in peace. The family have also allowed us to reproduce the captain's portrait, made by a celebrated painter of the time, who also portrayed Franz Liszt and Victor Hugo.



Duhaut-Cilly was justifiably proud that he accomplished a voyage of more than three years without losing a man, returning with a ship as bright and clean as when he departed. He was a loyal Frenchman who fought for the Empire against the British, but he was no imperialist or admirer of military life, which he calls confining to the human spirit. His political convictions are complex and not easily stated. As shown in many passages, he was sympathetic to peoples who sought political freedom but was not sure what that freedom should be. And he had few illusions about the violent after-events of successful insurrection. "Those like us," he wrote, "who were born in the midst of revolution, only we know how difficult it is to construct dams strong enough to hold back such torrents." He had harsh words for the "ugly designs" of the Mexican patriots. "It was not difficult to see that, in expelling the rich Spaniards from Mexico or in cutting off their heads, the real purpose was to get hold of their fortunes." This son of the Revolution goes on to make a rather good, anti-revolutionary statement:

Freedom! Freedom! For the past half a century we do nothing but repeat this word, so that one might think the tongues pronouncing it belong to heads that know not its meaning, or rather that it has no meaning. For as soon as one person says he is free, ten others cry out that they are oppressed. One who discerned too much freedom a few years ago, now demands more of it. Each one sees freedom in his own light, and it is quite impossible to create it to please everyone. Freedom to dip both hands into the public coffers?

Freedom to seize the land one wants? Freedom to hold sinecures, to be paid large sums for imaginary services? Freedom to calumniate, to revile, to vilify the most worthy things? Is this to enjoy freedom? Rather it is to abuse it and profane it.

It is thus clear that there can be no agreement on what is political freedom, but that is not what I wish to write about. There is a kind of freedom understood not only by all men but by all living creatures, the one demanded imperiously by our nature, that one that, indeed, society must take from the criminal. But it is also the one that injustice and force tear away from the unhappy slave and that had been lost by the poor Indians that Don Ignacio Martinez entrusted to me to convey to San Diego.

For six weeks they had been on board a French ship and thus on the soil of France, where there is no slavery. Furthermore, they had enjoyed the same liberty as all others on the *Héros* and had never shown any but the best conduct. But they could not ignore that in a few days they would go back to their fetters and their tyrants, and they must have wished to escape such an unhappy future. On the night of the 15th they were clever enough to steal the only boat lying alongside the ship and, after first letting themselves drift noiselessly away, they disappeared without being noticed by the two seamen of the watch. As soon as I was informed of the matter I sent two boats in search of the one they had taken, and it was found abandoned on the rocks of Point San Vicente but without damage.

Since I had consented to take charge of these unfortunates, I would certainly have prevented their escape had I known of their intentions in time to act. But I was happy that they had with so much adroitness reclaimed the liberty that had, perhaps unjustly, been taken from them. I made no effort to recapture them, contenting myself with passing word to the alcalde of the pueblo, while making a wish, not to be fulfilled, that they might escape his pursuit....

Duhaut-Cilly, like La Pérouse before him, calls the Indians slaves of the missions, using the word rather loosely, and wishes success to those who run away. But if the Indians

were slaves, what were the padres? Duhaut-Cilly has only admiration for the latter as men, as Christians, and as caretakers, especially for the good administrators such as Peyrí and Ripoll. If there is a contradiction in Duhaut-Cilly's attitudes, it is the ambiguity of a thoughtful man, who believed in freedom but did not blind himself to its excesses. Those of us who are free of contradictory attitudes may criticize.

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Harlan Kessel, January 27th 1997

California Monthly, January-
February 1977

Samuel Pepys in Berkeley

How a printing plant located within earshot of barking seals became one of the great scholarly publishing houses in the world

By PAUL DESRUSSAUX

IN THE BEGINNING, there was \$1,000. That's how much the Regents appropriated, in 1893, for the publication of scientific monographs written by faculty members, and that's how the University of California Press got its start.

Not only did the Press start small, it stayed that way for many years. Former University President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, a dominating influence on the Press for more than 30 of its first 40 years, kept it humble by prohibiting the publication of books. Vehicles of commerce, he called them, not fit to traffic on the paths of scholarship.

Most other university presses published books right from their beginnings, but UC Press, one of the half-dozen oldest in the country, was based on the print-and-exchange model of 19th century Germany, designed primarily to make dissertations available. During its first four decades, the Press's almost exclusive form of publication was the scholarly monograph.

