

The Bancroft Library

University of California • Berkeley

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

SAVING POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE, 1969-1970:
AN ORAL HISTORY OF CITIZEN ACTION IN CONSERVATION

Interviews with

Margaret Azevedo
Peter Behr
John D. Ehrlichman
Katy Miller Johnson
William L. Kahrl
Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.
Boyd Stewart

with an
Introduction by William J. Duddleson

Interviews conducted by
Ann Lage
and
William J. Duddleson
1990, 1991

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 modern research technique involving an interviewee and an informed interviewer in spontaneous conversation. The taped record is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The resulting manuscript is typed in final form, indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and 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.

This manuscript is made available for research purposes. All literary rights in the manuscript, including the right to publish, are reserved to The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. No part of the manuscript may be quoted for publication without the written permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to the Regional Oral History Office, 486 Library, University of California, Berkeley 94720, and should include identification of the specific passages to be quoted, anticipated use of the passages, and identification of the user.

It is recommended that this oral history be cited as follows:

To cite the volume: Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation, an oral history conducted in 1990-1991, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1993.

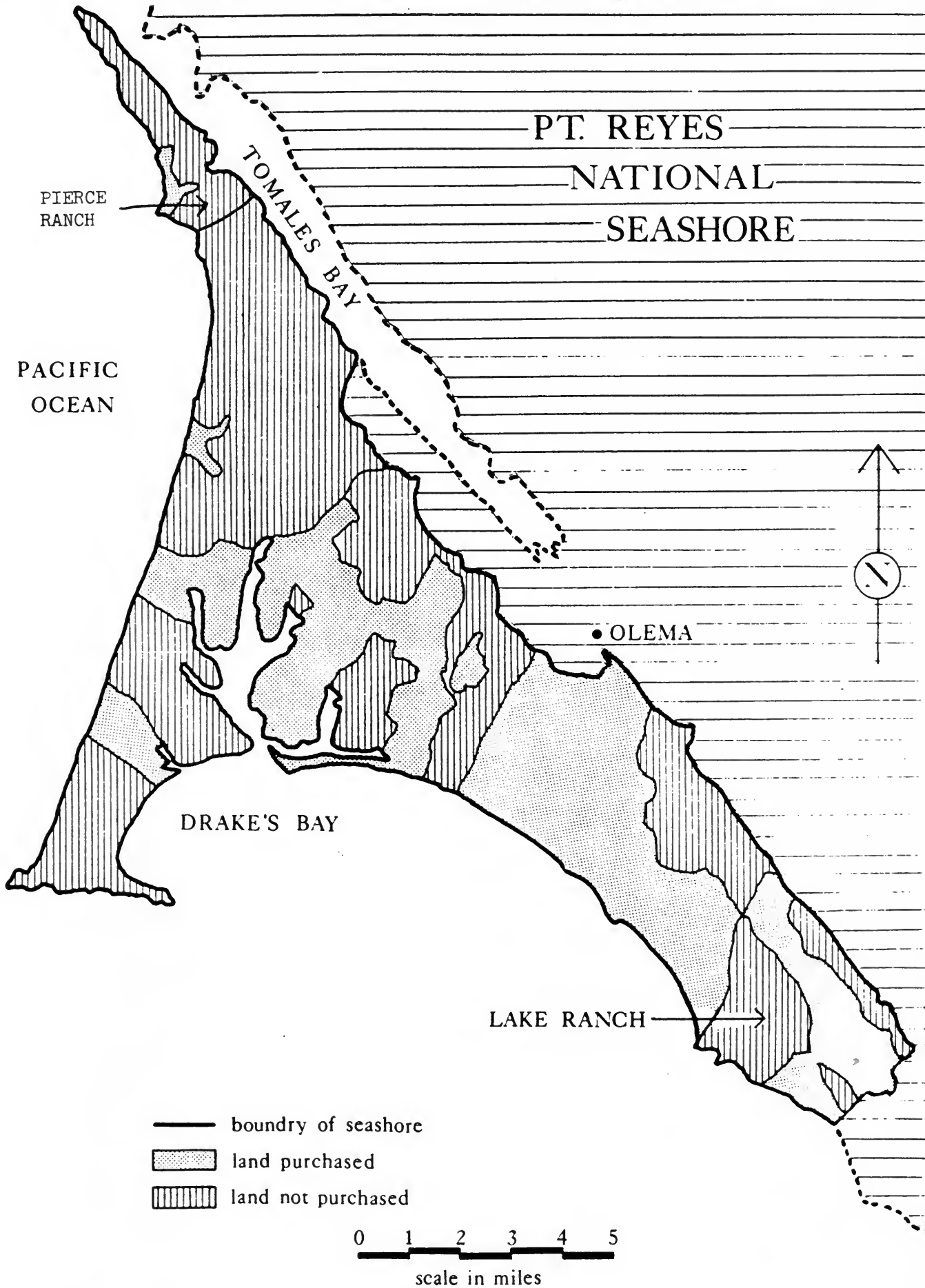
To cite an individual interview: [ex.] Katy Miller Johnson, "Catalyst and Citizen-Lobbyist in Washington," an oral history conducted in 1990 by Ann Lage, in Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1993.

Copy no. _____



Arch Rock, Point Reyes National Seashore.

*Photograph courtesy of
Point Reyes National Seashore*



Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969

Cataloging information

SAVING POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE, 1969-1970: AN ORAL HISTORY OF CITIZEN ACTION IN CONSERVATION. 1993, xxiii, 390 pp.

Five citizen activists, a congressional supporter, and a presidential assistant in the Nixon administration discuss the 1969-1970 campaign for federal appropriations to complete the Point Reyes National Seashore in Marin County, California, including the founding and operation of Save Our Seashore, a citizen group; managing petition and letter-writing campaign to Congress and President Nixon; lobbying congressional leaders, including Wayne Aspinall, Alan Bible, Bizz Johnson, John Saylor; position of Point Reyes ranchers; influences on Nixon administration figures; decision-making process in the White House and Congress; effect of Point Reyes campaign on Land and Water Conservation Fund support for other national parklands.

Interviews with Katy Miller Johnson, Peter Behr, Margaret Azevedo, William Kahrl, Boyd Stewart, Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, John D. Ehrlichman.

Introduction by William J. Duddleson, participant in Point Reyes campaign.

Interviewed 1990-1991 by Ann Lage and William J. Duddleson.

Underwritten by Marin Community Foundation, Marin County, Marin Garden Club, and various individual donors.

The Regional Oral History Office would like to thank the following organizations and individuals. Their support has made possible this oral history of saving the Point Reyes National Seashore.

Organizations

Marin Community Foundation
Marin County
Marin Garden Club
Point Reyes National Seashore Association

Individuals

Mrs. Frederick S. Allen
Sally and Peter Behr
Jane P. Chamberlain
Mrs. Joseph Cooper, Jr.
Mrs. Ernest W. Denicke
Jim and Mollie Eschen
Joan M. Evans
Inger J. Fair
Dr. and Mrs. William J. Ferguson, Jr.
Jerry Friedman
Elizabeth F. Hammond
Miranda Heller and F. Jerome Tone IV
Ruth and Alfred Heller
Lillian G. Holter
Mr. and Mrs. Roger Hooper
Natalie G. Lewis
Norman B. Livermore
Janet S. McLenegan
Margaret G. Molarsky
Mrs. Joseph Russell Parker
Mrs. Kent O. Seymour
Virginia M. Smith
Martha M. Steen
Anne B. Worth

In Memory of Katy Miller Johnson

Clare Southerland Bailey
Richard S. Hahn, M.D. & Family
Eunice C. Johnson
Katharine Miller Lasell and Michael Lasell
Abigail Miller
Amey Miller
Marion D. Miller
Judith Elias Roberts
Polly O. Wallace
Rebecca Wood Watkin
Clare Miller Watsky

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

PREFACE		i
INTRODUCTION--by William Duddleson		iv
Katy Miller Johnson	Catalyst and Citizen-Lobbyist in Washington	1
Peter Behr	Marin County Environmentalist and Political Leader: Spearheading the Save Our Seashore Campaign	108
Margaret Azevedo	Civic Leader and Save Our Seashore Board Member	163
William L. Kahrl	CORO Intern for the Save Our Seashore Campaign	201
Boyd Stewart	Point Reyes Rancher and Seashore Supporter	228
Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.	An Environmentalist in Congress: Urging Presidential Action on Point Reyes	285
John D. Erlichman	Presidential Assistant with a Bias for Parks	343
INDEX		386

PREFACE

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation focuses on a crucial period in the history of the preservation of the Point Reyes National Seashore. The seven oral history interviews in this series document the extraordinarily successful Save Our Seashore campaign of 1969-1970, without which Point Reyes as we know it today would not exist. They constitute a case study in citizen action for the protection of the environment.

The Seashore was authorized by Congress in 1962 largely through the efforts of Marin County and other Bay Area conservationists, led in Washington by Congressman Clem Miller and Senator Clair Engle. In the face of rising land values, however, the \$14 million appropriated for land acquisition (raised to \$19 million in 1967) proved insufficient to purchase seashore lands. By 1969, key ranches within the designated boundaries of the seashore were to be sold for development, one of them alone planned for 4,500 homes. The National Park Service itself was advocating private development of shopping centers and housing within park boundaries. Although Congress appeared willing to consider increased appropriations for the seashore, the Nixon administration refused to release funds set aside in the Land and Water Conservation Fund for parklands purchase. The Point Reyes National Seashore envisioned in 1962 appeared to be doomed to diminishment or destruction.

To the rescue came an intrepid band of citizen-activists. Oral histories with five of these grass-roots campaigners tell the tale of the Save Our Seashore effort from the perspective of Marin County and Washington, D.C. The first oral history in the series is with Katy Miller Johnson, widow of Congressman Miller, who alerted Marin conservationists to the threat to Point Reyes and became a skilled citizen lobbyist in Washington in its behalf. Next comes the story of Peter Behr, former Marin County supervisor and later state senator, who headed up the Save Our Seashore [S.O.S.] organization and defined its goal of one million signatures on petitions to President Nixon in support of Point Reyes funding. Margaret Azevedo, Marin civic leader and member of the S.O.S. board, and William Kahrl, a youthful political intern who worked on the S.O.S. campaign, recall how the citizen campaign was organized and conducted. Boyd Stewart, a Point Reyes rancher who supported the national seashore, adds another perspective to the citizen efforts.

In addition, interviews with then-Congressman Paul N. McCloskey and then-Presidential Assistant John Ehrlichman shed light on how the citizen pressure may have been translated into a presidential decision to fund the Seashore. Eventually, the campaign not only resulted in increased appropriations for Point Reyes, but also precipitated the increase and use

of the resources of the Land and Water Conservation Fund for many other uncompleted and proposed national parks.

Oral histories such as these, which present pictures of the past from a variety of viewpoints, inevitably inspire reflections on the nature of reality and memory. The careful reader will see that participants sometimes recall incidents and assign motivation quite differently, according to their own perspectives or a sometimes faulty memory. Some interviewees had vivid memories of events; some reviewed notes before the interviews to prompt their recall; some had fairly vague recollections of specifics, but valuable information on general principles and motivations. The final answers to all our questions on the 1969-1970 efforts undoubtedly are not here; in fact, these accounts have served to raise new questions for the serious researcher, not only about Point Reyes but about the genesis of the Nixon administration's parks and conservation program. Nevertheless, the project has preserved a great deal of historical information that previously existed only in the memories of these key participants. The oral histories, in conjunction with the written documentation and the informed historical imagination, will help bring us as close to the truth of the past as the historian can aspire to come.

At the same time, we hope this oral history project will benefit and intrigue a wider readership: those visitors to Point Reyes who may now better recognize and appreciate the contribution to the Seashore's integrity made by involved citizens more than twenty years ago; and those potential citizen-activists of tomorrow who may be inspired and instructed by the story of an earlier campaign, well conceived and well executed.

The oral history project was initiated by members of the Marin Garden Club, whose interest was kindled by a talk on Save Our Seashore by Peter Behr. Believing that the story of this extraordinary grass-roots effort should be preserved, Garden Club leader Roberta Ferguson contacted the Regional Oral History Office. Mrs. Ferguson and fellow Garden Clubber and Marin County civic activist Natalie Lewis helped formulate the project proposal, took the lead on raising necessary funds, and supplied endless encouragement to this office. Support for the project came from the Marin Community Foundation, the Board of Supervisors of Marin County (with special thanks to Supervisor Gary Giacomini), the Point Reyes National Seashore Association, individual donors from the Marin Garden Club, and friends of Katy Miller Johnson.

The introduction to the volume is by William J. Duddleson, who as legislative assistant to Congressman Clem Miller was involved in the initial authorization of the Point Reyes Seashore. He was also at Katy Johnson's side at the May 1969 congressional hearing when she learned of the threat to Point Reyes, and he worked with her throughout the 1969-1970 campaign. Because Bill Duddleson took part in the Save Our Seashore campaign's eastern front in Washington D.C., rather than in the San Francisco Bay Area where

most of the citizen action took place, the context that the introduction provides for these events of 1969-1970 is largely from the perspective of the national capital.

At the present time, Mr. Duddleson lives in Bethesda, Maryland, and is writing a history of the Point Reyes National Seashore. We are grateful to him for his valuable research and editorial assistance. He provided copies of the documents from the White House archives which shaped the McCloskey and Ehrlichman interviews--some of which are included in interview appendices. In addition, he conducted the interview with John Ehrlichman and helped with the editing of the Katy Johnson interview after her death. His volunteer assistance has added to the scope, depth, and accuracy of this project at every stage.

The completed volume of interviews in the series is in The Bancroft Library, at UCLA, in many Marin County repositories, the Library of Congress, and other libraries nationwide with an interest in environmental history. The original tape recordings of the interview sessions are in The Bancroft Library. We are gratified to have had a role in documenting this inspiring story of how environmentally aware citizens of Marin County and the Bay Area, led by a band of committed and knowledgeable individuals, made possible the completion of Point Reyes National Seashore as we know it today.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
December 1992

INTRODUCTION

During a visit to Point Reyes the other day I walked along Coast Trail atop the white cliffs that bound the grand sweeping crescent of Drakes Bay. My companions included a procession of brown pelicans flying alongside in single file--now at nearly my altitude, now skimming the shining sea--as they, too, moved down the coast.

It was May and each petal in the constellation of wildflowers around me was waving and nodding with the winds of spring. Overhead, a hawk (a red-tail?) cried keeerrr as it spiraled on the updrafts from the warming cliffs. Three black-tailed deer, frozen in tableau, watched me. Glancing above them to Inverness Ridge, the peninsula's backdrop as one looks east toward "the mainland," I smiled with the thought that up there somewhere is the spirit of wilderness itself, the mountain lion I'd seen on an earlier visit, stalking deer along the edge of a Mount Vision meadow.¹

At a low point in the cliffs I continued my walk on the beach. Right on cue, it seemed to me, a dark arc broke the bay's surface and then a spout of vapor--and alongside another, smaller, spout. Whales, California grays, mother and calf I assumed, in mid-passage from a birthing bay in Baja to Alaska and perhaps beyond. When I could no longer see the spouts and turned to resume my own passage, the round head and curved whiskers of a seal rose silently from the water, just inside the surf. After its limpid eyes looked at me a long moment, it just as silently submerged.

I remember shaking my head in wonder, yet again, at the marvels of this meeting place of ocean and granite, moors and esteros, pine and chaparral, of fir-serrated ridgeline and constantly changing sky.

What You Don't See

As I walked on I sought to imagine the peninsula other than as we visitors find it today--now that most of it, 100 square miles of it, is the unit of the National Park System called Point Reyes National Seashore, and most of the Seashore is protected further as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. As I looked around me I sought to see, in my mind's eye, another Point Reyes, the one it nearly became:

¹Jules Evens describes the mountain lion as "the spirit of wilderness" in his superb book, The Natural History of Point Reyes Peninsula, published in 1988 by the Point Reyes National Seashore Association. A second edition is scheduled for 1993.

covered with much the same urban paraphernalia as the suburban and metropolitan concentrations just over the ridge and beyond the hills of West Marin and just down the coast.

In one sense the most beautiful vistas on this peninsula today are, as one friend of Point Reyes has observed, "what you don't see."²

Imagine:

- * Subdivision houses and condos, on the "best view parcels" overlooking Drakes Bay, together with motels, gas stations, shopping centers.
- * "Scenic roads" along much of the peninsula's ocean shoreline, with parking "viewpoints" at Double Point, Tomales Point, and along the Drakes Bay cliffs.
- * Limantour Estero dredged and dammed into a fresh-water impoundment for motor boats.
- * A cable railway to the top of Inverness Ridge.
- * On Limantour Spit, the barrier of dune and beach that protects its estuary from the sea, a marina, store and parking lot, and a wall of houses facing Drakes Bay.

Each of these things you don't see at Point Reyes today was planned, and some began to be carried out, by either subdividers or by officials of the National Park Service.

Today, it seems so right, so almost inevitable, that Point Reyes should be as it is, with its distinctive landforms, its peninsular unity revealed to our eyes, still essentially whole and intact--and with its wondrous diversity of plant and animal communities still essentially natural.

Today's Point Reyes didn't, of course, just happen. Its achievement is a story of at least sixty years of tenacity by some determined men and women, some of them in government, most of them private citizens.

This series of interviews by The Bancroft Library's Regional Oral History Office is concerned with one of the determining chapters in that story: the "Save Our Seashore" campaign of 1969-1970. The seven people

²I'm indebted for this thought to Jerry Friedman, a member of the citizens advisory commission for PRNS and chairman of the Marin County Planning Commission, who expressed it during remarks at a celebration of the Seashore's thirtieth birthday in September 1992.

interviewed testify to a citizen-action enterprise that succeeded far beyond the dreams of those who set it in motion and led it.

This citizen venture was accomplished during the fifth and sixth of the nine years of the U.S. war in Vietnam, which cost 58,000 American lives and I don't know how many billions of American dollars. Whatever the amount, federal funds available for other purposes were curtailed. The tragic ordeal of the war and the accompanying domestic turmoil did not make it easier to get agreement of national leaders to reorder budget priorities to save one park.

A Troubled Patchwork

In the spring of '69, nearly seven years after it had been authorized by an act of Congress signed into law by President John Kennedy, Point Reyes National Seashore was exactly what a New York Times reporter said it was: "A patchwork park in trouble." Severe trouble:

- * Less than half the land within the park's boundaries--ten scattered parcels--had been acquired by the government, and only a third of its eighty-four miles of shoreline.
- * The money had run out. Rapidly escalating land costs, spurred by creation of the park, had absorbed not only the initial \$14 million appropriation, but an additional \$5 million provided in 1967.
- * Within the park's boundaries, on Inverness Ridge, primeval Douglas firs were being cut by logging crews while a sawmill whined--activities county and state officials said they were powerless to halt. Subdividers had no difficulties getting building permits from the Marin County government. In addition to eighteen houses already built on or adjacent to Limantour Spit, the adjacent upland had been surveyed into 3,500 lots. To the south, on the 2,400-acre Lake Ranch, "jewel of the peninsula," bulldozers were scraping streets. One real estate firm advertised ocean-view lots "from \$5,500," and added the assurance, "The National Seashore is Washing Away in Washington."

That line in a "Drakes Bay Estates" newspaper ad wasn't an entirely inaccurate summary of what was happening in Washington early in '69.

It had been two years since the Park Service had been able to buy any land at Point Reyes. President Richard Nixon, who took office in January of '69, sent his first budget message to Congress soon thereafter. It included a cut of nearly 40 percent in the Land and Water Conservation Fund, sole source of land-acquisition money for national parks.

Rather than the \$200-million annual Fund level authorized a year earlier to get on top of the parkland cost-escalation problem, Nixon supported \$124 million. At that level the Park Service share, for all its parks, would be \$17 million, of which nothing was earmarked for Point Reyes. Previously, the Park Service had estimated the cost of completing Point Reyes alone at \$38 million.

Nevertheless, for a few weeks in the spring of '69 it appeared the inaction in Washington might be about to end. Reacting to the construction and destruction going on at Point Reyes, twenty-eight California members of the House, of both parties, sponsored a bill to authorize the \$38 million. On the other side of the Capitol, Senator Alan Cranston, a Democrat, introduced the same bill--for himself and for its co-sponsor, George Murphy, California's senior senator, a Republican. Despite the Nixon administration's initial cut in the Conservation Fund program, some hoped that could be changed. After all, six months earlier candidate Nixon had said "investments for conservation" should "escape the budget knife" because this is "the last place for Americans to be miserly."

In April, in response to the California congressmen who wanted action on Point Reyes, the chairman of the House Interior Committee, Wayne Aspinall, a Democrat from Colorado, announced his national parks subcommittee would hold a hearing on May 13th. As is customary, he asked the administration for its recommendation. Prospects for favorable action appeared good.

The Budget Bureau's Surprise

However, as subcommittee chairman Roy Taylor, a North Carolina Democrat, called the hearing to order on May 13th, Wayne Aspinall erupted in indignation. Aspinall on occasion displayed chairmanship style that could be described as that of an angry wasp. That day he had cause to be angry.

He had, Aspinall said, just been handed the Nixon administration's "departmental report" on the Point Reyes legislation. It meant, he said, that while the day's hearing might produce some facts and thus "is not exactly a waste of time, it comes about as near to it as can be." The report, in the form of a letter to Aspinall signed by Russell Train, undersecretary of the Interior Department (of which the National Park Service is a part), recommended enactment, provided the dollar amount was limited to \$28 million, \$10 million less than the pending bill called for and the Park Service had said was needed.

What angered Aspinall wasn't the \$10-million shortfall, but rather the omission of a Bureau of the Budget clearance statement, which--until then (and since)--had been included in all such reports to Congress on

pending legislation. This standard paragraph says, in effect, that the report has been cleared with the Budget Bureau (a part of the Executive Office of the President) and is consistent with the president's program. Instead, in this instance the report said the Budget Bureau "will express its concern with the implication of the Point Reyes legislation in a separate letter." That, the chairman said, "says nothing at all." He asked for an unambiguous statement of one coordinated administration position, and said that while the day's hearing could go ahead, the legislation itself would not until he received such a statement.

After hearing testimony in support of \$38 million from five California congressmen--including Don Clausen, a Crescent City Republican whose district included Point Reyes, and Jeffery Cohelan, a Berkeley Democrat who had enlisted most of the twenty-eight House co-sponsors, the director of the National Park Service, George Hartzog, testified. He gave those in the hearing room who wanted to see the promise of Point Reyes realized their second bad news of the day.

The Sell-Off Plan

Hartzog expounded on a Park Service/Interior Department plan to sell 9,208 acres (more than fourteen square miles) inside the Seashore's boundaries to developers for private residential subdivisions and related commercial uses. He estimated the government would "recoup" about \$10 million by buying land on the slopes of Inverness Ridge from its rancher owners, and then selling it to others for development. Coincidentally, Hartzog explained, the latest Park Service estimate of the cost to complete land acquisition at Point Reyes was now only \$28 million.

Hartzog said the selloff-for-subdivision plan (not his term) had been developed by the Park Service based on experience of some public utilities that had recovered part of reservoir project costs by selling reservoir shoreline land for subdivision. "We can do well at Point Reyes because we have a more active market . . . and a more attractive environment," he said, adding: "At some point we have got to try it, and I believe this is the place."

Among the spectators at the hearing was Katy Miller Johnson, a former resident of Marin County who then lived in Washington. She was forty-two years old and the widow of Clem Miller, a California member of the House from '59 to '62 and prime-mover in Congress of the legislation that authorized this national seashore in '62.

During the hearing's lunch break following Hartzog's startling testimony, Katy and I returned early to the empty hearing room. Noticing, in a corner of the room, what appeared to be several Park Service exhibits not used during Hartzog's presentation, we looked at

them and saw a perspective drawing of one of the planned subdivisions inside the park.

Hartzog's presentation on the plan had, naturally enough, been cast exclusively in positive terms. Development would be "low density." Restrictions would "assure compatibility with the Seashore's objectives." And so on. The plan's full implications were not immediately apparent to all at the hearing because it was presented as part of a "private development zone," consisting mostly of ranchlands where ranching use would continue--a non-controversial provision of the '62 act.

The drawing, by contrast, communicated with unambiguous clarity. It showed streets, houses, stores, a gas station, with country club and golf course to boot. And, lest there be any doubt this was to be up-scale, a polo field.

Twenty-one years later, during her oral history interview, Katy remembered that day's revelations, including the impact of the unexhibited exhibit. She was, she recalled, "just staggered." She was also outraged--most noticeably when she first saw what the sell-off plan, being promoted as compatible with the Seashore, would actually look like. Her first moments of outrage ("cold fury" were the words she used at the time) were, I suggest, the genesis of the Save Our Seashore campaign.

Outrage to Action

Before the day was over, Katy had begun to turn her outrage into energy. That evening she began to write a letter. She addressed it to a member of the national parks subcommittee who had been a stalwart friend of Point Reyes during the 1959-1962 legislative struggle, and who was her friend: Harold (Bizz) Johnson, of Roseville (Sacramento County).

"Dear Bizz," she wrote, "I am terribly worried about Point Reyes . . . Never has it been as threatened with so little time to protect it as it is today." She soon closed in on the sell-off plan: "At this exact point of crisis in the land acquisition program, the Seashore faces a wholly new threat posed by its guardian, the Interior Department." She attacked both the scheme's legality and its validity as public policy. She reported what she'd seen that the subcommittee hadn't: "During the luncheon recess I saw in the hearing room an elaborate drawing, prepared by the Park Service, of one of the two private commercial subdivisions contemplated at Point Reyes. . . . Mr. Hartzog spoke of 'low density' development. This drawing depicted high density . . . complete with a shopping center, motel, marina, and country club with golf course . . ."

Katy mailed hundreds of copies of that letter, her first venture in lobbying. She sent it to every Californian in Congress and every member of the House Interior Committee, to other key members of Congress, and to

other friends in Washington including congressional spouses. She sent it to leaders of national conservation groups, to people in the Bay Area she thought might have an interest in Point Reyes or ought to, and to friends (and, she hoped, soon-to-be friends) in the working press. With each copy she included a personal note, and news stories reporting the May 13th hearing and the damage being done at Point Reyes. She also asked citizens to send "individual thoughtful letters" to four people in Washington: President Nixon, Senator Murphy, House subcommittee chairman Taylor, and Alan Bible, chairman of the key subcommittee on the Senate side. She said she was convinced "the whole of the National Seashore at Point Reyes will be saved if citizens who care mobilize themselves in its support--NOW."

Senator Murphy, never closely identified with conservation causes, was on her target list on an assumption Nixon wanted to see him remain in the Senate. Murphy, a former actor, movie industry publicist, and resident of Beverly Hills, had not run well in northern California when he was elected to the Senate five years earlier. He was up for re-election in 1970. Through June, and hot July, and into hot and muggy August Katy sought to stimulate press interest in the Point Reyes crisis, and called on people in Washington she thought could do something about it.

When she and members of her family (Katy and her second husband Stuart Johnson had nine children between them), plus friends and neighbors, gathered for an envelope-stuffing evening, copies of the latest news stories provided the bulk of the stuffing. Her idea was to show public support and media interest, so as to, in her words, "validate what we were doing"--while the stalemate triggered by the Budget Bureau's silence on Point Reyes continued in Washington. One of the high points in press coverage was when the New York Times sent a reporter and photographer to Point Reyes and a splendid full-page article resulted. Katy set that coup in motion by talking Point Reyes to a friend, the wife of the chief of the Times' Washington Bureau.

In visiting with people in Washington, she had most success in seeing who she wanted to see on Capitol Hill regardless of political affiliation. Her interview includes a description of how she used her status as the widow of a well-regarded member of Congress to gain access to just about anyone in the House or Senate. Access, of course, isn't necessarily agreement. The senator who would have most to say about the future of Point Reyes was Senator Bible, a Nevada Democrat. He heard her out, and wouldn't budge from his stance that on Point Reyes it was the turn of "the other body" (the House)--meaning of Interior Committee Chairman Wayne Aspinall--to act first. He told her he wouldn't even hold a hearing until he had in his hand a House-passed bill.

By August, as Aspinall continued to wait for the Budget Bureau to drop the other shoe, and the Budget Bureau continued to refuse to explain its "concern with the implication" of the Point Reyes legislation, it had become clear time was running out. In ninety days or so Congress would adjourn its 1969 session, and that probably would mean another full years' delay--a year that would see more of Point Reyes paved and logged. Katy and her co-conspirators decided their only hope, in her words, to "unstuck the stalemate" was undeniable evidence of citizen concern on a massive scale. This could only be done by those who knew Point Reyes best, people of the Bay Area.

One of Katy's friends had been keeping her informed of the fate, in Sacramento that summer, of a bill to make permanent the still-temporary San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission--BCDC. Some legislators and Governor Ronald Reagan were blocking the BCDC bill. In response, a "Save the Bay" movement swamped the state capitol with letters, petitions and busloads of irate citizens. On one occasion, hundreds of people holding petitions, fastened together in a long chain, formed a ring around the Capitol building. The uprising worked. Enough nay-saying legislators and the governor finally decided they'd rather switch and become Bay savers too. The bill was enacted August 7th.

Starting a Citizen Campaign

Katy knew of the Save the Bay victory when she began to gather up her papers and pack her bags. The next week she flew to San Francisco to sound the alarm, with a hope that some of the cadre of seasoned conservation activists who had saved the Bay might now be available for another cause. She hoped to set in motion a citizen campaign on the Save the Bay model, broadly based, nonpartisan, and audacious. And, inasmuch as the principal problem in Washington was a Republican administration's budget priorities, it could be advantageous if the leader of such a new campaign was a Republican.

In the Bay Area Katy called on conservation leaders. One of them was Peter Behr, a fifty-three-year-old most happy warrior in the Save the Bay battle, a former Mill Valley city councilman and Marin County supervisor who happened to be a Republican. They discussed the rapidly closing window of opportunity in Washington, and the need to act quickly. Fortunately for all that was to follow, Peter Behr, after thinking it over for a few days, volunteered to chair what he suggested be called Save Our Seashore. In his first note to Katy he said, "Now that San Francisco Bay has obtained a reprieve from the spoilers, a . . . political victory which represents the triumph of people power over pelf," he was looking forward to trying to unlock the \$38 million required to complete Point Reyes.

He proposed a single target: "There are too many villains against us, and too little time left, to do other than go to the very source of power, the president himself . . . I suggest, therefore, that the campaign (be) exclusively . . . directed to President Nixon, urging his personal intervention to save the Seashore." He also proposed a single weapon system: petitions. And, he set a goal: a round million signatures. Behr knew that Nixon, too, hadn't run well in the Bay Area in his last election. Katy responded that while she agreed with a petition drive as the campaign's major mode, she considered it essential that Nixon, and the key congressional trio she had targeted, receive thousands of individual letters. Peter agreed to include letter writing in the battle plan. But the petitions were his thing and many of the subsequent letters were produced by members of the Sierra Club, whose new executive director, Mike McCloskey--on whom Katy also had called during her trip west--took on that task as well as circulating petitions.

The Curmudgeon and the Bureau of the Budget

Upon her return to Washington Katy continued her face-to-face lobbying, including a visit with Wayne Aspinall, who was, as Katy understated it in her interview, no darling of the conservation movement. Aspinall was one of the most curmudgeonous congressional chieftains of modern times; happily, Katy rather liked curmudgeons. She was experienced in this realm, she said in her interview, because her father was something of a curmudgeon himself. From the beginning she approached the crusty chairman--who probably held life or death power over the future of the Seashore--not as an opponent, but as a potential ally.

She hadn't included him on her list of targets for letters, not wanting to get his back up any more than it already was, and she figured he'd know of the mail his subcommittee chairman, Roy Taylor, was getting. At one point she asked the S.O.S. campaign not to attack Aspinall, as one of its spokesmen once did. She saw him not only as a terrible tempered chairman with an anti-conservationist reputation, but also a seventy-three-year-old man who had just lost his wife and brother. As she told her interviewer, "I was in a cold rage over the whole situation, but I was not translating that into relationships with individual people."

The gist of her approach to Aspinall was, "Why should you continue to take public criticism when the fault is with the administration? If you advance the bill, citizens then will concentrate the heat where it belongs: on the president."

She felt her relationship with the chairman might be improving when--after she'd given him two books about Point Reyes³--he wrote to say he'd enjoyed reading them, and addressed her as "Dear Katharine." However, so long as the president's Budget Bureau continued to stonewall him, he refused to move on Point Reyes.

Recently Aspinall had suffered the humiliation of seeing a bill approved by his committee and sent to the floor of the House with his support, go down to defeat. He was determined never to let that happen again. To subject a bill with a \$38-million price tag to a vote of his peers in the House, when he didn't know the president's position, was a risk he didn't have to take. Committee chairmen who lose floor votes lose influence. This early in a new president's term, particularly, he would expect almost all the Republicans, as well as some of the more conservative Democrats, to follow Nixon's lead if the administration chose to make the Point Reyes bill a "spending" and "inflation" vote.

On September 10th Senator Murphy sent a letter to the president requesting a favorable Budget Bureau report on Point Reyes and asking for a meeting with him.

That same day, four months after the House hearing, the Budget Bureau broke its silence by sending an extraordinary letter to Aspinall. Robert Mayo, Nixon's appointee as budget director, said, in effect, that while the administration "would have no objection to the enactment" of the pending Point Reyes legislation, funds to buy the land were not "likely to become available" for three years, at least.

That is, even if Congress passed and the president signed both the pending bill authorizing the \$38 million, and implementing appropriations bills, the Park Service would not be able to buy land at Point Reyes until 1973 at the earliest. The reality that on the peninsula itself bulldozers were busy, trees falling, and land prices rising wasn't mentioned.

The letter was an early instance of a threat to take a type of executive action--impoundment of appropriated funds--that the Nixon administration was to use increasingly to kill or postpone programs it didn't favor. The device avoided risking override votes by Congress that would have been possible if Nixon had used his power to veto, in their entirety, bills passed by Congress. Impoundment was of dubious constitutionality, and Congress and Nixon's successor agreed to put a

³The books were Island in Time, Harold Gilliam's classic (with photographs by Philip Hyde), Sierra Club/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962 (second, revised, edition 1973), and Wild Peninsula, Laura Nelson Baker, New York [Atheneum], 1969.

stop to it five years later in the 1974 Budget Reform Act. Meantime, the threat to use it, implied in the Budget Bureau letter, raised the ante in the executive-versus-legislative confrontation over the future of Point Reyes.