Some books were issued during the early years, most notable among them a still thriving series begun in 1921 and now world famous: the Sather Classical Lectures. But there was no policy for publishing and selling books until 1933, when President Sproul approved a program of expansion for the Press that de-fossilized it, that turned it into something resembling a publishing house. Still the number of books was small, 15 or 20 annually, and the emphasis remained on the monographs until 1950 — when a process began that would eventually bring UC Press to the forefront of scholarly publishing. Behind it all was a man named August Frugé.

"When he started out as director there wasn't much of a Press here," says sponsoring editor William McClung. "But there was an opportunity to develop a major scholarly publishing house, and that's what August did. It was really an expansion of the University, like the growth of the faculty, graduate programs, new campuses. They all fed into the growth of the Press."

And the Press grew phenomenally: today it not only publishes more new scholarly books than any other university press in this country (and, excepting Oxford and Cambridge, in the entire English-speaking world), it is self-sup-

porting, operates in the black, and is intellectually one of the most highly regarded enterprises of its kind. A success story? You bet.

THE great growth in scale of the press was helped enormously by Frugé's development of a "sponsoring editor" system. Unlike many university presses, where editorial acquisitions are handled mostly by the director, at UC Press each of seven sponsoring editors manages a publishing program as large as many of the smaller university presses (Stanford's, for example). Frugé himself brought in books in several fields, including botany, classics, Latin American studies, and three kinds of history: art, ancient, and natural. Humanities and social sciences have become the Press's strongest suits, with history its trump card.

Frugé was determined to publish excellent books, not adequate ones, and to see that they were disseminated widely and made known to "thoughtful and curious people and not merely fellow workers in a narrow vineyard." To carry out this mission he recruited Harlan Kessel '54, who came to the Press after several years in New York publishing and has been its manager of marketing, sales, and promotion for the past 14 years.

"Our approach has always been to reach out to an audience beyond that for which a book might have been specifically intended," Kessel says. "Without bookstores we couldn't do this, and that's why we worked very hard to get into the stores."

"They were very interested in our problems and worked with us to get their books out and sold," says Fred Cody, who carries all the Press's paperbacks as well as selected other titles in his Telegraph Avenue store. "For a university press to be dealing with bookstores this way was very unusual."

It was not the only unusual aspect of Kessel's marketing program. He came up with a series of ads in *Publishers Weekly*, the bible of the book trade, designed to debunk the belief that university presses mean publish and perish, that scholarly books don't sell.

UC Press has built a reputation for strongly supporting what it publishes. "Authors began to realize that if they

published with us they could count on finding their books in the stores," Kessel says. "It's helped us bring in better manuscripts, get larger advance orders, and sell books."

In a branch of publishing that views a 5,000-copy sale as big, UC Press has published some books that have sold outrageously. The all-time best seller is Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds*, a deluxe, illustrated edition of which was recently brought out, 15 years after the original. More than half a million copies of *Ishi* in all editions have been sold. *Many Mexicos* by Lesley Byrd Simpson has sold 200,000 copies. One of the most influential books in 20th century economics, Wesley Mitchell's *Business Cycles and Their Causes*, originally published in 1913, has been in print since a revised edition came out in 1941. Hans Reichenbach's *The Rise of Scientific Philosophy* has sold 150,000 copies. A current big seller (15,000 copies a year since 1968) is *Theories of Modern Art* by Berkeley art historians Herschel Chipp and Peter Selz.

The most successful and influential author in the Press's history is art critic Rudolf Arnheim: all seven books written by the Harvard professor since he came to this country as a refugee in the 1930s have been published by UC Press. His *Art and Visual Perception* and *Film as Art* have each sold more than 100,000 copies.

Not a single copy of the Press's first book, published in 1903, was ever sold, but only because, under President Wheeler, Press publications usually were only traded or given away. The volume was *The Book of Life of the Ancient Mexicans* by Zeha Nuttal, a facsimile of an anonymous 16th century Hispano-Mexican manuscript about the cults, ceremonies, and festivals of Mexican Indians. Its publication coincided with and celebrated the establishment of the University's department of anthropology. Full of magnificent illustrations of naive art, the book is a unique literary artifact. A new edition is planned for the near future.