The S.O.S. Campaigners

In California, the bad news in that letter spurred on the S.O.S. campaigners who had wasted little time getting organized. Peter Behr's sense of now-or-never urgency can be illustrated in his rejection of a proposal that S.O.S. should form a regional alliance of conservation and civic organizations. No time, he said: "Like the Dipsea Race (an over-the-mountains-to-the-sea free-for-all that attracts a horde of runners to Marin County every year), let's get everybody down to Lytton Square, figuratively speaking, shoot off the starting gun, and get each runner going as fast as he or she can in the same direction."

S.O.S. was even more ecumenical than the Save the Bay campaign. Margaret Azevedo, a key member of the S.O.S. board, recalled in her interview how the campaign's thrust from the beginning was to "reach out and pull in others." At the board's first meeting, she remembered Peter--speaking of the conservationist community that traditionally had provided the troops for such causes--saying, "You can't get off the ground if you depend on the few faithful martyrs."

Peter Behr employed what one of the campaign's student volunteers, Bill Kahrl, described in his interview as a talent for political theater. For one thing, Peter used the S.O.S. petitions as visual props. They could not only be signed, but photographed, on cardtables in shopping centers all across the Bay Area. Peter, who wasn't shy about starring in his own production, could be depended upon for a succinct quote for the next morning's paper and that evening's TV news. Once, after noting the Bay Area's population was California's fastest growing, he added: "God will provide more babies in the future but not more seashore." One of the campaign's memorable newspaper and TV images is of Chairman Peter, alongside stacks of signed petitions, arms in the air, eyes wide with astonishment at their towering height.

Soon after the Budget Bureau's letter arrived in Wayne Aspinall's office, a member of his staff got to Katy a most unusual private message. It would be useful, he said, if she sent another of her letters to Chairman Aspinall, with copies to all members of his committee. Her letter should ask him to convene the committee to consider what should be done about all the pending park funding authorization bills, in view of the Budget Bureau letter, and emphasize that Congress, too, has a constitutional role in setting budget priorities. And, incidentally, the letter should ask the committee to approve the Point Reyes bill.

She did this, of course. Her letter, intended to strengthen backbones of members of Congress not yet ready to challenge the president on a "spending" issue, closed with a challenge: "I hope your Committee will decide this is a sufficiently significant issue for the House of Representatives to reassert its constitutional authority over funding priorities, and that you will persevere with the enduring work you have begun for the benefit of all our people." She enclosed, as usual, news stories and editorials reporting the growing momentum of the S.O.S. campaign, about unfunded park needs elsewhere, and bipartisan support for Point Reyes.

The surprising request for such a letter, which she assumed was at Aspinall's direction, suggested that he had decided to act on Point Reyes. However, four days later he saw he didn't yet have enough of his committee members, Republicans especially, with him--even though the senior Republican, John Saylor of Pennsylvania, was ready to take a stand apart from the administration. So Aspinall used the meeting as a sort of educational forum, with news reporters present, to inform the country of the other uncompleted parks that also needed more money and of the proposals for new parks that were on hold because of the impasse.

"We have," Aspinall said, "a half-billion-dollar backlog in authorized but unfunded land acquisition programs in the National Park System alone. Because the Executive (branch), having once given its approval (to a five-year, \$200-million-a-year catch-up schedule), then changes its mind, the work we do here is useless . . . The administration isn't willing to go ahead. It's time to quit fooling with the people by authorizing more." That said, the chairman announced he was canceling further consideration by his committee of all national park funding-authorization bills, including of course Point Reyes. Now he, and John Saylor too, would wait and see how the country reacted.

An Unexpected Connection

Another reaction to the Budget Bureau letter was the outrage felt by Paul (Pete) McCloskey, a California Republican congressman from San Mateo County, who had testified for Point Reyes at the hearing four months earlier. When I told Congressman McCloskey of the letter, he immediately phoned "someone at the White House" (he explained) to protest. The someone turned out to be John Ehrlichman, President Nixon's principal assistant for domestic affairs. The two men had been friends at Stanford Law School and now they and their families were neighbors. They even shared the same carpool; both were driven to work in Ehrlichman's White House limo.

Responding to his friend's concern about Point Reyes and insistence that the policy expressed in the Budget Bureau was a mistake for the Nixon administration, Ehrlichman had a member of his staff ask Budget

Bureau officials to explain the letter, the options for Point Reyes, and "how we can get additional funding" for Point Reyes.⁴

In October Katy Johnson learned someone in the administration was promoting an alternative future for Point Reyes even worse than the Park Service's selloff-for-subdivision plan. She heard rumors on Capitol Hill that members of the House were being sounded out by administration representatives on a scheme to shrink the park in order to reduce costs. A reliable newsman reported that two key sponsors of the Point Reyes legislation were considering amending their bill. One congressional assistant asked her, "Which parts of Point Reyes are most important?" Inside-the-committee ally Bizz Johnson asked her to generate mail supporting retention of the boundaries set seven years earlier. For expert support on this score Katy called on George L. Collins, a Marin County resident and retired National Park Service planner who had played the lead role in delineating those boundaries. In the main, they were based on the lay of the land itself, largely its natural watershed and "viewshed" boundaries. Seeking to nail down the rumors, she saw Park Service Director Hartzog, who implied that Bureau of the Budget officials were the ones pushing for a smaller park. Writing to Point Reyes stalwarts in Marin the next day, Katy reported, "Hartzog is clearly not committed to the boundaries, but he . . . feels terribly pressured by the BOB."

Details of the shrink-the-park proposal became known to her years later when she saw an October 1, 1969, memo to Ehrlichman from a Budget Bureau official.⁵ After noting the "checkerboard pattern" of lands acquired by the Park Service, and listing several options, he described this one, "if there is a decision to make further acquisitions" at Point Reyes: Make "only sufficient additional acquisitions . . . to have a manageable unit (or units) with largely contiguous Federal ownership . . ." The memo added that this option had been "strongly opposed" a few months earlier by Interior Secretary Train and Director Hartzog.

Before the end of October the pace of events began to pick up. Word that the administration-caused stalemate over one park in California now also adversely affected the future of dozens of others across the country was being widely reported by both the national press and conservation groups. Members of Aspinall's committee, administration loyalists included, were hearing from House colleagues concerned about the other national seashores in the same fix as Point Reyes--Cape Cod,

⁴Document in the Nixon Presidential Materials files, held by the Presidential Libraries unit of the National Archives and Records Administration, in Alexandria, Virginia.

⁵Nixon Presidential Materials files, National Archives.

Massachusetts; Padre Island, Texas; and Assateague Island, Virginia and Maryland--and about other uncompleted parks and proposed new parks. Katy Johnson saw to it that each member of the committee received news articles and editorials from across the country reflecting, she said in her covering Katygram, "a remarkable growth, over the past two months, of public awareness" of the "misplaced priorities" of Nixon's Budget Bureau.

On October 10th Pete McCloskey wrote to Ehrlichman's office: "The president should indicate now that he will allocate the required funds (for Point Reyes) if Congress does its part." Shortly thereafter, McCloskey became increasingly involved in anti-Vietnam War actions. On October 15 he joined a huge antiwar demonstration in Washington, and on October 23 he introduced a resolution to terminate the Gulf of Tonkin resolution of 1965, upon which Nixon, as had Lyndon Johnson before him, relied heavily for authority to continue the undeclared war. No further communication between McCloskey and Ehrlichman's office is on file in Nixon White House material; it appears that this connection, which first turned White House attention to Point Reyes, may have been broken as McCloskey's antiwar activities gathered momentum in mid-October.

The Chairman Makes His Move

On November 6th Wayne Aspinall began to make his move. He announced his parks subcommittee would meet November 13th to act on the Point Reyes bill. The six-month stalemate was unstuck.

The chairman had decided enough of the once-reluctant administration loyalists on his committee were now with him. Now he could take the fate of Point Reyes to a vote on the House floor with confidence he would prevail. Bizz Johnson, that dependable champion of Point Reyes from inside the parks subcommittee, told Katy that Aspinall "had decided to let the folks downtown (that is, in the White House) feel the heat alone."

The Save Our Seashore petitions apparently began arriving in Washington, en masse, early in November. Although each petition was addressed to Nixon ("Mr. President: Only you can save Point Reyes . . ."), S.O.S. shipped the bundles of signed petitions to Congressman Clausen and Senator Murphy, with a request they be forwarded to the White House.

On November 13th, the same day Taylor's subcommittee resumed work on the Point Reyes bill, John Whitaker, a deputy to Ehrlichman, reported this event to Ehrlichman.⁶ Whitaker also said the House Appropriations Committee (presumably anticipating enactment of the authorization bill)

⁶Nixon Presidential Materials files, National Archives.

was about to include more than \$30 million for Point Reyes in the Interior Department's annual appropriations bill and "make political hay of it."

Thus, he said, the president was about to be "run over" by Congress and "the Democrats will collect the credit." Whitaker saw no chance the president subsequently would veto the entire Interior appropriations bill, although he could veto the Point Reyes bill--"but at great political expense . . . the political pressure on this one is extremely high." For example, Congressman Clausen "now has 250,000 petitions for purchase of the park." Whitaker recommended "the president beat the Democrats to the punch" by announcing that he supports funding to complete Point Reyes promptly and "do it in the most dramatic way possible." He added a final recommendation: Assuming it's "a real fact" that "we have gone through our \$192.9-billion budget level" (ceiling for the current fiscal year), then the money should come from some other program, e.g., cancel a space shot."

On the 14th, Taylor's subcommittee reported out the bill to authorize the full \$38 million and Aspinall gave it a fast track for approval by the full Interior committee.

An Oval Office Meeting and Passage of the Point Reyes Legislation

Four days later Aspinall, Murphy, and Clausen were invited to the White House. When they emerged from a fifteen-minute Oval Office meeting with Nixon (and Whitaker) they told reporters the administration's policy on Point Reyes had been changed. "The president has given us assurance," Murphy said, he will support funding to complete the park. Clausen said that he (Clausen) had received petitions with some 350,000 signatures in support of Point Reyes and that Murphy had 200,000 to 300,000 more. Aspinall explained the president had agreed that when Congress passed the necessary legislation "the funds will be forthcoming." And, Aspinall added, "this great Seashore . . . can become a reality . . . and the federal government will have kept its promise to the people originally involved" (i.e., seven years earlier).

Celebration by Seashore savers in the Bay Area and Washington was, however, soon dampened. The cold water was tossed by a man who over the years had been a friend of Point Reyes: John Saylor of Pennsylvania, the Interior Committee's senior Republican. When Saylor, who hadn't been invited to the Oval Office meeting, learned of that meeting and of Nixon's support for Point Reyes and Point Reyes only, Saylor vowed to fight the Point Reyes bill in committee and on the House floor. "It isn't going anywhere," he announced. What he opposed, Saylor explained, was making an exception to save one park while others, similarly plagued by land-cost escalation, remained unfunded.

"Lo and behold," Saylor told his colleagues, "a press conference takes place at the White House, and suddenly we find the principles which over the years have guided funding of the national park program are thrown out the window." If a president is permitted to single out one park and provide money for it alone--in order, Saylor implied, to help someone from his own home state win re-election--it "will establish a strictly political procedure" for deciding national park priorities. He listed some forty other parks that also needed money for completion.

During Aspinall's meeting with Nixon (Whitaker reported in a confidential memo to the Budget Bureau) Aspinall "came at the president pretty hard" for not funding other parks also in need of land-acquisition money.⁷ Aspinall, it turned out, had not only asked Nixon's support for full-funding of the Conservation Fund, but had said his price for Point Reyes (which he now knew Nixon wanted) would be not only the \$38 million for it, but also \$26 million to buy land at Cape Cod and Padre Island, as well as at Lake Mead National Recreation Area in Arizona and Nevada. Nixon agreed to the \$26 million but not to \$200 million a year for the Conservation Fund.

Aspinall moved the Point Reyes bill out of the Interior Committee December 3rd (with Saylor alone voting "no" and filing a scathing minority report), but delayed taking it to a House vote while he--and Saylor--continued their separate negotiations with the administration.

For two months administration envoys courted Saylor, the adamant senior member of their party. One Interior Department official found him "difficult to handle." The chief lobbyist for the White House found him unmovable, and explained: "What really upsets Big John is that the Conservation Fund is still frozen and an exception is being made for California. He says, 'What's good for the Bear State is good for the rest of the country.'"⁸

Katy Johnson, too, called on Saylor. She found him "sorrowful" at having to oppose Point Reyes. But, "he had his heels completely dug in" on the larger issue at stake," she recalled in her interview. She told him she understood his position was a matter of principle which she respected. And she made sure her materials sent to members of Congress and to S.O.S. and others urged support for the Conservation Fund program as a whole as well as for Point Reyes. These materials included a monster mailing she, with family and friends, assembled--together with a Sierra Club "Island in Time" poster and a "Dear Colleague" letter from

⁷Nixon Presidential Materials files, National Archives.

⁸Nixon Presidential Materials files, National Archives.

Bizz Johnson--on the eve of the House vote on the \$38-million authorization bill. It was sent to all 435 House members.

Aspinall held Point Reyes hostage and didn't let that vote take place until February 10, 1970, nearly three months after the Oval Office meeting. It took that long for him and Saylor--two wily veterans of such contests of wills--to get what they wanted from the administration. Aspinall waited, for one thing, until he had proof positive Nixon would keep the first of his Oval Office pledges: include in his next budget support for a \$7-million immediate appropriation for Point Reyes so land buying could resume in 1970.

On February 10th Saylor announced in the House chamber, with great satisfaction, that administration officials that very day had given him assurances he needed so he could support Point Reyes. He said the president now supported full funding of the Conservation Fund program, indeed, he supported appropriating all the accumulated revenues in it--by then \$327 million--for use that year. Further, Saylor said, he had just received letters from Interior and Budget officials pledging to support funding for all incomplete units of the National Park System.

With Saylor on board, and with those assurances for other parks around the country, saving Point Reyes was so non-controversial the "yeas" had it on a voice vote. And there was icing on the cake. The bill passed by the House prohibited the government from carrying out the selloff-for-subdivision plan proposed by the Park Service, which--opponents had learned--would have allowed 1,475 subdivision lots, including 75 alongside a marina and 150 around a golf course. "As a matter of public policy," a proponent of the amendment said, "a private country club development should not be created within the National Park System. Congress must neither countenance nor sanction the carving out of [such] enclaves of private privilege."

Two weeks later, Senator Bible, good to his word, called to order a hearing of his parks subcommittee on the House-passed bill. As they had during the House hearing nine months earlier, a Marin County delegation testified. Those who spoke included Boyd Stewart, a Point Reyes rancher--and one of those interviewed for this oral history project. Although previously many ranchers had opposed "formation of a park," Stewart said, now "I and my fellow ranchers, without exception, urge you to finish the work you have begun. We would rather see it used by the people as a park," than subdivided. "Those of us who have loved this land . . . and seen it through its many moods and seasons, recognize this treasure can no longer remain ours to enjoy exclusively."

Senators Murphy and Cranston testified, Cranston opposing the selloff-for-subdivision plan. When Katy Johnson, also, testified against it, Bible assured her he was going to retain the House prohibition.

Bible volunteered that he knew citizens supporting completion of the Seashore had written at least 10,000 letters because he'd received that many, "all of which were sent personally to me."

Bible moved the bill promptly. The Senate passed it on St. Patrick's Day and returned it to the House, which concurred with an amendment Bible had added and sent it to the White House.

President Nixon signed the bill at a White House ceremony on April 3rd, 1970. If that act is seen as the last act of the Save Our Seashore campaign, it was the first time the campaign departed from the determinedly non-partisan character that was a key factor in its success. Presidential bill-signing ceremonies traditionally are used by presidents as an opportunity to bring together those who have had most to do with shaping, and mustering public support for, the legislation being signed into law--for a sort of mutual congratulation for achieving the degree of consensus needed to enact the bill. This tradition can be especially useful to a president whose party controls neither house of Congress, as was to be the case through the four years and four months that were to remain of Nixon's presidency.

On April 3rd, most appropriately, Peter Behr's was among the smiling faces in the Oval Office. Senators Murphy and Congressman Clausen, whose roles during the bill's journey to enactment had been important though not determinative, also gathered round the president's desk for the obligatory photograph. Wayne Aspinall was not there. Nor was Alan Bible, Roy Taylor, Bizz Johnson, or Alan Cranston. Nor, Katy Johnson. When her interviewer asked about this, Katy explained that she "was of the other party . . . it was a partisan occasion." So it was, and she was in good company. In addition to the Democrats who weren't there, Big John Saylor and Pete McCloskey weren't invited either.

(Afterwards, Russell Train, who as Nixon's Interior under secretary had been there, sent to Katy the memento pen--one of those Nixon had used to sign the bill--that Nixon had handed to him.)

* * * * *

Aftermath

Readers who have persevered to this point may be interested in a look at the impact of the S.O.S. campaign on what followed--on some national policy changes that may not have come to pass, or may not have been done as soon as they were done, if the campaign had failed.

The enthusiastic response of public and press to the saving of Point Reyes did not go unnoticed in Washington--in the White House, on Capitol Hill, even at the Budget Bureau.

Soon after that November '69 White House press conference on Point Reyes, an article in the Wall Street Journal had caught Nixon's eye. The news story reported, under the headline, "Conservation Gains Political Weight," and a San Francisco dateline that:

Vibrations are presently good among Northern California conservationists--the most militant of that species. Their spirits hit a new high last week, when President Nixon announced the administration will after all support spending an extra \$38 million to save Point Reyes National Seashore from impending development.

The article also noted increasing evidence that politicians were aware of growing national concern over environmental problems and "California is leading the way." Specifics included California Republican legislative leaders pledging support for an Environmental Bill of Rights; Governor Reagan, "an anathema to many conservationists," sponsoring a conservation conference, and "top California Democrats" vowing that "conservation will be a major issue in their efforts to recoup power next year." Nixon wrote, on a summary of this article, a note to "E" and "W" (Ehrlichman and Whitaker) calling their attention to these passages about the new politics of conservation and asking for follow-up, "to preempt the issue."⁹

In his interview for this project, John Ehrlichman described the president he worked for as "not your natural, birds, bees, and bunnies man." Nixon "had to be persuaded that this (i.e., supporting conservation measures) . . . had a payoff down the line in political terms. Point Reyes helped to demonstrate that . . . to him . . . in unmistakable terms. He never saw this many people motivated in quite this way."

Within the Nixon White House, Ehrlichman said, the good experience with Point Reyes--the first such issue to get White House attention since Nixon took office--gave "political credibility" to similar programs. For one thing, "the whole public recreation lands issue was cemented as . . . viable and politically useful." For instance, the "politically useful" experience of the Nixon White House with Point Reyes set the stage for Nixon's support of initiatives by three San Franciscans, Ed Wayburn, Amy Meyer, and Congressman Phil Burton, to create Golden Gate National

⁹Nixon Presidential Materials files, National Archives.

Recreation Area in the Bay Area, along with its counterpart in the New York City harbor area: Gateway National Recreation Area.

A month after the president's support for Point Reyes was announced, James Schlesinger, then the Budget Bureau's No. 2 man, told a delegation of conservation leaders pressing for an increase in the Conservation Fund program that a policy change might be unveiled soon, and added: "Point Reyes has been instructive on this."

When congressional leaders introduced legislation early in 1970 to raise the annual level of the Fund program to \$300 million, the administration supported that--a bit of a bump from the \$124-million cap it had insisted on a year earlier. This benefited not only acquisition of federal recreation lands, for national forests and wildlife refuges as well as the National Park System, but also state and local governments which receive about half the Fund's money.

Meanwhile, out on Point Reyes Peninsula, men and women of the Park Service, the \$38 million in hand, were able to complete the land purchases needed to maintain the integrity of the Seashore's original boundaries. The whole of Point Reyes National Seashore as we know it today became secure.

The poet William Wordsworth may have been the first advocate for the idea of protecting expansive natural and cultural landscapes for the benefit of all people when, in 1810, he called for protection of his beloved Lake District in the north of England.¹⁰

To use again some of the words he first employed in that cause, Our Seashore today is--thanks in good part to all those who took part in the S.O.S. campaign of 1969 and 1970--a national treasure in which everyone "has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy."

Bill Duddleson

Bethesda, Maryland
December 1992

¹⁰I first heard of Wordsworth as conservationist from Charles E. Little when we were colleagues at the Conservation Foundation. Charles tells of the Lake District and its poet-protector (and includes the words quoted here) in his book, Hope for the Land, Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

Katy Miller Johnson

CATALYST AND CITIZEN-LOBBYIST IN WASHINGTON

Interviews Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1990



Katharine Miller Johnson
Fall 1986

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Katy Miller Johnson

INTERVIEW HISTORY	1
I FAMILY, MARRIAGE TO CLEM MILLER, LIFE IN CALIFORNIA	1
Parental Influences	1
Clem Miller's Maverick Views	2
Marriage and Going West to Nevada and Marin County	4
Getting to Know Point Reyes	8
II CLEM MILLER AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE	10
Clem's Entry into Politics and Election to Congress, 1958	10
Role as Candidate's Wife and Congressional Wife	12
The First Point Reyes Campaign, 1958-1962	15
Work for the Democratic Study Group after Clem Miller's Death	16
III THE SEASHORE IN DANGER: SPRING-SUMMER 1969	20
Marriage to Stuart Johnson	20
May 1969 Hearing by the House Interior Subcommittee	20
Crucial Support from Bizz Johnson	22
Planning Strategy, Generating Publicity	24
IV "SAVE OUR SEASHORE" CAMPAIGN--WEST AND EAST	29
Catalyst for the Save Our Seashore Organization (S.O.S.)	29
Peter Behr's Leadership in S.O.S. Petition Drive	30
Working with Congressman Wayne Aspinall	32
Meeting with Park Service Director Hartzog	33
Alan Bible, Don Clausen, Jeffery Cohelan	35
V RESPONSE TO BUREAU OF THE BUDGET INTRANSIGENCE	40
Budget Director Mayo's Letter of September 10	40
Importance of Personalized, Informative Letters	41
The Pete McCloskey-John Ehrlichman Connection	42
California Optimism versus Beltway Negativity	44
Creative Alliances with Bay Area Conservationists	46
VI INFLUENCES, THE WOMAN'S ROLE, AND MORE CO-CAMPAIGNERS	50
Further Thoughts on Family Influences	50
Bill Duddleson's Contributions	52
Dealing with Curmudgeonly Wayne Aspinall	54
The Woman's Role, in Family, as Congressional Wife and Widow	55
Parents' Sense of Responsibility and Public Involvement	60
Allies and Co-Workers in the East	62
Coordination between Bay Area and Washington Efforts	64

VII	BUILDING MOMENTUM, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1969	68
	Combating Move for a Mini-Seashore	68
	Ryan Amendment to Prohibit Sell-Off Deals	71
	Cooperation with Sierra Club's Tupling and McCloskey	72
	Aspinall's Markup of the Point Reyes Bill, November 13	75
	S.O.S. Petitions and White House Announcement on Funding for the Seashore	76
	Congressman Saylor's Insistence on Full Funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund	77
	Congressional Concern about Escalating Land Prices	82
	Conspiracy Theories	84
VIII	FINAL PASSAGE OF POINT REYES BILL, JANUARY-APRIL 1970	86
	Preparing for the House Vote on February 10	86
	Nixon Administration Reversal on the Land and Water Conservation Fund	87
	Senate Hearing, February 26; Nixon's Signing, April 3	89
IX	CONTINUING INTEREST IN POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE	92
	Battles over Wilderness Protection in the Seashore, 1971-1976	92
	Seashore Administrators, Ranchers, Conservationists	95
	Citizens Advisory Commission	96
	Opposing Fee Legislation for National Parks	98
	Other Projects in Washington	100
	TAPE GUIDE	102
	APPENDIX A - Letter to Congressman Harold T. Johnson, for hearing record, May 26, 1969	103
	APPENDIX B - Article generating letters on the seashore, <u>Pacific Sun</u> , October 1, 1969	105
	Obituary, <u>San Francisco Chronicle</u> , January 15, 1991	107

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Katy Miller Johnson

Katy Miller Johnson, widow of beloved Congressman Clem Miller, was the catalyst for the campaign to save the Point Reyes National Seashore. When she heard in May 1969 of National Park Service and private plans for housing subdivisions and commercial development inside the seashore's boundaries, she was the one who aroused Bay Area conservationists and helped support the formation of a citizen group to fight for the seashore. She kept a steady flow of information from the capital to the Bay Area and engineered an effective lobbying campaign in the halls of Congress. Her oral history tells the story of this brief but intense campaign from the perspective of the nation's capital.

Katy Johnson was interviewed on November 16 and 20, 1990, at her daughters' homes in the Bay Area. She brought her characteristic interest, energy, and careful preparation to the interviews, even though she was suffering from the cancer that claimed her life in January 1991. Prior to the interview, she and Bill Duddleson, who had been Congressman Miller's legislative assistant and later a close associate of Katy Johnson in all of her work for the seashore, had reviewed papers relating to the 1969-1970 campaign. She had obviously pondered the strategy and other elements that made the campaign so successful. Although she had not anticipated the inquiries into her personal background that the interviewer felt were important to the story, the questions prompted interesting reflections which help illuminate the background and motivation of volunteer citizen-activists in political and environmental campaigns.

Katy Johnson was not well enough to review the transcript of her interview. Bill Duddleson and Marion Miller, Mrs. Johnson's daughter, made careful reviews for accuracy and clarity; editorial additions are bracketed. Mrs. Johnson's papers relating to Point Reyes National Seashore have been placed in The Bancroft Library.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

I FAMILY, MARRIAGE TO CLEM MILLER, LIFE IN CALIFORNIA

[Interview 1: November 16, 1990]##¹

Parental Influences

Lage: Today is November 16, 1990, and I'm interviewing Katy Miller Johnson about the Point Reyes Save Our Seashore battle. But we want to start by going back a little bit and getting some idea of your background, something that might give future researchers a clue to your interest in this subject. So let's start with where you were born and what kind of a family you came from.

Johnson: I was born in Wilmington, Delaware [August 1, 1926], as was Clem [Clement W.] Miller, and there was quite a degree of interesting politics in my family as I grew up, from rather different perspectives. My father [Clarence A. Southerland] was quite an establishment figure and was quite involved in Republican politics. My mother [Katharine Virden Southerland] was of Irish extraction. She was always for the underdog in any given situation.

Lage: What a great combination.

Johnson: They were.

Lage: Was she a Democrat?

Johnson: Well, she voted for Al Smith, she voted for Roosevelt. I don't know whether she would identify herself that way [as a Democrat], but she certainly voted for Democrats at times when my father never did in his life, that I know of.

Lage: What kind of work did your father do?

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 102.

Johnson: He was an attorney, later became a judge.

Lage: But there was politics discussed?

Johnson: Politics in the air, yes. I remember he was quite involved in the [Wendell] Wilkie campaign, and telephones were ringing, and so on. He was always behind the scenes, except for when I was very little he was attorney general of the state of Delaware. But that was when I was very small, so I have no recollections of that.

But as I say, there was a sense of being very concerned with public events. My mother took World War II so hard it was as if it happened to her. She was a person who involved herself emotionally in whatever was going on. She hadn't the ability to create large amounts of defense mechanisms, so she just suffered through every stage of it, even though we actually didn't. Her brother was on a hospital ship in the Pacific, but we didn't have anybody in Europe, but I remember as Hitler rolled over Europe how she suffered at every step, and even after the war with the displaced persons and so on.

Lage: And how did this affect you?

Johnson: Well, I think it affected me. I put it together over many years. I think it affected me very much. I think it heightened my awareness of injustices in the world, the suffering--all these things. And it made me very ripe for Clem, because he, in his way, who also grew up in the same circles in Wilmington as I did, didn't fit in very well, intellectually. I mean, he fit in on a personal basis because he was such a pleasant person that people liked him, but politically he was totally out of sync.

Lage: With the social group that he--?

Johnson: With this group that we both grew up in.

Clem Miller's Maverick Views

Lage: And where did he get those maverick views?

Johnson: Good question. We have a little book that he did when he was about twelve or thirteen analyzing the power structure in Wilmington. He went around taking the names off the fountains. There was something called "Fountain Society," and he was

tracing how the big shots were controlling things through this Fountain Society.

Lage: At twelve or thirteen?

Johnson: Yes. His father [Clement W. Miller, Sr.] had died. His mother [Katherine Dunham Miller] was very involved in the social things, although she was also a person of some real awareness of herself. She was quite an amazing person. But she was away a lot; she traveled and so on. They had Irish maids that Clem was devoted to. So I think he picked up some of that subversive Irish--

Lage: From the maids?

Johnson: From the maids. I think so.

Lage: They might even have talked to him about the power structure.

Johnson: They did, because that's just part of the Irish sensibility. I've worked in campaigns, quite a few since my second husband died, and this is an awareness that's only come to me relatively recently. I was simply amazed to find out how many of our best volunteers were Irish.

Lage: Interest in politics, too, seems to be typical, then.

Johnson: Yes. Anyway, I don't know where it all came from. He just had this, as you say, an Irish point of view. He went to Williams [College]; he was very attracted by some quite left-wing professors up at Williams. He used to bring that stuff home and read it through. He'd throw [these ideas from his reading] out at Sunday dinner at his grandfather's house. [Russell Dunham, a "rich, powerful head of a large company in Wilmington." --M.M.]

Lage: Did you meet Clem as a young person?

Johnson: No, I met him on his thirty-day leave. He came back from Europe; he had been in the Battle of the Bulge. He was captain of a communications battery. They'd seen a great deal of combat. After the war was over in Europe, he was briefly a part of the occupation, or at least the combat troops were briefly in charge of the occupation until the actual occupation troops got there. It was a horrendous situation. There wasn't enough food for the refugees.

He had come back during that thirty-day leave, and he was then to go to San Diego and to be sent over to be part of the assault troops on Japan. And so when I saw him, he was deeply

disturbed by what was going on in Europe. He felt that we were being run rings around by the German authorities and that there were all these people suffering over there and no food, and there was still food around, stashed away, that wasn't being released, and so on. Anyway, he was in a very disturbed state when I first met him.

But we were brought together by a family friend who determined that we should meet. We were ten years apart in age, and a rather unlikely couple, because I was so young; I was only nineteen, and he was twenty-nine.

Lage: That's unusual for a family friend to bring together--

Johnson: Well, she liked him herself, and she said to me, "It doesn't seem to be working out for me, but I'd like to try this for you." We were at opposite ends of the beach for two weeks, and she came every day to one of us and the other of us and said, "Now, come and meet this other person," and nobody would budge, and I finally gave in after about ten days, and it took immediately. It took very rapidly. I remember him giving me these lectures on international cartelization [laughter] and I don't know what all, and I was just boggle-eyed. I was just boggle-eyed.

Lage: Were you in college at the time?

Johnson: I was at Bryn Mawr. I didn't understand most of what he said, but his engagement, his sincerity, his commitment, were just--

[interruption]

Johnson: Then he went West to go to San Diego, and en route the atom bomb was dropped. He got out of the army by that fall; we were engaged that fall, and we were married in February.

Marriage and Going West to Nevada and Marin County

Lage: And how did you find yourself out in the West?

Johnson: One of the very interesting things is we have a history in both our families of people who went West and didn't stay. But there's a pull. His grandfather [Charles] Miller actually started a railroad in Nevada. My grandfather [George Virden] took his little family to a mining camp in Los Angeles, and my grandmother [Ellen Brennan Virden] stuck it out for a year or

two. Clem's own father took his family to San Francisco, and they were there for several years. So there was a long-standing pull to the West. No one really stayed and raised a family there until we did, but there was this pattern.

So Clem had it in his mind that he wanted to live in the West. I thought it was a great idea. He did initially go up to Cornell to the School of Labor Relations with the idea of getting a graduate degree in labor relations, but after he'd been there a few months he decided against it. He said, "I need a job after all these years in the army" and so on, and "I'm just uncomfortable with this. I don't really want to work for either labor or management."

So then he set in motion applying for the National Labor Relations Board [NLRB], which takes quite a while to pull off. So there was an interim. You take a competitive exam and then you wait quite a long time to hear. The competitive exam is only scheduled once or twice a year and so on. We had this kind of interim, so we just went West. We threw everything in this little Pontiac coupe he had and drove off without a backward look.

Lage: Sounds very exciting.

Johnson: It was. And what was really nice was that my mother, who was really so devoted to her two children, cheered us on. And I think his mother did, too. I think we had a lot of support from the family for doing something fairly radical. It didn't seem very radical to me at the time; that's the funny part. Because lots of people have said to me, "What a wild and crazy thing to do," but at the time it just felt natural.

Lage: Was there a sense of movement and change after the war, do you think?

Johnson: I think so. I think so.

Lage: And how old were you then?

Johnson: I was nineteen.

Johnson: Clem had a tremendous feeling for the beauty of the West. It was deep ingrained in him, and he had spent a fair amount of time with his uncle in Nevada over the years. His father had died, so he had to go and--. His uncle lived in Nevada, and that's another long story, if you want to hear the Tom [Thomas W.] Miller story. Do you know it?

- Lage: A little bit. I interviewed George Collins years ago,¹ and he had known Tom Miller and told me about him.
- Johnson: And told you the whole story of Teapot Dome and everything?
- Lage: I don't think he filled in the whole thing. He just alluded to certain scandals.
- Johnson: Well, I don't know how much you want of that, but I'm happy to tell you about it.
- Lage: Why don't you just in a brief way.
- Johnson: Well, Tom Miller's father [Charles Miller] was the governor of Delaware, and Tom had a maverick streak that seems to run in the family. He came up against his father politically and was part of a faction in Delaware politics that was against his father. There were different Duponts on different sides. It was all Republican politics. He was elected to the [U.S.] House of Representatives and lost a [U.S.] Senate seat by one vote. (At that time the Senate was decided in the state legislature.) Then he enlisted in the army, and went overseas, and served with distinction in Europe. When he was out, he became one of the founders of the American Legion. Then he came back here and was appointed alien property custodian.
- Lage: This is all Tom, then?
- Johnson: This is all Tom Miller. He got involved with that crowd that was involved with Teapot Dome [scandal during the Warren Harding administration, 1921-1923]. According to my father, who made quite an exhaustive study of the thing, he felt that Tom had protected the other people, that he had this kind of old-fashioned code that you don't tell on other people. So he basically took the penalty for Albert B. Fall and a bunch of other people. But he did have to serve a year in Atlanta, and when he came out he gave his wife everything he had and took a knapsack and went out to Nevada and joined the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps]. They never divorced for the whole time, the rest of their lives. He eventually became a pillar of Nevada society.
- Lage: A place where you can make a new start.

¹George L. Collins, The Art and Politics of Park Planning and Preservation, Regional Oral History Office, 1980, has section on Collins's role in creating Point Reyes National Seashore as Park Service employee, Marin citizen, and partner in Conservation Associates.