TODAY, UC Press authors earn royalties on all sales — a policy adopted by Frugé. But money is never made at the expense of scholarship: before any manuscript can

be published it must be approved by the Editorial Committee, 17 faculty members chosen by the Academic Senate at each of the nine UC campuses.

This committee also controls and allocates a University research subsidy fund used to defray production costs of books by UC faculty authors (about one-third of all books published) which the Press could otherwise not afford to publish. Since 1974, the Press has received no other financial support from the University for its operations. A tax-exempt enterprise, it pays its way with sales revenues. As Frugé puts it: "If we have a bad year, nobody makes up our losses."

Frugé labored long and hard to make the Editorial Committee a working part of the publishing process. Critic Hugh Kenner, author of *The Pound Era* (UC Press) and now a professor at Johns Hopkins, was chairman of the committee while on the UC Santa Barbara faculty. His description:

"It wasn't what it might easily have become, a routine of voting on manuscripts and let's-get-out-of-here; it was the nearest thing at California to what we kept saying was the Idea of a University: the free and ebullient exchange of ideas. I didn't see that happen anywhere else except sometimes by accident for about five minutes, but it happened regularly, off and on all day, in the Press committee rooms. You learned about Turing's game, the Tasmanian kangaroo, musicians' ethnography."

"The ethos of that committee was August's creation: not its mechanics. I don't know the history of those, but its spontaneity, its receptive patience, its massive, nearly majestic dedication to the belief that a bureaucracy-ridden university might lend its name to something done triumphantly right."

It also serves to get faculty members out of the ivory tower. Berkeley botanist Robert Ornduff, the committee's current co-chairman, illustrates the point: "I was just starting out on the committee when a rather unusual manuscript came in. It was a piece of field research by a UCLA anthropologist, and there was much discussion about how this book would be received by anthropologists. Not a word was ever uttered suggesting that anyone outside of anthropology would be interested in reading it."

The book, published by the Press in 1968, was *The Teachings of Don Juan: a Yaqui Way of Knowledge*, and it went on to make a very wealthy celebrity of its author, Carlos Castaneda. (After five hardbound UC Press printings it was brought out by Ballantine Books as a mass market paperback that sold close to a million copies. UC Press published a quality paperback edition in 1972, now in its third printing, that sells close to 20,000 copies a year.)

BY DEFINITION, the Press publishes "general books of serious purpose," and today these come in several forms: new clothbound books, a library reprint series, a nature guide series, and two lines of paperbacks. (UC Press was, with the 1955 publication of Mariano Azuela's *Two Novels of Mexico*, the first university press to print paperback editions.) And, of course, there are still the series monographs, about 25 of which are published yearly. The Press also puts out nine scholarly journals in a variety of specialties including classics, film, literature, and science. A tenth, *19th Century Music*, will be added to the list this summer.

There are currently 90 Press employees, working in Richmond, New York, London, Los Angeles, and Berkeley, where the main administrative offices are located. Since the Press was separated from the University Printing Office in the 1950s (which, says Frugé, was crucial to the development of the Press as a book publisher), printing has been done mostly by outside firms.

The true size of the Press, however, must be measured in books. "An active backlist is what sustains a press," says McClung. The reason that UC Press, while publishing more new titles than any other American university press, is third in volume of sales, behind Harvard and Chicago, is because those presses have been publishing books for many years more than UC and therefore have more titles to sell. UC Press owns copyrights on more than 2,000 works, and the "book value" of its stock is \$1.7 million (although the market value is three or four times that).

"The Press has never been in better financial condition," says Kessel. "Our assets are 12 or 13 times greater than liabilities, and we haven't really lost money in the past 10 years." In addition, the Press's spring list is claimed the best in its history — 65 hardback titles alone — and in the past two months five recently published books have received major awards.

Numbers are one way to describe the achievement: in Frugé's first year as director the Press published 30 books and had sales of \$138,000. Last year, 167 books were brought out and sales were

at a record \$4 million. In the intervening years the Press put its name on nearly 3,000 books.

These figures doubtless portray Frugé as a scholarly tycoon who knows how to make bucks as well as books, which is, of course, true. But he is more. "He is a broadly cultured person, a great reader of books, a strong but fair executive, and a man of convictions," says Berkeley professor Thomas Rosenmeyer, an advisory editor to the Press in the classics. "The combination of these qualities in a publisher is unbeatable."

"He's very strong-willed," adds McClung, "and he can be stubborn, ruthless, and selfish at times. But he is also very skillful, with a great ability to work with dozens of committees and budgets and to succeed in financing and accomplishing projects of interest and benefit to both the Press and the University."

NOT a man given to reminiscence, Frugé answers questions about his reign at the Press but on the whole gives the impression that not only would he rather be reading, he'd rather be reading Greek (which he made a point of learning years after he'd finished his formal education — at Stanford, B.A. '33, and Berkeley, M.A. '37).

"I came to publishing after several years as an acquisitions librarian at Berkeley and at the State Library in Sacramento," he says. "I did it because I wanted to have some say over what became books and how. And library work was kind of dull. Publishing never gets routine. It's a kind of high-class gambling: every book is a speculation and you put it out in the market not really knowing if it will succeed or fail. I guess I just happened to like it."

"We've published some weak books," he admits, "but no bad or harmful ones." Among recent projects he's proud to have been associated with are *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669*, published in nine volumes with two companion volumes yet to come, and *The Works of Mark Twain* (with the University of Iowa) and *The Mark Twain Papers*, each of which will be about 20 volumes when completed and will form the definitive collections of Twain's published and unpublished writings. He's also quite excited about the upcoming *Plan of St. Gall* (a visual and intellectual reconstruction of an ideal Carolingian monastery) by San Francisco architect Ernest Born and Berkeley professor Walter Horn, a monumental work many years in the making.

"I belong with those more old-fashioned who think of the university as a seeker and preserver of truth, and the books published by a university press

(Continued on page 14)



August Frugé: "I hope we've helped decentralize the intellectual life of the country."

ought to be chosen with this idea of the university in mind, to illuminate human life and thought," he says. "Spreading knowledge around is a university value, and that's what publishing is all about."

His biggest frustration: "To live within a bureaucracy but not operate bureaucratically, and yet act like a business and make business decisions." His mission: "To make UC Press the best university press in the country. We are now one of the top three, and the others are at private institutions. I'd like to see this become the best. I want it to go on and get better, see it survive and improve. You don't spend all those years working for something without wanting it to continue and prosper."

"We've put out a lot of good books, and we've done it on the West Coast. All the other big presses are in the East. I feel we've contributed to the enrichment of not only the University, but this entire part of the country. I think it's important that we, here, are publishing the new edition of the Pepys diary, be-

cause it's a great literary work, yes, but also because if it's done here instead of New York it adds to the intellectual life of this region. Every book can do this a little bit, and I hope we've helped decentralize the intellectual life of the country."

AUGUST FRUGÉ: titan publisher of mystical inclinations who retreats to the mountains or the desert to find solace, who reads Greek as a hobby, who once told his editorial committee that the only philosophical principle in which he believes is that "Everything deteriorates."

"Deep down," says Hugh Kenner, "he draws strength from what seems an entropic vision: the good world crumbling, hence the need for patient effort, patching. It's the Stoical vision, something classical reading can sustain. It's an unlikely cast of mind for someone in an inherently entrepreneuring role. It helped August, in the duration of one

Directorship, turn a printing plant located within earshot of barking seals into one of the great scholarly publishing houses of the world."

That directorship has now come to an end. Last month, after 31 years with the University of California Press, 26 as its director, August Frugé retired. As his former colleagues attest, he will be missed.

"He's been one of the most wise and perceptive scholarly publishers of our day," says longtime Yale University Press director Chester Kerr. "No one else in this profession could have managed so skillfully and directed so effectively the complicated affairs of UC Press, which is, after all, the publishing arm of the greatest of our state universities."

"In my book he is one of the five greatest scholarly publishers," adds Frank Wardlaw, former president of the American Association of University Presses (AAUP). "No one in our time has thought more deeply about the role of the university press, has held to its ideals with more steadfast integrity, or has implemented these ideals with greater imagination and vision."

Frugé's thoughts on the role of the university press have been not only deep but eloquent. His most recent public words on the subject, delivered at the AAUP's annual meeting last summer, come as close as any to answering the questions he's never stopped asking:

"The university press is in an ambiguous position. It exists to publish learned works; when it uses commercial methods and when it seeks books that will sell, it is walking close to the moral edge. But it has to walk close. There is no other way. If it finds too few of the books that will sell, it can go broke. If it finds too many, it can lose its soul. And so it must live constantly with the danger that the means may corrupt the end.