Johnson: Clem had visited him a lot during his childhood, so we gravitated out there [to Nevada] for this interim that we had, while he was waiting for the National Labor Relations Board thing to come through. Clem got a job with [the War Assets Administration]. Uncle Tom was counseling him about how you start with the government to get a--you get extra points if you're already in the government, and the whole civil service rigmarole and all of that, so he got a job with the War Assets Administration, was out selling surplus property, was out around the state selling Jeeps. There was no housing at that time, and we wound up blissfully thrilled to find an apartment at the top of the Geiger Grade in Virginia City, the ghost town, which was like a two-hour commute for him both ways down this precipitous mountain in the middle of winter, where you have to stop and take your chains off and on about ten times. We had a very happy time up there. Amazing people, the friends we made. We could see a hundred miles from our bedroom window down the valley. It's given me a love for the desert I'll never lose. You know, just the air and the sky.

Lage: And the openness.

Johnson: And the openness, yes. It was a wonderful experience. So then this thing came through for the Labor Board, and he did so well that they gave him his first choice as to where he wanted to live, and it was the Bay Area. He was very single-minded in getting himself to this area, and he knew he wanted to live in Marin. He had this all planned.

Lage: So he'd been familiar with the area from his childhood time when he lived out--

Johnson: I don't know if he'd been back. His mother had made several friends in Vassar that she'd stayed in touch with out here, and I don't know how much he'd been out here. That's an interesting question. But at any rate, he had this game plan, and he carried it straight through.

Lage: And where did you go in Marin?

Johnson: Corte Madera.

Lage: You went to Corte Madera?

Johnson: Yes. So we settled in there [in 1948], and we stayed there until we left to come to Washington.

Getting to Know Point Reyes

- Lage: Just to focus on Point Reyes, did you visit Point Reyes when you lived in Corte Madera?
- Johnson: Oh, yes, we went to McClure's Beach all the time and picked watercress and everything. Oh, we loved it out there. We used to do group camping trips to Heart's Desire Beach and, you know, those little beaches outside Inverness, the little county beaches. But McClure's was the one we loved the most, which is now part of the Seashore. We used to go scrambling down that trail with the little girls.
- Lage: Was that a common thing for people in Marin to head out that way for outings?
- Johnson: I don't know. It certainly was Clem's idea of a good project. We had other friends that liked doing things like that too. It certainly seemed very natural for us to do that.
- Lage: Was McClure's then a county beach also?
- Johnson: I think it was.
- Lage: Were any of the other areas open to the public besides the ones on Tomales, do you remember?
- Johnson: I'm trying to remember where else we went. Maybe we went to Drake's Bay. I think that was a county beach too. [Yes, it was.]
- Johnson: Yes, I think we went to Drake's Bay. And then when he was first running for office, we got our little house in Inverness.
- Lage: Oh, you did? So you had a little house out there.
- Johnson: Yes, we had a little Victorian house out there. And Clare [Miller Watsky, daughter] still has it.
- Lage: Can you recall how Clem got interested in the Seashore idea?
- Johnson: Well, he was involved before he was elected. I think George Collins would know more than I would about that. It was sort of part of the discussion forever and a day. It was so obvious that that land was so incomparable, and it was miraculous that the development had gone down south [of San Francisco] on the Peninsula and this [Point Reyes] was all completely unspoiled with nothing out there but dairy farms. It couldn't last like

that, you know. So I think that early on he had got a feeling that this should be a-- . I can't say that I recall him actually saying to me long before he was in politics, "This should be a park," but he could well have.

II CLEM MILLER AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Clem's Entry into Politics and Election to Congress. 1958

Lage: Now, how did he happen to run for congressman? I don't want to make this the history of Clem Miller, but--

Johnson: Oh, I don't mind. It's whatever you want. Well, he was "hatched" under the Labor Board. You know, civil service employees can't be active in politics [under the Hatch Act]. So eventually he resigned from the Labor Board because under the conservative Eisenhower administration their cases that they'd labored on for two and three years were constantly being thrown out by the [NLRB] general counsel. So eventually he was very disturbed by the whole thing and said, "It's pointless." You know, when they would prove unfair labor practices, and they would get the case all the way up to Washington through many stages, and [then] on a political basis it would just be dumped.

So he resigned from the Labor Board, and within about two weeks he was doing precinct work. So I will say this, that I knew he was going to run for office before he did. I just said, "This fellow's going to run for office; it's in the genes." I just thought it was comical. He hadn't really quite figured it out, but I knew he would.

Lage: And was it something that you welcomed?

Johnson: Oh, yes. I just thought it was inevitable. Because--

Lage: --he had such an interest in politics?

Johnson: --he had such an interest, and he was very disturbed at the level of representation that we had at that time. It was an old-timer there, the incumbent [congressman], who was not able, and he [Clem] just saw the needs that weren't being met and things that weren't being done that needed to be done, and got

himself quite roiled up. But he didn't think he had any real qualifications for it. So he started out by doing precinct work and then he got himself on a committee to find a candidate. They ran all over the district trying to get a young attorney. By this time--

Lage: It was quite a Republican district, wasn't it?

Johnson: A conservative district. It had a slim Democratic registration majority, but many of those Democrats voted consistently Republican. The farmers and ranchers up in, for instance, Mendocino and Sonoma [counties] and so on had a heritage that went back to the New Deal, and they never changed the registration, but they voted Republican. So this had been a long-term Republican incumbent who was in there.

Lage: What was his name?

Johnson: Hubert B. Scudder.

So [in 1956] he got himself on this search committee. By this time Clem was doing something that didn't sound impressive at all in terms of running for office. He was doing landscaping. He didn't have a degree in it, and he was designing people's gardens and installing plants and so on, enjoying that very much, but it didn't look good on the list of qualifications. So he didn't feel that he had the credentials and they should be able to find an up-and-coming young attorney or somebody that would be a good candidate to run against Scudder.

So he got himself on this committee and he ran all over the state and all over the district, and they couldn't find anybody who would run. Finally he said, "Well, I'll run." The Democratic leaders tried to talk him out of it. They said, "This is hopeless, and you'll simply siphon off funds that we need for other races." He said, "I'm sorry; somebody has to do this, and besides, I'm going to do it twice. It'll take two elections to do this." So at that point, then, they began to take him more seriously. He had it figured out, and also, we had luck, because the second of those two years he--

Lage: So the first time he didn't win?

Johnson: The first time he didn't win. He narrowed the margin. In other words, where Scudder had been getting-- I don't have the right figures for you, but let's say he'd gotten 60 percent of the vote. Clem got it down in one election to, say, 55. That puts you in shooting distance. That's the rule of thumb. This last

election, I must say, broke some of those rules. Districts were changing by larger percentages than that, which is unusual, but that's the volatile situation we have this year. But in normal situations they say that you usually don't change those percentages more than about 5 percent between one election and the next.

So he got himself within shooting distance for the next time. And of course at that point a lot of these sort of up-and-coming young attorneys and so on were interested in that.

Lage: Now it looked possible.

Johnson: Now it looked possible. But at that point he had it pretty well under control, and he got a caucus to endorse him. There was a funny Uncle Tom story about that. I'm not sure if this was '56 or '58, but in one of those two elections Clem decided he wanted this caucus endorsement. The Democratic [first congressional district] caucus was a little bit of a loose organization, just sort of fledgling up in Ukiah. But he said, "No, I want to have this kind of blessing from the party." So we did all the spadework and homework and got everybody lined up, and everybody showed up and he got a smashing endorsement. People who hadn't been paying much attention were annoyed and said, "Miller packed a meeting." So he sent this clipping off to Uncle Tom in Nevada, who called us up in ecstasy. "Clem! When did you learn how to pack a meeting?" [laughter] Ecstasy!

And one of the touching things about Uncle Tom is that even though he was a lifelong Republican, he really was totally supportive of Clem, who was so much more liberal than he was. He would say to all the children as they came of age, "Did you vote? Did you vote?" I mean, he had this deep sense of the importance of the franchise no matter which way you went politically. That was okay.

Lage: Just get involved.

Johnson: Get involved, vote, you know, whatever. So that was a nice tradition, I think.

Role as Candidate's Wife and Congressional Wife

Lage: What role did you play in all this? Were you busy with the young ones coming up, or did you get in on the politicking?

Johnson: Well, I had to get into it, because it was all-enveloping. The first campaign was off our dining room table and I did all the scheduling. We had no headquarters or anything. I was very involved in that, the first one.

Lage: So you kind of took to politics also.

Johnson: Oh, I loved it. There were moments when it was hard, because you had to fight for time for just the family, and people were demanding, but we rolled with it. There was just a lot of happiness in it. The first campaign, I swear the nucleus was our Larkspur-Corte Madera Cooperative Nursery School. I'm not kidding. The complete spectrum of politics from liberal to conservative, but they loved him, and they thought he'd be a good person to be in office.

Lage: Right. A good representative.

Johnson: Yes. So, you know, the first campaign was very, very amateur. I was extremely involved in it. The second campaign, we had sort of hit professional level. There was a headquarters in San Rafael, and I found myself stuck in the position of the candidate's wife, and I hated it. It was distressing to me.

Lage: What position did that give you, being the candidate's wife?

Johnson: They're basically afraid of you. You're going to say the wrong thing, or you're going to notice something that you shouldn't. You're just set apart; you're not part of the organization. You're kind of a loose cannon. [Elizabeth Rudel] Libby Gatov [former U.S. Treasurer, Marin County Democratic leader] said something to me not long ago. She said I was a perfect congressional wife. Well, I wasn't sure if I liked that or not, because basically I just tried to roll with it. But it was deeply upsetting to me that I couldn't be involved in the way that I'd been the first time. That was impossible. You'd go up to San Rafael and everybody'd be talking a mile a minute, and I went up there to try to volunteer. It was like, "Oh, God, here's the candidate's wife. Oh-oh, what are we going to do with her?"

But in the meantime, Clem depended on me a lot. He ran everything past me. We talked endlessly. So there was that sense of partnership between the two of us, and I think that made it do-able.

Lage: Now, when you were in Washington--. I'm trying to get a little sense of how you picked up the skills you showed later in the Point Reyes battle.

Johnson: I was always interested in the nuts and bolts. I always got involved in some level. I used to love to work with one of the people that did precinct analysis. There's just a part of me that's very interested in nuts and bolts.

Lage: In political nuts and bolts.

What about in Washington itself? How did you come to know the Congress and how it operated?

Johnson: As a political couple, you're thrown into a lot of stuff. You meet a lot of people. And I took a great interest in everything, all the issues that Clem was involved with, and he used to talk to me about his newsletters and show them to me and so on, where he was outlining. I don't know if you're familiar with those letters that he wrote to his constituents.

Lage: Are they the ones which later ended up in a book?

Johnson: Yes.

Lage: I've seen that.

Johnson: They're unusual in that he really was just trying to inform his supporters what it was like. They're not self-serving at all. It's a sharing. He said, "These people don't ask me for anything. I'll just try and share with them what I'm experiencing." He really was a great teacher, a real mentor. So he just wrote these things from the heart and with a lot of humor and so on.

Lage: And a lot of perceptive observations, it seems.

Johnson: Absolutely.

So we were asked out; we went to fascinating dinner parties. He was marked as a comer. So people like Chester Bowles [Congressman from Connecticut] got ahold of him, and we were invited over there for dinner. He was just considered to be a very up-and-coming, very bright, very interesting fellow. So doors just opened through no credit to me. But I was exposed to a lot, and a lot of the issues, and as I say, there wasn't anything that was going on that he wasn't telling me about.

The First Point Reyes Campaign, 1958-1962

Lage: Now, on the issue of Point Reyes, getting the seashore authorized--

Johnson: Well, that was his priority. When he got there, he said, "This is my priority." He had Bill Duddleson from the Santa Rosa Press Democrat, who is extraordinarily able, and he said, "I'm delegating this to you, but this is our priority."

Lage: Did he meet Bill when he was campaigning? Did Bill come on his staff?

Johnson: There was a lovely story about that. Bill wrote a wonderful piece about Clem that we obviously noticed. It was so thoughtful.

Lage: He wrote it without having had close contact before?

Johnson: Right.

##

Johnson: We had gone to a meeting, and at the end of the meeting Bill was there, and we saw him taking this broom and sweeping up. And we thought, you know, "This fellow's pretty serious." So we got involved with them. They were helping us. I remember Denny [Bill Duddleson's wife] taking care of our children when we went to some meeting. So we got involved with them before we ever came back to Washington. And then we all came together and put our children in the same school in Washington. It was five above zero the first day. This little school right near where we lived was something out of McGuffie's Reader. They kept the door locked until nine o'clock, and we'd gotten there at eight-thirty with these little California children all bundled up in their new woollies, standing outside the door, and they weren't about to open it until nine o'clock. So we went through a lot together.

Lage: Let's see, I interrupted you with a question about Bill, and you were saying how Point Reyes was the priority.

Johnson: But I do recall Clem saying right away, when he was elected, this is the priority, because this will not stay. This is miraculous that it hasn't been developed. I don't remember as clear-cut a statement as that before the election, but I remember that once we got to Washington, that was it. He must have conceptualized that long before.

Lage: Was it a major issue in the campaign?

Johnson: No. Because he had a lot of spadework to do. As we were talking about before the interview started, there was not a consensus yet. One of the things he had to do was to convince the local people out in West Marin that this would be advantageous. He took a trip down to Cape Hatteras [the first national seashore]. He took two trips--one with all of us, the children; and one with Bill and Stephen [Bill and Denny's son] --to find out how they had overcome the local opposition and how they had all decided that it had been very, very beneficial, but there had been quite a lot of opposition to start with.

Then we had to get a vote from the Marin County Board of Supervisors and all that. He couldn't just get that thing off the ground in all that much of a hurry. There was a lot of work to do. Actually, you know, he didn't get that bill through until just before his accident. The bill went through in September '62. So it was--

Lage: --four years that it took to pull it all together.

Johnson: Yes.

Work for the Democratic Study Group after Clem Miller's Death

Lage: After Clem's death [October 7, 1962], did you stay in Washington?

Johnson: Yes.

Lage: You seemed to continue to follow the fate of the seashore.

Johnson: I cannot say that I did. Bill and I have discussed this. What we both felt--and this included him, too--was that the seashore was fine. We did know that Clem had said, and been very open about it, that the money would be inadequate. They had a concept in the Congress that [national] seashores cost \$14 million [the amount initially authorized in 1961 to buy land at Cape Cod, the second national seashore]. So Clem said the only way to get this thing through was get the boundaries set, ask for the \$14 million, which is what everybody thinks is an acceptable amount for a seashore, then come back later and get more money. So we should have known that we were going to get into trouble, but I don't know. We had this sense of the

triumph, you know, about getting it through. And we were busy. I went up to work on the Hill for the Democratic Study Group of the House of Representatives, which is a fascinating little shop.

Lage: Tell a little bit about that experience.

Johnson: It was at that point just getting started, and it had grown up because of the split in the Democrats over civil rights. The Democratic leadership was dominated by the Southerners, so in a lot of cases they sort of exercised kind of a veto power, and you couldn't mobilize your troops in a given piece of legislation because you just had this kind of monolithic, unresponsive leadership. So Eugene McCarthy [senator from Minnesota] and Lee Metcalf [senator from Montana] and two or three other people just before Clem got there had started this thing called the Democratic Study Group [DSG]. It was a separate Democratic organization of liberals [in the House]. They had their little basement office down the block from Capitol Hill. And after the accident there was a fellow from the Congressional Liaison Office [in the Kennedy White House] named Chuck [Charles U.] Daly, who's now head of the [John F.] Kennedy [Presidential] Library in Boston, who was detailed to come over in a big black limousine to talk me into running.

Lage: To run in Clem's place?

Johnson: Right. And I had already made up my mind that that was not possible. I couldn't see how I could possibly do justice to my five children under those circumstances. I knew what the job meant, and of course, I didn't have the sensibility we have now that we should keep as many women in there as possible; that was not part of our thinking. Maybe it's just as well, because I think my instinct in terms of our family was probably correct. With the split and the three thousand miles, and the little kids were so bereft without their father, and to have their mother --. It just seemed ludicrous. So I turned them down, and as he left, Chuck Daly said, "If I'd been thinking of my own wife and children I wouldn't have come here today." Then he called me up and asked me up to the White House mess for lunch. He said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I don't know, but I'm going to do something." He said, "What about DSG?" I said instantly, "That would be perfect." He said, "They really need help."

So I went up there to that little basement office, under a very gifted man who's been my friend ever since, who died this winter, Bill [William G.] Phillips, and I had a fabulous experience. We then later on under [Congressman Richard W.]

Dick Bolling [of Missouri] were moved. The day of the Kennedy funeral we trundled all our stuff in wheelbarrows up the street and moved into the office building, got ourselves in there. Over time DSG is now completely institutionalized and is kind of a big thing, but at that time it was in its fledgling state, which is always the best time to be in something.

Lage: It sounds as if you never thought that you would come back to the Bay Area.

Johnson: I had a lot of trouble with that issue. I had family back East. No family out here. I think I felt that I could not establish myself as an independent person here, that Clem's memory was so powerful and so--. It would turn me into a professional widow, and I just couldn't do it. Just coming out here was very, very hard for me. Coming out here at all. I just thought, "I can't do this. I can't raise these children and come out here and carry this. It's too much." And it was hard on my kids. I think a lot of them would have liked to have had me go back. But I had no family out here [on the East Coast]. I had my sister, my father, whom I loved dearly, and I said, "I can cope with this where I am, and I'm not going back." So I think a lot of people--first of all, a lot of people were very critical of me for not running, and I think a lot of people were very critical of me for not going back.