"It may be that I am merely putting fancy dress on the banal observation that life is difficult and we sail our publishing boat on a sea that is filled with sharks on one side and rocks on the other. Or we can change the metaphor slightly and remember what Ortega once said: that human life is forever shipwreck — not drowning, but shipwreck — and that the movement of the arms to escape from drowning is culture. And that the awareness of shipwreck as the meaning of life constitutes salvation. This is hardly an exact parallel with the university press struggling to keep its head above water while it tries to save both skin and soul, but it is the best I have at the moment."

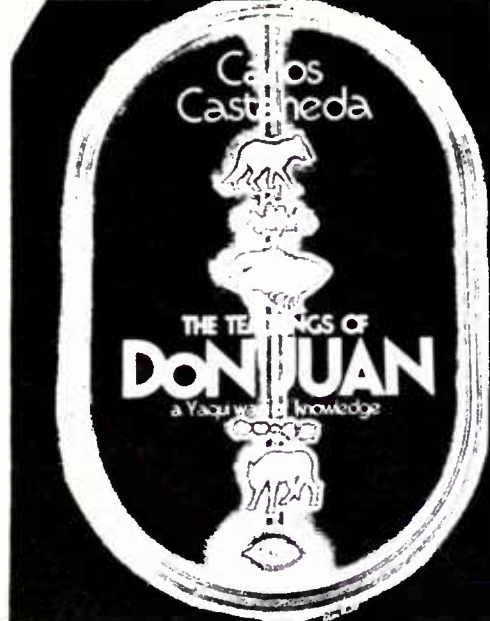


NEW DIRECTOR: James H. Clark, a 1958 graduate of the Berkeley campus, on February 1 succeeded August Frugé as director of UC Press. Only the sixth person to hold that title in the 84-year history of the Press, Clark formerly was vice president and publisher with Harper & Row in New York City.



Working the Press: Harlan Kessel (left), marketing and sales director at UC Press, with some of his favorite books; advertising manager Frank Barnett and publicity manager Becky Bradley (above) promote the goods; and sponsoring editor William McClung and managing editor Susan Peters (below) look over the Press's first book.





MARK TWAIN'S
 NOTEBOOKS
 & JOURNALS
 VOLUME I
 (1855-1873)

*Edited by Frederick Anderson
 Michael B. Frank
 and Kenneth M. Sanderson*

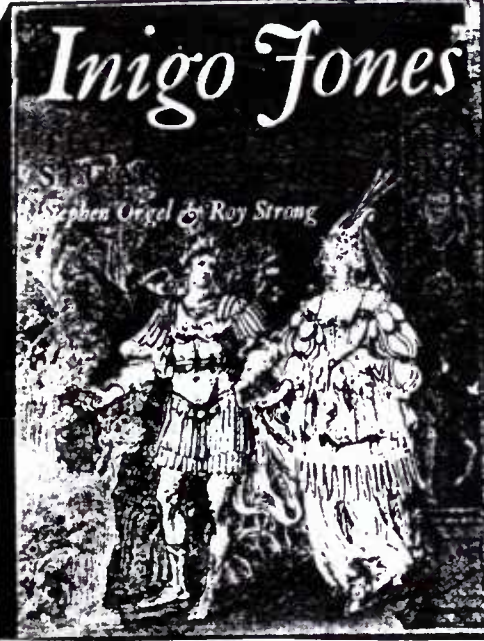
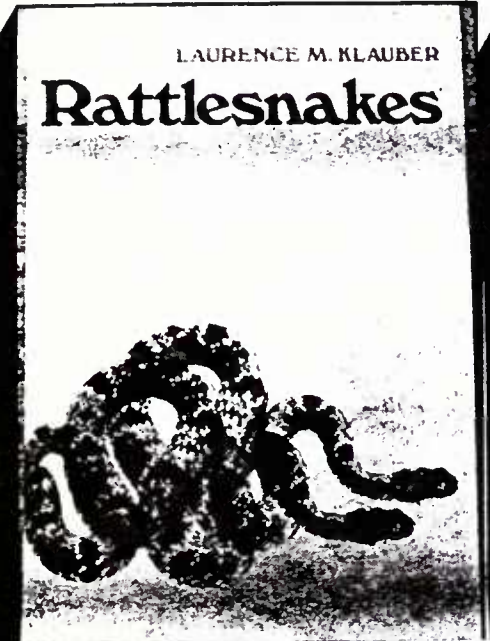
Mark Twain

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

THE RISE
 OF Scientific
 Philosophy

BY
 Hans Reichenbach

A PSYCHOLOGICAL CRITICISM OF THE OLDER HISTORY
 OF PHILOSOPHY AND A NONTELEOLOGICAL PRESENTATION
 OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHY BASED ON MODERN SCIENCE



DELUXE, ILLUSTRATED EDITION
 A HISTORY OF THE EAST WOOD
 INDIAN IN NORTH AMERICA

ISHI
 IN TWO WORLDS

THEODORA KROEBER

A HISTORY OF
 THE GREEK
 CITY STATES
 700-338 B.C.

RAPHAEL SEALEY

The
 Pound
 Era

By HUGH KENNER

February 2001

INTERVIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost to manuscript libraries.

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Includes interviews with George P. Adams, Anson Stiles Blake, Walter C. Blasdale, Joel H. Hildebrand, Samuel J. Holmes, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ivan M. Linforth, George D. Louderback, Agnes Fay Morgan, and William Popper. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Thomas D. Church, Landscape Architect. Two volumes, 1978, 803 pp.
 Volume I: Includes interviews with Theodore Bernardi, Lucy Butler, June Meehan Campbell, Louis De Monte, Walter Doty, Donn Emmons, Floyd Gerow, Harriet Henderson, Joseph Howland, Ruth Jaffe, Burton Litton, Germano Milano, Miriam Pierce, George Rockrise, Robert Royston, Geraldine Knight Scott, Roger Sturtevant, Francis Violich, and Harold Watkin.
 Volume II: Includes interviews with Maggie Baylis, Elizabeth Roberts Church, Robert Glasner, Grace Hall, Lawrence Halprin, Proctor Mellquist, Everitt Miller, Harry Sanders, Lou Schenone, Jack Stafford, Goodwin Steinberg, and Jack Wagstaff.

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Julia Morgan Architectural History Project. Two volumes, 1976, 621 pp.
 Volume I: *The Work of Walter Steilberg and Julia Morgan, and the Department of Architecture, UCB, 1904-1954.*
 Includes interviews with Walter T. Steilberg, Robert Ratcliff, Evelyn Paine Ratcliff, Norman L. Jensen, John E. Wagstaff, George C. Hodges, Edward B. Hussey, and Warren Charles Perry.
 Volume II: *Julia Morgan, Her Office, and a House.*
 Includes interviews with Mary Grace Barron, Kirk O. Rowlands, Norma Willer, Quintilla Williams, Catherine Freeman Nimitz, Polly Lawrence McNaught, Hettie Belle Marcus, Bjarne Dahl, Bjarne Dahl, Jr., Morgan North, Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, and Flora d'Ille North.

The Prytaneans: An Oral History of the Prytanean Society and its Members. (Order from Prytanean Society.)
 Volume I: 1901-1920, 1970, 307 pp.
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 Volume III: 1931-1935, 1990, 343 pp.

Six Weeks in Spring, 1985: Managing Student Protest at UC Berkeley. 887 pp. Transcripts of sixteen interviews conducted during July-August 1985 documenting events on the UC Berkeley campus in April-May 1985 and administration response to student activities protesting university policy on investments in South Africa. Interviews with: Ira Michael Heyman, chancellor; Watson Laetsch, vice chancellor; Roderic Park, vice chancellor; Ronald Wright, vice chancellor; Richard Hafner, public affairs officer; John Cummins and Michael R. Smith, chancellor's staff; Patrick Hayashi and B. Thomas Travers, undergraduate affairs; Mary Jacobs, Hal Reynolds, and Michelle Woods, student affairs; Derry Bowles, William Foley, Joseph Johnson, and Ellen Stetson, campus police. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Robert Gordon Sproul Oral History Project. Two volumes, 1986, 904 pp.
Includes interviews with thirty-five persons who knew him well:
Horace M. Albright, Stuart LeRoy Anderson, Katherine Connick
Bradley, Franklin M. "Dyke" Brown, Ernest H. Burness, Natalie
Cohen, Paul A. Dodd, May Dornin, Richard E. Erickson, Walter S.
Frederick, David P. Gardner, Marion Sproul Goodin, Vernon L.
Goodin, Louis H. Heilbron, Robert S. Johnson, Clark Kerr, Adrian A.
Kragen, Mary Blumer Lawrence, Stanley E. McCaffrey, Dean McHenry,
Donald H. McLaughlin, Kendric Morrish, Marion Morrish, William Penn
Mott, Jr., Herman Phleger, John B. deC. M. Saunders, Carl W.
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Jackson, Ida. *Overcoming Barriers in Education.* 1990, 80 pp.