Lage: It's amazing how people can feel they can be critical of you for these basic life choices.

Johnson: Oh, sure. But I could see where they would feel that way. I just knew that I had to struggle through it as best I could, and I had to keep my morale up for the children and I had to keep the spirit going, and I loved the idea of working for DSG for all the things that Clem had been involved in. I loved that.

Lage: It sounds like a wonderful solution.

Johnson: It was.

Lage: And you also must have gotten a lot more knowledge of Washington, how it worked and contacts in the Congress?

Johnson: Absolutely. We went to these fabulous--. They'd have these [DSG] steering committee meetings on civil rights and all these different issues, and you'd watch the give and take, the compromising, and when to hold the ground and when to compromise. Some of the greatest brains, like Dick Bolling and some of those people, were just mesmerizing to watch operate.

We'd go to their little briefings and take notes, and it was an incredible education.

Lage: What did you actually do for the study group?

Johnson: I was a very girl Friday. Originally I was a volunteer, but they did later put me on the payroll, which meant a lot to me. I just did whatever anybody needed. They gave me special projects; sometimes I'd do special research stuff. But we had a tremendous amount of scutwork going on there with these great big mailings, just like I did for the Seashore. I had a lot of practice in that. We were always just moving mail. The spirit of the office can be shown when this boss [Bill Phillips] that we all loved so would instantly come out of his office and start collating with us when we were moving mail. This is what our office was like. Everybody came out, and everybody did it. So I didn't have a very impressive title.

Originally, I really didn't think I could handle full-time work, and that was the big transition when they started paying me. I knew I had to work full time. So as long as I wasn't working full time, it made it difficult to give me as much responsibility as I might have liked. But I was so happy there I didn't really care what I did. It was so interesting. It just was fascinating.

III THE SEASHORE IN DANGER: SPRING-SUMMER 1969

Marriage to Stuart Johnson

Lage: When did you remarry?

Johnson: Nineteen sixty-five. Stuart [H.] Johnson [Jr.] had an office down the hall from Clem, and they were friends. I had not known him. He was a counsel for the House Judiciary Committee, and he had lobbied Clem assiduously on the communications satellite bill where his boss, Mr. [Emanuel] Celler, of New York [Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee]--Don Quixote from New York, a wonderful fellow--was one of the very few people that were trying to stop, look, and listen on this. So Stuart got Clem's vote on that, and I heard all about it. Really not in connection with Stuart. I just heard all about this legislation, how it was galloping through the House without being properly looked at and so on, and Stuart would go up there and lobby him early because Clem used to get in the office at eight o'clock. So he'd get up there, you know, before the crush started, and he just thought the world of him. I didn't know him at that time. But that was a nice connection, a nice continuity.

May 1969 Hearing by the House Interior Subcommittee

Lage: It seems as if he became quite involved in the Point Reyes issue also, with this battle that we're going to talk about.

Johnson: He threw himself into it. He was a person who threw himself into things. In fact, I was recalling--. Bill [Duddleson] didn't know this. Going back to the fact that we weren't following Point Reyes, neither Bill nor I were following it. We

should have been, but we weren't. We thought everything was okay, and we weren't paying attention. Bill Duddleson had all his stuff going with the Conservation Foundation and whatever, and I was with DSG and getting married and having a baby and all this happening. So we missed the fact that there were a lot of rumblings of trouble. In Jeffery Cohelan's office [of Berkeley, California, a Democrat], there was a staffwoman there who was a friend of mine, and she called me up before the May 13th hearing in '69 and said, "Katy, you'd better get up there." She said, "You won't believe what's going on."

Lage: So that's how you were alerted.

Johnson: That's how I got there. So I got up there, and Stuart came with me. We went up there, and our blood ran out of our toes because this was when they promoted the sell-off.

Lage: When [George] Hartzog [director of the National Park Service] presented that idea?

Johnson: When Hartzog had his charts and polo fields and hotels and everything. We just couldn't believe it. We couldn't believe it. We came back to the house, and we were just staggered. We sat out on the porch, and Stuart looked at me and he said, "Katy, you're going to write a letter." He went inside the house and got a yellow legal pad and a pencil. I looked at him and I said, "Stuart, do you realize what this means? There's no halfway. If we get into this, there's just going to be no holding back. This is going to be a monster project. What effect will it have on our family, on our relationship?" I said, "This is kind of tough for you because here's this other man, and he's out there, buried there [at Point Reyes], and I'm just up to my neck, and I'm Clem's widow." And I'm writing-- . I saw exactly what it was going to be like. I said, "Are you sure?" He said, "What? Are we going to let this thing go down the tube?" I said, "No." [laughs]

Lage: It's great to have that kind of support. It must have felt very good for you.

Johnson: I was kind of amused because I thought, "In a way, this is sink or swim. We'll either make it through this and we will come out much stronger than we were, or we'll be split. There won't be any halfway. This is a serious risk to the family stability because, well, my whole role in this thing." It just says a great deal for Stuart Johnson that he was big enough to override and see that this beautiful seashore was not going to be despoiled, ruined, wrecked, or anything else. He just viewed it very simply. He was very skillful in strategy. I give him

credit for the first-- . I'm sure we would have come to it anyway, but I think he was the first to say, "Isn't George Murphy [the senior U.S. senator from California, a Republican] up for reelection?" [laughs]

[tape interruption]

Lage: We've established, then, that the May hearing, the May 13, 1969, hearing, was really the first time it was brought to your attention that there was a danger.

Johnson: Absolutely.

Lage: You hadn't been in touch with people like Barbara Eastman [Bay Area conservationist, long-time secretary of the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation] and others who were following it along the way?

Johnson: No.

Crucial Support from Bizz Johnson

Lage: Can we go step-by-step over what you did once you were alerted to the danger to the seashore? You must have started to establish a network. You wrote a letter; who did you send it to?

Johnson: We wrote a letter for the hearing record, you see, and it was addressed to [Congressman] Bizz [Harold T.] Johnson [of Roseville, California, a Democrat], who was the Interior Subcommittee [on National Parks & Recreation] chairman, was he not? [Appendix A, p. 103]

Lage: No, the chairman was Roy Taylor [of North Carolina, a Democrat], I believe.

Johnson: That's right. But Bizz was on the subcommittee.

Lage: Was Bizz a friend or someone you had--

Johnson: Definitely a friend. You see, his district and Clem's old district, where Point Reyes is located, were contiguous, the first and second congressional districts, and so he was both a co-sponsor [of the pending Point Reyes legislation--to authorize an additional \$38 million to complete land acquisition] as a Californian, and he was on the Interior committee. He was our major, major, major ally. Without him, I don't know where we

could have gotten, because he was so clear about not compromising out, and there was lots of waffling going on from all kinds of sources: "Well, we don't have to have quite this much acreage." You know, the [Point Reyes] peninsula is a unit. You can't hack around with that. He was completely for the integrity of the boundaries, and he was completely for going for all the money. When you consider that he was not an ardent conservationist, I think he just was very devoted to Clem, and I think that something about the project appealed to him, and he just took it and ran with it, and counseled us.

We did our big mailings [to members of Congress]; we'd haul them up there and ship them out of his office, as inside mail, so we didn't have to pay postage. That would have ruined us if --. We'd get these great, big, thick packets together, you know. We didn't have to use any postage on them. We'd send them out through his inside mail, franked.

Lage: Did he advise you any on planning and strategy?

Johnson: It was always very succinct. Bizz was not one to sit around talking a lot, but he'd just say these few well-chosen words. "Keep up the heat, Katy, that's the only way you're going to get it." Stuff like that. [laughs]

Lage: Did he advise you on how [Congressman Wayne] Aspinall [chairman of the House Interior Committee, a Democrat] was--

Johnson: Oh, yes, he'd say that "Wayne is mad because he's been blocked," or, "He's had too many of his bills blocked by the Budget Bureau, and he doesn't want to hold any hearings because it makes him look bad when they don't go anywhere." So you know, he'd say a few odds and ends to us. But it was his firmness that was so valuable.

Lage: He never thought about reducing boundaries.

Johnson: Never.

Lage: And from the papers, it looks like everyone else did.

Johnson: And that was completely critical. That was absolutely critical, because there was a lot of waffling. Well, it was a lot worse than that. We had at one of these hearings, Congressman [Joe] Skubitz of Kansas [the senior Republican on the national parks subcommittee] saying, "I wonder whether or not a project has ever been de-authorized." There was a great deal of negative thinking inside the beltway about this whole project because no seashore had ever cost this much money, and they were furious

about that. "What? Three times as much?" That's what it was going to cost us, three times what was originally envisioned, and they were mad about that, and they were mad about the Budget Bureau.

So what we tried to do strategywise was to convince them that we weren't mad at them; we were just trying to put all the heat on the Budget Bureau because it had, in effect, impounded the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which had been set aside by Congress to transfer funds from one nonrenewable resource into another, which was a gorgeous concept. You take money off of oil leases, which is a nonrenewable resource, and you put it into parks. It's a lovely concept, and they'd set it up, and it had [revenues of] \$200 million a year, and the Nixon administration wouldn't spend it. Just an Indian raid. Now I've lost my thread.

Planning Strategy, Generating Publicity

Lage: I want to sort of go chronologically, if we can. You wrote a letter in response to this. Now, where did it go?

Johnson: Yes, we did this letter, and we mailed it all over the place. See, we got the letter, and then we sent it with clippings, every kind of newspaper clipping and stuff we could find, to all the co-sponsors, members of the House and Senate Interior committees, other key members of Congress, friends in the House and Senate, leaders of conservation organizations, some key people. So we sent out a monster mailing, to two or three hundred people. That was the pattern throughout this, moving these vast amounts of mail. By so doing, you cast this wide net and you found support in the most surprising places. You wouldn't know that [Congressman] Charlie Gubser [of Gilroy, California, a Republican] down in a whole other part of the state was very interested and really cared.

Lage: So you told by your responses--

Johnson: The responses would show where people really were with you, and you could build on that.

Lage: Who do you remember getting especially gratifying responses from? Is that asking too much to recall that?

Johnson: Yes, yes. I could answer that question later. If we can get our files shaped up back there and get all those letters in a

folder-- . You see, the problem was that after these tremendous efforts usually built around a hearing, of getting this mail out, all this stuff would get thrown in a box and you'd pick up your life. You had a big family. We had, combined, nine children.

Lage: Stuart had children, too?

Johnson: Well, I had my five children, and Stuart had his three, who weren't with us all the time, but a lot. We saw a great deal of them. And then we had our baby.

Lage: I don't know how you did it.

Johnson: A lot of it was done at two or three in the morning, I can tell you.

Lage: How did Bill [Duddleson] fit in this stage?

Johnson: He was just with us every step of the way.

Lage: Did he come to that first hearing with you?

Johnson: He did, indeed. He just never-- . And we got all these letters out by committee [Bill, Stuart, and Katy]. I mean, we hammered -- . I had to sign them, so I had to have the last word on them. That's one of the reasons I knew there'd be tensions, because I had very bright men helping me, and they had to accede to what I finally decided.

Lage: Bill did remark to me about a couple of sessions of working out these letters that got rather tense.

Johnson: Oh, very. Because it's only natural. It's only natural, and I didn't have the degree of expertise that these fellows had, but if I signed a letter, I had to be comfortable with it.

Lage: What kinds of thing? Were they issue-related things or just wording that you were working on?

Johnson: It was a lot of wording and a lot of nit-picking. A tremendous amount of nit-picking that went on. Stuart tended to be more combative. We were always toning him down. He just loved to fight, and that wasn't appropriate. I mean, he had brilliant ideas, but we weren't about to get into a fight with anybody we could help. That was not my modus operandi. I was in a cold rage over the whole situation, but I was not translating that into relationships with individual people.

- Lage: So early on I think you mentioned that you decided to focus on the Bureau of the Budget rather than on Congress.
- Johnson: We focused on the Congress very hard, but we were trying to give the Congress the idea that we understood and were sympathetic to their difficulties. We were focusing on them and using mailing endlessly to them and getting them involved, but we were letting them know that they were not our enemies. They were our ally. They were the ones who had to pass the bill. They were the ones who had to give us the money. They're not the ones you want to go fight with. And besides, basically, who's against a park? I mean, it was obviously tangled up in all this bureaucratic stuff. They had a point that we had this major stalemate and nobody would move because the Budget Bureau wouldn't give its blessing.
- Lage: You were dealing with a Republican administration, and your background had been very much allied with the Democrats.
- Johnson: That's right.
- Lage: Did that affect how you went about it?
- Johnson: Well, we certainly lacked contacts in that area. There was no question about that. You see, that is why it was fabulous. The [first] hearing was in May, and we did all this mailing in May and June, and I don't know what else we may have done in July here.
- Johnson: The other thing we were doing--this was all before S.O.S [Save Our Seashore]--was stimulating news coverage. We got a lot of major media stuff going. We got a gorgeous story in the [August 5, 1969] New York Times [by Gladwin Hill, headed "A Patchwork Park in Trouble"].
- Lage: How did you do that? When you say "we got," what--
- Johnson: I had a friend that I'd been to school with, who was married to a fellow who worked in the [Times] Washington bureau. She took my packet and showed it to her husband, and her husband sent it to John--and they were interested.
- Lage: He sent it to John Oakes [the Times's editorial page editor], were you going to say? Who was already on the Sierra Club board, I think, at that time.
- Johnson: Yes. And you see, part of this was the fact that people were for parks. There was no question but what this was a good idea. As I was thinking about this the other day, it was like we

really were riding a wave. We were like on a surfboard. The wave was there. The people wanted these parks. We weren't doing anything ultimately very controversial.

Lage: The controversy was the money.

Johnson: That's it.

Lage: Was there any tie-in to the war at this point? The Vietnam War?

Johnson: No.

Lage: Did that have any overlay?

Johnson: No.

So the other thing we did after the hearing that summer was we worked hard to get the media stuff going because that was very much part of our mailings, when you want to convince the members in the House that there's this groundswell of support. So the clippings--. If there's one thing that every congressperson pays attention to, it's a newspaper story. That is never boring to a congressperson. You can't go wrong by sending them a newspaper story. There's something that validates you about that. So we stimulated a lot of news coverage, and we worked with people that we found who were already with us. For instance, we discovered that Leo Rennert, who had come to the first hearing from the Sacramento Bee, was completely knowledgeable and had the full backing of the paper. We just discovered that he was already on our team and we didn't even know it. So there were people like that that we discovered and then put on our list.

Lage: Did Bill know some of these media people from his background?

Johnson: Oh, yes, he did. From Conservation Foundation he knew Bob Cahn of the Christian Science Monitor. And then I'm trying to think who else. I could look back over my notes and see who else we might have known. Oh, well, Hal Gilliam and Scott Thurber out here [at the San Francisco Chronicle]. Bill was constantly giving them all the info and the background, and they were putting out one good story after another. They were fabulous.

Lage: That helps.

Johnson: Oh, yes.

Lage: And, of course, Hal Gilliam had written a book about Point Reyes in the previous effort to authorize the seashore.¹

Johnson: Right. So they were major allies, Gilliam and Thurber.

¹Harold Gilliam, Island in Time: The Point Reyes Peninsula (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1962).

IV "SAVE OUR SEASHORE" CAMPAIGN--WEST AND EAST

Catalyst for the Save Our Seashore Organization (S.O.S.)

Johnson: But by the middle of the summer it became obvious that that stalemate was stuck. I decided that nothing was going to unstick it but a massive outpouring of opinion and a lot of letters and noise from California. So then we went West, and we came out, and we talked to three people. We talked to Peter Behr [former Marin County supervisor], to Harold [E.] Gregg [president] of the Marin Conservation League, and to Mike McCloskey [executive director] of the Sierra Club. The upshot was that Harold Gregg agreed to take on the project of saving the seashore, and I agreed to fund the salary of the coordinator.

Lage: Did he agree to take it on as a Marin Conservation League project?

Johnson: Yes. And then I can't remember if it was just at that time that I also agreed to financially assist the Sierra Club, who were going to--it might have been a little later--who were going to generate a lot of mass mailing. It's just exactly what they're good at. It's the basis of their strength, that they can generate large amounts of mail.

Then, after we left California, everything was mulled around back here [in the Bay Area], with a lot of discussion between Peter and Harold, and they decided that there really should be an independent organization, and Peter really wanted to run it. So then they wrote me and said was it okay if Betty London's salary be transferred over to this S.O.S. under Peter and I said, yes, that was wonderful.

##

Lage: I want you to elaborate on the story of how Peter Behr got involved. When you originally talked to Peter Behr and Harold

Gregg and Mike McCloskey, were you seeking out suggestions from these three people, or--

Johnson: I was telling them that I saw that we weren't going to get anywhere without an outpouring of opinion from California.

Lage: Did they all agree?

Johnson: They agreed, so we were on the same wavelength.

Lage: The Sierra Club offered good support?

Johnson: Yes, and the Sierra Club was interested in generating this mail. As I say, I made a donation to them and I got some more money from Joan Roth, who helped with it also.

Lage: Is this Bill [William M.] Roth's [Bay Area businessman and philanthropist] wife?

Johnson: Yes. So she contributed, and so we got that underway.