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- Bennett, Mary Woods (class of 1931). *A Career in Higher Education: Mills College 1935-1974*. 1987, 278 pp.
- Bridges, Robert L. (class of 1930). *Sixty Years of Legal Advice to International Construction Firms; Thelen, Marrin, Johnson and Bridges, 1933-1997*, 1998, 134 pp.
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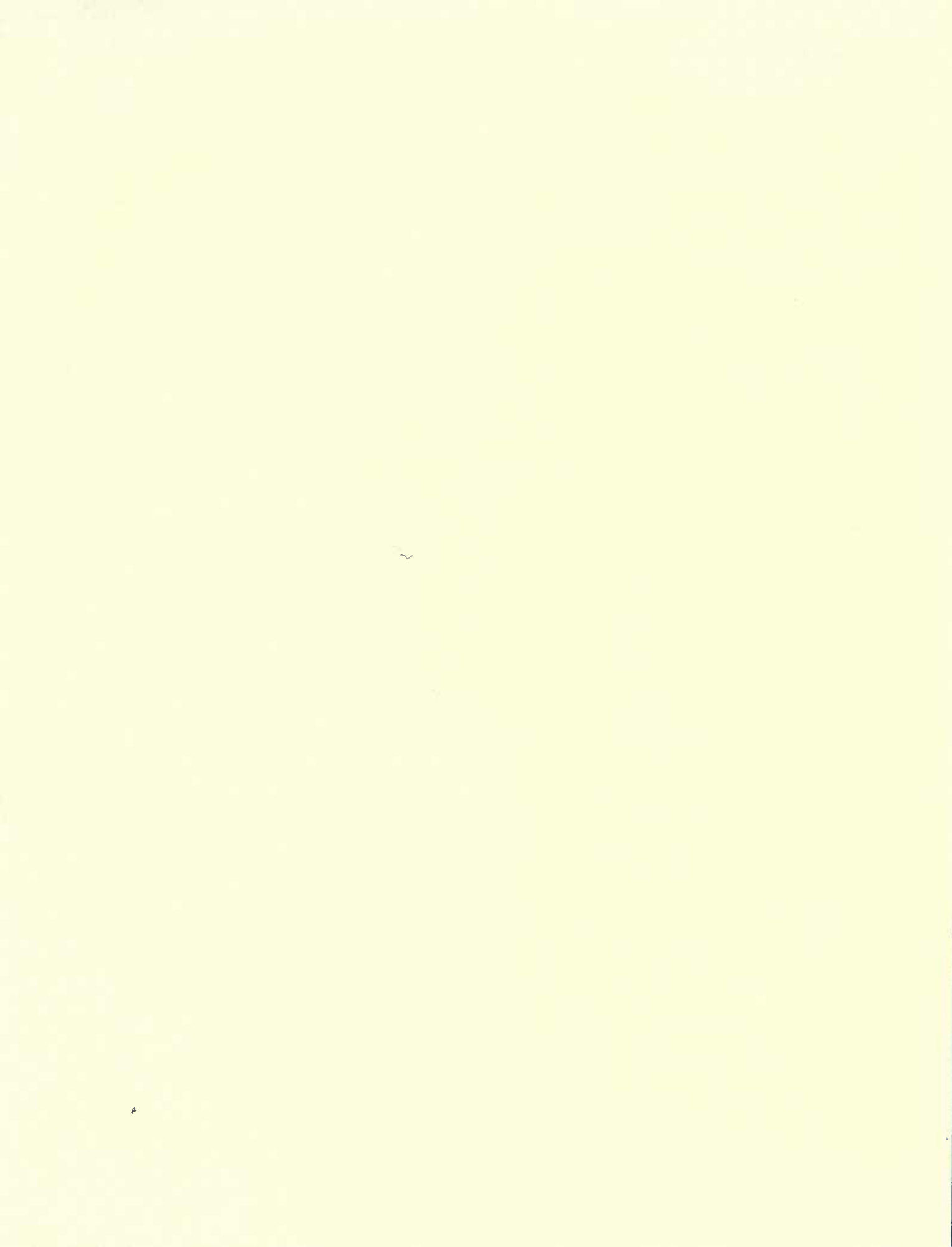
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