Peter Behr's Leadership in S.O.S. Petition Drive

Johnson: It wasn't as clear as it became later how really eager Peter was to just take that ball and run with it. He was just absolutely the perfect person.

Lage: He's another person who loves political campaigning.

Johnson: Absolutely. And he was willing to give full time. And Harold Gregg was all over the map with a lot of other issues. As he said--or Em [Emma] Gilman wrote me a great letter. She was on the board of MCL when she explained how they switched this thing around. She said that Marin Conservation League was limited to Marin, and this [S.O.S.] would give it a broader orientation. Save Our Seashore really then could be expanding to the East Bay and the South Bay and here, there, and elsewhere; it wasn't just a Marin issue. But far beyond that was here was one person with tremendous enthusiasm and Republican connections who was willing to give full time. I mean, it was made in heaven. The whole thing was absolutely made in heaven.

Lage: It was a time where Peter Behr was between jobs, in a sense.

Johnson: He wanted to run for the state senate, and this was a perfect way to get visibility in a superb cause so then he could go into

the state senate and save all the wild rivers. [Behr sponsored the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act in the California State Legislature, 1972.] The whole thing was meant to be. It was meant to be.

Lage: Did you plant the idea that George Murphy perhaps should be one of the major targets?

Johnson: We had that concept, and I think that we certainly used that. I think Peter, who, as we say, had the Republican connections---. At the same time, the other side of that coin is, these were the people he was going to be working with. So I think Peter had a very good, straightforward concept to focus on the president and to focus on the petition drive. And he really didn't want to take on letter-writing campaigns, and he didn't want to focus on any of these other Republican officeholders. But he understood that there were others who would. We didn't have any serious difference on it; it's just simply that he wasn't going to do that. It wasn't a natural role for him as a Republican to be targeting---. Supposing he gets in the state senate, and he's been targeting this Republican senator. I mean, that's not a very good situation.

Lage: But he himself now seems to focus on the role of George Murphy in persuading Nixon.

Johnson: That's true, but I don't think he wanted to generate a lot of adverse mail and pressure.

Lage: He didn't want a lot of mail to go to--

Johnson: Well, he didn't mind the mail going there. His organization wasn't doing it. S.O.S. wasn't doing that. The rest of us were doing it. S.O.S. was petitions, and that was this fabulous vehicle for press coverage. Every time you got a Boy Scout troop to go and distribute a petition, Peter would get a story in the El Cerrito Times, you know. He just generated all this local publicity. And then, of course, back to us would come the clippings, off to the Congress would go the clippings. Because they wanted to see not just the national stories. They wanted to see what people were doing out in California--did they care about the seashore?

Lage: So you had a lot of reports of the effects of S.O.S. that you passed on to the Congress?

Johnson: Sure. The newspaper stories. You bet. You bet.

Working with Congressman Wayne Aspinall

- Lage: Somewhere in the correspondence I noted a little disturbance. People concerned about some of the things that S.O.S. wrote.
- Johnson: There was only one issue, and that was some negative stuff that came out about [Congressman] Wayne Aspinall [of Colorado, chairman of the Interior Committee; a Democrat]. We did have to make a strong push to moderate that, to emphasize that this was counterproductive, that basically our strategy was to view the Congress as our allies, not our enemies. Because Aspinall was a curmudgeon. As it also turned out, he had lost both his wife and his brother a couple of months earlier. He was intransigent because he'd basically been up against this monolithic Bureau of the Budget thing, and he was furious. But we grew to have a very nice relationship. He was addressing me in his letters as Katharine. The committee counsel, the top counsel of that committee became a great ally for us. He'd alert us. For instance, he called us the day after the Budget Bureau letter and we had this discussion. He said, "I'd like to have a letter come in to all the committee members." He kind of told us just how to do it. So this would have never happened if Aspinall hadn't been feeling friendly towards us.
- Lage: I know that the Sierra Club, for instance, had a lot of run-ins with Aspinall.
- Johnson: Right. Well, he was a curmudgeon and he was not a beloved darling of the conservationists. There were only certain things that he was interested in doing.
- Lage: But you felt that he was in favor of Point Reyes?
- Johnson: We just decided the only way to work with those people was to treat them that way. You weren't going to get anywhere the other way.
- Lage: Do you think the counsel that you spoke of--
- Johnson: Lee McElvain.
- Lage: Did he take a personal interest in this, or was Aspinall--
- Johnson: It's hard to say, but those fellows are alter egos of their chairmen. You're not going to get somebody helping you like that if their chairman is cool on you.

Lage: It seems that--we're getting ahead of the story--but that Aspinall really used the Point Reyes controversy to get a lot more than you ever dreamed of.

Johnson: Exactly. Both he and [Congressman John P.] Saylor [of Pennsylvania, the senior Republican in the Interior Committee] used Point Reyes to open up the pot [of the Land and Water Conservation Fund] for the rest of the country. That was the way it all played out. I think he may at some point along the line realized that we could be a good vehicle, because we were sufficiently organized. I was in this kind of untouchable position as the widow, you know.

Lage: So you did have to play that role?

Johnson: Oh, to the hilt. What could you do?

Lage: Did this give you a lot of entrée in Congress?

Johnson: Certainly.

Lage: I guess it would, wouldn't it?

Johnson: You get immediate respect. And it was painful for me. Because I'd rather be my own self, you know. But I was not going--. Stuart used to have a phrase: "Never see how little you can win a case by." Whatever cards you've got, you've got to play them when you're up against a lot. You can't go getting too fussy. And it was true. I mean, you know, I did care, and all that. I mean, I don't say that we beat it into the ground, but if I'm introducing myself, if I'm writing these people a letter, I have to tell them who I am.

Lage: Sure. What your interest is, and how you got involved.

Johnson: Yes. So it had to be spelled out.

Lage: It did open doors, I can see.

Johnson: Oh, I don't think there's any question about it. You just get respect in that position. There's no question about it. That was something we had to work with, so we did.

Meeting with Park Service Director Hartzog

Lage: Did you have contact with George Hartzog?

- Johnson: We went to see him, and I can tell you when. [looks through papers] It was early on. I have an indelible memory of that meeting.
- Lage: Let's see. I noted a meeting around October.
- Johnson: Okay, let me look at that. [looks at paper] Yes. October 8. My husband and I and Bill Duddleson and Mike McCloskey called on Hartzog to nail down the rumors about the mini-seashore and the contracted seashore.
- Lage: Reducing the size.
- Johnson: Reducing the size. And we got a clear picture from him he was in no way committed to the boundaries. "He seems sensitive to our good opinion of him, and he feels pressured by the Bureau of the Budget." [The quotation is from a letter Mrs. Johnson wrote to Harold Gregg on October 9, 1969, reporting on the meeting with Mr. Hartzog.]
- Lage: Can you recall what his manner was? Was he defensive?
- Johnson: No, I would call it almost more obsequious. Uncomfortable. He seemed to want us to have a good opinion of him even though he knew that we weren't at all in sympathy with what his point of view was.
- Lage: Did he give you a sense of why he was willing to reduce the boundaries?
- Johnson: No. The sell-off proposal goes back--this is what Bill and I were so amazed to reconstruct--to '66. We believed it originated in the Park Service. We've discussed what the possible reasons for all that is, and it's just very hard to speculate what it was all about.
- He was very, very uncomfortable, is the way I would remember him. Stuart mentioned that after all, he is the spokesman for the public interest as the National Park Service head. This is the fellow who is guardian and custodian of our parks, and he's promoting a policy to despoil one of them. It puts him in a very odd position. You'd think that you could expect some proposals like that to come from somewhere else, but not out of the Park Service.
- Lage: Did you get the sense that he was responding to pressures from above, from [Secretary of the Interior Walter J.] Hickel, or even--

Johnson: No, we didn't get anything like that that I recall.

Lage: Did you ever go in to see Hickel?

Johnson: I never saw Hickel. Hickel was at that time promoting a big Parks for the People thing.

Lage: Right. It's so ironic.

Johnson: He had all this public relations going on about that. Bill was suggesting to press people that he knew to be sure and ask him a few questions when he would have press conferences.

Lage: To get Point Reyes in there.

Johnson: Well, to demonstrate the split between words and actions.

Lage: I think it might be a good time to take a break.

[interruption]

Alan Bible, Don Clausen, Jeffery Cohelan

Lage: Now we're back on after lunch, and to be sure we weren't missing anything as we went along, we thought we'd go back to the chronology that you and Bill Duddleson worked on and see what we may have missed.

Johnson: On the mail that we sent out in May and June, we got supportive responses from more than a hundred members of Congress. We also made personal calls on key people in the House and Senate, including Wayne Aspinall; Roy Taylor, the House Interior Subcommittee chairman; Don Clausen [congressman from Crescent City, California, successor to Clem Miller in District 1]; Bill Mailliard from San Francisco and Marin counties.

Lage: Clausen and Mailliard were both co-sponsors.

Johnson: They were co-sponsors. And Julia Butler Hansen [of the state of Washington], who was the head of the Appropriations Subcommittee in the House and a friend of Jeffery Cohelan [who also was on the Appropriations Committee]; they had a good working relationship. We also called on Alan Cranston [senator from California]. Apparently we saw a Murphy staffer. And then we also definitely saw Alan Bible [of Nevada, chairman of the

subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs], and I remember how austere he seemed. Although we had a tie through Uncle Tom Miller, he still--

Lage: Tom Miller had known him?

Johnson: Oh, yes. But he seemed very formidable. Distant. Even though Wayne Aspinall had this curmudgeonly thing, you felt he was more approachable underneath, but Senator Bible seemed very distant. I remember this vast room, and this sense of power in there, and this was not going to be somebody who was going to take an initiative. And indeed, he did not. He said he wasn't going to do anything until the House acted first, and he followed that to the letter.

Lage: Did he give a sense of why he wasn't going to move on it?

Johnson: Yes, he said he had initiated too many things that got killed off in the House, and he was discouraged from that, and he didn't want to do that again. So it was one of those classic House-Senate differences. Probably maybe the relations between him and Wayne Aspinall weren't perfect, I don't know, but there's this thing that they call each other in the House and Senate, "the other body." That can be quite inimical sometimes. Clem was very good at bridging those kinds of things. If he couldn't make friends with the member that was his peer, he would make friends with staffers at a lower level and get things done that way. So he just refused to get into an inimical position with the Senate people. But at any rate, Bible was very clear.

Lage: I know he'd been out and seen Point Reyes and he knew Boyd Stewart [a Point Reyes rancher] and had been taken around. Did he show any of this kind of awareness?

Johnson: I just remember the rigidity of his position. We just felt that that door was closed. Aspinall was an avenue, but he was not, and that is how it played out. So those personal calls were part of that follow-up to the mailings.

Lage: Do you remember the response from any of the other people you mentioned there? Had you had contact much with Don Clausen before?

Johnson: Clausen had always gone out of his way to be friendly and kind after the accident. So there had been some little contact with him over the years--not much, but he was certainly somebody I felt I knew. I certainly felt he was approachable. I also knew

that he was not really a strong conservationist, and he was frequently not much of a detail person. So you didn't feel that he was a tremendous resource, but on the other hand, there were positive aspects to it and possibilities. It was a friendly relationship.

I gave copies of Island in Time by Hal Gilliam--the Sierra Club book--and Wild Peninsula [by Laura Nelson Baker], a book for younger readers about Point Reyes, to some key people.

So then we worked on stimulating the news coverage and on formulating the strategy not to criticize either Aspinall or Taylor but rather to persuade them to act despite the administration's silence in clarifying the administration position. We had this letter earlier on from Russell [E.] Train [undersecretary of the interior] in which he said that the position would be spelled out later. So we were kind of waiting for the other shoe to drop but we knew we weren't going to like it whenever it came.

Lage: Did Bill [Duddleson] have a direct contact with Train, having worked with him?

Johnson: Oh, very close, because Train had been the head of the Conservation Foundation at one point. He was then in the Nixon administration. But Bill had been working at the Conservation Foundation under Russell Train, and I had known Russell Train also.

Lage: Did you have any contact with him during this time?

Johnson: Yes. More, I guess, as time went on. Things have happened since then that have made it clear that Russell Train was very, very pleased with our efforts. His position at the time was hamstrung by his position in the administration, so he had little freedom of action. But he sent me the pen when the bill was signed, with a very nice note. He always greets me with a great deal of cordiality. I think he feels we did a good job and that we were helping him. We were helping his position. He was in a hard position there, in that administration.

Lage: I would think so.

Johnson: So then in July, Julia Butler Hansen, the Appropriations Subcommittee chairman, who was a friend of Jeffery Cohelan's, gave strong encouragement to Aspinall to press ahead with the stalled Point Reyes bill, saying, "When the Point Reyes authorization is approved, additional appropriations will

follow." So this was helpful. This was basically, I think, a Jeff Cohelan initiative.

Lage: Were you close with him and his office?

Johnson: Oh, I was very close with them. They were the ones that got me up there in the first place.

When we did our mailings, as I said, we did most of them out of business offices [of supportive House members]. We did quite a few out of Jeffery's office, especially to the co-sponsors. We were thick as thieves, basically. Jeffery was a very close personal friend. He'd been a close friend of Clem's and so on. But Jeffery sometimes got a little discouraged, and then we'd have to reassure him that somehow we were going to work this out. Whereas, as I say, the thing that was astonishing about Bizz [Johnson] was that he was determined not to give an inch.

Lage: But all the others considered reducing the boundaries, it sounds like, from the papers.

Johnson: There was quite some noise. We never heard that from Jeffery himself, but somebody from his staff was quoted as talking about it as a possibility. But Jeffery was a tremendous support. Tremendous support. And this connection with Julia Butler Hansen was very helpful.

So then going over the press coverage, we got the full-page thing from the New York Times as well as an editorial; and then a big piece in the Los Angeles Times and the Scripps-Howard papers by Bill Steif; and then, of course, Scott Thurber and Hal Gilliam, and Tom Benet on the editorial page, at the Chronicle were wonderful. And the McClatchy papers with Leo Rennert were fabulous.

So we've covered the fact that we went to San Francisco.

Lage: Let's get the date on that because we didn't put it in. When did you come into San Francisco and talk with Peter Behr and the others?

Johnson: August 11 to 15, 1969. Approximate, but correspondence from me dated the 17th dates the visit to the Bay Area as "last week." That's as close as we can get.

Lage: Time was of the essence.

Johnson: Very much so. We felt very, very urgent because the stakes were up at the Lake Ranch; the surveyor's stakes were up. There was imminent danger of subdivision within the privately owned portions.

Lage: Did you have any contact with Bill Sweet of the Lake Ranch? Did you get into that end of it?

Johnson: No, not personally. You mean the owner?

Lage: Right.

Johnson: No. Actually, those pictures with those stakes were enormously helpful because it became very real to people when they could see the surveyor's stakes. The Chronicle ran this story with the stakes, and that was so tangible, you know, that they really were going to break it [the Lake Ranch] up. So we felt it was tremendously urgent.

So we just went through this about Hickel and Parks for People. And then on September 5, the S.O.S. had its first meeting with enthusiastic TV and media coverage, right after Labor Day.

V RESPONSE TO BUREAU OF THE BUDGET INTRANSIGENCE

Budget Director Mayo's Letter of September 10

- Johnson: Then Budget Director [Robert H.] Mayo broke his silence on September 10 with his letter to Aspinall and Henry Jackson [of Washington state, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee], and says in effect, "While the administration has no objection to enactment of the Point Reyes legislation, funds to implement it would not be available until 1973 at best."
- Lage: When everything would be gone.
- Johnson: That's exactly right. Under the formula, we figured out that because a lot of the-- . By the time they had reduced the Land and Water Conservation Fund availability the way they had decided--and a lot of that money was supposed to be earmarked for state parks and so on--that there would be \$20 million available for the whole country, for the National Park Service. So it was Pete McCloskey who said to Bill, "This is the 'no new national parks' policy.'"
- Lage: That's what it amounts to.
- Johnson: Yes. So the day after the letter came out, Lee McElvain, the House Interior Subcommittee Counsel, called and told us about the letter. In fact, he talked-- . Stuart had, because in his job, having just come out of the Hill himself, was exactly comparable to Lee's, since he was chief counsel of the Judiciary Committee, so he had established some contact with Lee McElvain, who called and told him about the Mayo letter, encouraged us to ask Bizz Johnson to ask Taylor to convene this National Parks Subcommittee to consider what action to take. In fact, what that meant was that the chairman was saying, "You get busy and write these letters to all members of my committee, and that will help me." This was just enormously encouraging. It meant that the chairman, Mr. Aspinall, was enlisting our assistance

and felt that we were going to be helpful to him. So that meant a great deal.

Lage: That's an interesting concept, that he would ask you to write to his own committee members.

Johnson: Right. That's exactly what he did. That's exactly what he did.

Importance of Personalized, Informative Letters

Lage: Did you have any indication that Aspinall himself was getting letters, starting to get pressure?

Johnson: Oh, by then he must have been getting letters. Oh, yes, because we'd been generating mail all summer. Of course, one of the things that I think set our material apart from some of the other stuff that goes flowing up there on the Hill--and here's where Bill Duddleson played such a vital role--was the precision and the care, the accuracy, the details. We tried to downplay rhetoric. We just put a little bit of rhetoric in to heighten it or make it strong, but for the most part it was factual. So it gave them all things to work with. They appreciate that. It was just high-quality material, and Bill with all his experience with that legislation for Clem and his very, very precise newspaper training and so on, accuracy--he was just a complete stickler for accuracy. So they soon discovered they could depend on our material. They didn't have to go look it up and check it or anything.

Lage: That's very helpful.

Johnson: So I think that was a very, very important factor in the success of our mailings. And we tried to take this dignified and friendly tone, never adversarial. Never, never adversarial. Of course, my particular project was to personalize every cover letter, which was an enormous labor.

Lage: So each person you'd write to, you--

Johnson: --you personalized.

Lage: And you didn't have a computer.

Johnson: No. What we had was, I found somebody downtown with a very primitive robotype thing. You'd have to do these complicated little inserts and boilerplate paragraphs, and then add this

paragraph and so on. Because when you're doing hundreds of those, you cannot do them individually. You just physically cannot do them, but they sure look like it. I had this little blue stationery which stood out. If there had been any previous correspondence with this person, that was referred to--if they had responded in some positive way or if they had taken any kind of action.

Lage: Was this in letters to Congress only, or letters also to the people you communicated with?

Johnson: In general. We just did not go in for any type of memos, form letters, none of that. It just did not seem that that was the way to go, because that kind of mail does not get the same attention as something that is completely personalized. So everything that went out, there were very few memos that went out, but mostly it was all done on this personalized basis.

Lage: What was the mechanism for doing this? Robotype?

Johnson: It was this funny little robotype machine. I don't know; it was pre-computer, but you could feed in blocks of text. They were very slow--

Lage: --that would be typed automatically?

Johnson: The blocks of text would be typed automatically, and then you'd type in by hand the specialized sections. I discovered this shop downtown that would do it, and I was running back and forth down there with that. Because it just got very complicated.

Lage: I wonder how congressmen respond now to the computerized mail that looks personal but really isn't.

Johnson: I know. Well, I think even if it's individualized to the extent that the person can figure out that the person writing the letter knows that they did X and Y and who they are, I think they'll still get a good response. But you've just got to prove that they aren't getting some blanket mail that's being sent out to a million other people. Nobody wants that kind of mail. They just don't pay attention to it.

The Pete McCloskey-John Ehrlichman Connection##

Lage: Was it about this time when you had your connection with Congressman Pete [Paul N.] McCloskey [of San Mateo County, California, a Republican]?

Johnson: It was right after this, September 12 at Airlie House, Bill Duddleson told McCloskey about the Mayo letter and, outraged, he phoned somebody at the White House to protest and called the Mayo letter the "no new national parks policy statement." He asked for the text of the letter and for a full packet of background information to be delivered to his (Congressman McCloskey's) office the next working day, Monday the 15th. He'd been one of the handful of House members who appeared at the May hearing to testify in strong support.

Lage: And he put in his own bill, too.

Johnson: Right. And he sent a letter to John Ehrlichman [White House counsel, later assistant to the president for domestic affairs] beginning, "Here's a starter. The only man who can save Point Reyes is the President." We've since discovered materials in the [Nixon White House] archives that weren't available to us at the time that show that in fact that was a very important channel--McCloskey to Ehrlichman to the president.

Lage: It seems that way. But at the time, you didn't really know that.

Johnson: We didn't really know that. The interesting thing is that I think that Ehrlichman had some interest in the seashore. It was obvious that the president really had none and was only interested in the politics of the situation. But Ehrlichman did have some interest and was connected to his friend McCloskey, who also had a very strong interest.

Lage: But I think those papers also showed that the Ehrlichman staffers were very concerned about the politics.

Johnson: But they were very concerned, very concerned about the politics. And Ehrlichman himself was very concerned about the politics of it.

Lage: You had mentioned someone in McCloskey's office that you--

Johnson: Yes, one of the great, lovely dividends out of that was that I was talking to somebody in McCloskey's office and asked for her name, and she told me Anne Canby. I said, "You wouldn't have come from Wilmington, would you?" She said yes, she would, and she was the daughter of a very close friend of Clem's who had died of a brain tumor when she was very small. I'd just been taken to see him before he died, before we left Wilmington in '46. She was a great help to us. She was indefatigable and

interested, and it was lovely to have that. We became close friends as a result of the thing.

Lage: Did she come over and help you with the mailing and things, or how was she helping?

Johnson: No, she couldn't do that. She was a full-time staffer in McCloskey's office. She was just, you know, a wonderful contact, a friend on a key congressman's staff. I mean, we had that already with Bizz and with Jeffery Cohelan, but to have that in a Republican member, that was wonderful.

Lage: So she may have stimulated his interest even more.

Johnson: I think so. She just got fascinated with it, and she was very interested in California. She had some of Clem's sense of the Easterner blown away by the gorgeousness of California. Clem carried that in him, you know. It's like, "You people don't know what you have. This is so unbelievably beautiful."

California Optimism versus Beltway Negativity

Lage: I don't want to get you off of our chronology here, but I want to be sure we don't forget to have you elaborate on something you mentioned earlier--the contrast between some people who are very discouraged and discouraging, and someone like Peter Behr who is upbeat like yourself.

Johnson: This was what was such a shot in the arm to us, to go to California and find that Peter and Harold [Gregg] and Mike McCloskey all shared our point of view, which was this was not possible, we couldn't put up with it, it wasn't going to happen, it would be turned around. We all felt that. It just was ridiculous, absurd, and outrageous. Whereas back inside the beltway was this attitude of, well, this is the way the system works, and too bad. We got a letter from Mrs. Lyndon Johnson saying that she just--. Let's see if I can find this. [looks through material]

It's here. Mrs. Johnson said she'd talked with Secretary Hickel, and "the Secretary explained that the Department of the Interior found it necessary to establish priorities." In other words, the money available simply would not cover all they want to do. "Because of this, I'm afraid we may not get all that we would hope for in funding." So she basically had one

conversation with Secretary Hickel and decided the ballgame was over. That was the kind of thinking that we would run into.

Lage: What date was that?

Johnson: This is dated September 9.

Lage: September 9.

Johnson: The day before the Bureau of the Budget letter. So this was the kind of thinking. In the May 13th hearing, Congressman Skubitz of Kansas asked whether a unit of the National Park System had ever been de-authorized.

Lage: That must have made your heart pound.

Johnson: It was that this was so outrageous that this thing [land acquisition at Point Reyes] was costing three times [the cost estimated seven years earlier], that the whole thing should be scrapped. So there was a lot of negativity inside the beltway.

Lage: Why do you think it was different in California?

Johnson: I think the further you get away from Washington, the more different attitudes are in general. I think it's a very specialized kind of insider thinking that goes on in Washington, that things are always--. I think people are very overawed by the big jobs that people have, and they really--

Lage: The importance.

Johnson: Right, and their importance, so when some big person like Secretary Hickel says something--this is a perfect example of it--well, that must be the oracle. Now, you come to California, you don't get that attitude at all. It's like, what? Who is this fellow? He's out to lunch. [laughter]

Lage: And maybe the success of the Save San Francisco Bay campaign, which had been just recently completed, helped.

Johnson: Yes. The Save the Bay campaign had been a roaring success. The petitions had been taped together around the capitol in Sacramento. Everybody had won a big one that they'd all been told they couldn't win. So there was just this general attitude that we don't accept things that we're told we should accept by some big shot.

Lage: That's interesting. And the Sierra Club had come off winning a few things in '68. They had a very good year.

Johnson: Right. So you just don't swallow things whole. I think there's a lot of stuff that gets swallowed in Washington. People don't think there are any choices. They don't think there are any possibilities. One of the exciting things about this thing was to watch that all get turned around. It was very thrilling to see.

Here came this letter from the Budget Bureau which was perfect bureaucratese. It said, "We have no objection, but funds will not become available." Which meant you could take it any way you wanted. Because of the pressure and the mail that he'd been getting, the chairman, Aspinall, decided to move, so then he took this letter, which was basically the "no new national parks" policy letter, and said, "Oh, there's no objection? Fine. We'll move ahead." Which meant that he simply used it as a rationale, but the fact was the reason he moved had nothing to do with this letter whatsoever. It was because of the mail he'd been receiving.

Lage: Right. Actually, the letter sort of confirmed the earlier policy.

Johnson: The letter was just saying everything bad, but Aspinall blithely said, "Oh, there's no objection? Fine. Well, move ahead." [laughter] I thought that was beautiful, because what it really means is that when you want to do something, you do it. If you decide to get out of that mindset that you're listening to some oracle that said that things are impossible and nothing can be done and so on, and if you decide to move away from that mindset, then you can find a rationale for doing that. Just as you can find rationales for doing nothing.

Lage: That's right. Was any attempt made to get people from Aspinall's own state involved?

Johnson: I do not believe so. I think that would have been very counterproductive. I think that would have made him mad if we'd messed around in Colorado. We certainly didn't do that.

Creative Alliances with Bay Area Conservationists

Lage: You hooked up with various conservationists in the Bay Area. The letters show correspondence with Conservation Associates [George Collins, Doris Leonard, and Dorothy Varian]. Had you known them before that?

- Johnson: George Collins, Clem had been in touch with from early on, because he was the architect of the [Point Reyes Seashore] boundaries when he was with the National Park Service way back. I don't know; how far back does it go? Into the forties?
- Lage: I think he didn't get involved until the fifties. But it goes back beyond that with Connie Wirth's recommendation for a Point Reyes national park in the 1930s.
- Johnson: But George Collins of Conservation Associates was a real veteran and a strong political player too. He had certain areas that he had a particular interest in. An Arctic wildlife refuge was one. But he took a big interest in Point Reyes. When it came to this question of the integrity of the boundaries, I wrote him and asked him if he would please generate mail for us, and I made a donation to his Arctic [National] Wildlife Refuge.
- Lage: Oh, really?
- Johnson: Yes. Because I said that "you having been so involved with setting the boundaries in the first place would be the perfect person to generate mail on this particular subject." So we asked him to help us on that. We were in touch with them throughout the campaign. Bill knew him, too, I think much better than I did. So they stayed in touch.
- Lage: Did you know Doris Leonard also?
- Johnson: Oh, yes.
- Lage: Or just through this mail?
- Johnson: Well, through this. I had not known her before. But you will recall that note I wrote to Doris from the airplane on the way up to see Katharine in school with little Eunice with me. It captures the excitement of that time and all the things that we were doing. [Her memo, October 10, 1969, is in the Conservation Associates papers in The Bancroft Library.]
- Johnson: I have that in here. I can't remember the exact date [October 10, 1969].
- Lage: And then George and Doris seem to converse with Republican figures in California like Putnam Livermore [vice-chairman of the California Republican Party in 1969].

- Johnson: Yes, he had excellent Republican contacts. He worked on Governor Reagan and eventually got an endorsement through the Put Livermore connection.
- Lage: Is that kind of thing important, do you think?
- Johnson: Bill and I were talking about that. We didn't think it seemed to be very definitive at that point. It didn't seem to make a big difference, but nevertheless, "no stone unturned" was our general attitude. If there was something we could think of to do, we did it. Because sometimes you can't foresee the ripple effect of a given thing. If you can see that it's possible to do it, go ahead and do it, and then find out later how much difference it made. Don't stop and think it may not be productive, because "never see how little you can win a case by." I think it certainly kind of tied up a loose end, to get the governor's endorsement. So how much difference that made, I don't know, but we did it. We were glad to get it.
- Lage: Do you think it's a good stopping point now, and then go into when the House starts up its hearings again after this Mayo letter?
- Johnson: Yes.
- Lage: And what happened through the fall?
- Johnson: Yes.
- Lage: I think so. I think we'll be fresher if we kind of think again and then come back to it. Is there anything else you want to add about the period up to the Mayo letter? We're now using the Mayo letter as a marking point.
- Johnson: It was. It was very much that way. Waiting for the other shoe to drop. Just to reiterate that wonderful enthusiasm of the Californians, it was just such a fabulous shot in the arm. And they appreciated what we did.
- Lage: Oh, sure.
- Johnson: The Pacific Sun, you know, put out a beautiful special supplement. You've probably seen that, haven't you?
- Lage: I've seen that. [See Appendix B, p. 105]
- Johnson: One of them called and said, "Where is your central distribution depot?" [laughs] I said, "Our dining room table. We haven't eaten on it in months." But they did feel that we were

contributing, and I certainly felt that we couldn't have ever done it without that effort from California. We couldn't have possibly done it without them. No way. No way.

Lage: It was a great tie-up of--

Johnson: Yes. But I think it was a creative tie-up. And then the fact that Peter [Behr] had Republican connections and I had the Democratic ones, I think that was great too. It just complemented itself in so many different ways. And then overall, everyone was for parks. People didn't have the gloomy feeling they have now that we just can't afford anything. We were thinking about how much it would cost to buy Point Reyes today. It was a window of opportunity. Even though it was expensive, it was still do-able.

Lage: Even though there were those who didn't think it was do-able.

Johnson: There were those who did not, but it was, in effect, do-able. But think what it would cost now.

Lage: It would be outrageous.

Johnson: Well, just impossible. You couldn't find public funds for such a thing. So all the pieces fell in place. There's so much kind of serendipity in these things.

Lage: That's right. Well, it's part serendipity and part people like yourself making it happen. It has to come together.

VI INFLUENCES, THE WOMAN'S ROLE, AND MORE CO-CAMPAIGNERS

[Interview 2: November 20, 1990]##

Further Thoughts on Family Influences

Lage: Today is November 20, 1990, and this is the second interview with Katy Johnson. You had some further thoughts about the family background.

Johnson: Well, I did. The seashore is so connected to me with my life with Clem that I had never really given any thought before to how my earlier days and my childhood and upbringing and my parents would have had any connection. Of course, when you start to think about it, everything goes back to those early days. So it was a fruitful line of thought. But my comments the first day were pretty much off the top of my head, and I wanted to expand a little bit because I think I sold my father short a bit.

I agree with what I said in regards to my mother, that her ability to empathize with whatever was going on in the world at large certainly was a wellspring for me and fueled that sort of outrage that really helped me to get moving and work on this project effectively. The outrage definitely is connected, I think, with the Irish tradition, being, as she would have said, "a'gin the government." [laughter] Whatever the authority structure is. And also very much, there is that sense of not allowing yourself to be overawed by authority. She earnestly said to me one time, "Katharine, you're just as good as anyone else. If you should ever be invited to Buckingham Palace, think nothing of it. No problem." I thought that was a pretty strange thing to say out of the blue, but I think that's very much part of that Irish tradition. Everybody can trace their ancestry back to some king, apparently--the lowliest, poorest person. That's imbued in the culture. That's very egalitarian.

Lage: They've fought the British for so long.

Johnson: Well, of course, there's that. But there's also a sense that they're such a homogeneous culture, and they go way, way, way back, and they really don't believe that anybody is so much better than they are. So that helps build a skepticism that we were talking about in relation to being told that things are hopeless. That helps you to feel more skeptical when people behind a big mahogany door with a brass plate on it say something to you. You don't necessarily just go along with it 100 percent.

Lage: That's very interesting.

Johnson: I thought about that in expanding what I had said before, that all of that was very important for me, because I didn't accept that this had to be the way I was first told it would be.

Lage: As Lady Bird Johnson did.

Johnson: Right. As Lady Bird Johnson. I just didn't accept it.

My father, on the other hand, was a disciplined person and a very fair person, where my mother was emotionally volatile. I think his training--. Throughout my childhood, he played many, many, many games with us and was infinitely patient. He had a very good time with us. He never let us win, and we still had a good time. He trained you to get beyond your need to win into the joy of the game, the joy of the effort.

Lage: What kind of games? Card games?

Johnson: We played every card game. All my friends were out learning how to do physical things, which I never was any good at. We were in the little study dealing out the cards. We played all kinds of exotic ones--Russian bank and cribbage and all the rummies. We played lots of board games. He just taught us many, many different games; I don't even remember them all now. But it was wonderful training.

He also had a quality that the more serious a question was, the more he was in complete control of his emotions. He could blow up over a trifle, but if something serious was happening, he instantly moderated his voice. He never discussed anything with you in a way that made you personally threatened. He got to the heart of what the issue was. He was very, very objective and very fair, and kindly, really, when things were difficult, when you had a difficult thing to work out. I remember his kindness. Although we were afraid of his bad temper in a superficial way, in a deeper sense we were never afraid of him,

and we always could go to him and talk to him if there was anything. They were very unusual in the way that they trusted us. They didn't monitor us in a kind of way that made you feel diminished, like some parents do.

Lage: Sounds very supportive.

Bill Duddleson's Contributions

Johnson: In terms of the seashore, Bill Duddleson was saying that we managed to stay on good terms with everyone. I would very much like to bring Bill into that end of the equation, because if he had an objective, he was going to be very disciplined in how he went about it and not allow himself the luxury of popping off or getting upset or whatever. Just going to stick to what he was doing and work with people.

He was also very good at explaining complicated things. That was apparently one of the sources of his success. He could take a complicated issue and boil it down and make it sound--.

So in the letters that we hammered out with our "committee," I remember the issues between us. The two men [Stuart Johnson and Bill Duddleson] were both in so many ways more well-informed than I was. But one of the contributions I made--well, first I had to keep the combativeness out that Stuart wanted to inject. And Bill was very grounded in all the bureaucratic language that he'd had to deal with and he knew what it all meant and so on, but I used to like to try to simplify and try to boil it down and make it sound more accessible and more--

Lage: --more direct language?

Johnson: --direct language, and to keep that bureaucratic sound out of it. So that I think that our letters had a little bit of character to them and were perhaps a little less boring than some of the letters were.

[tape interruption]

Johnson: It was more than style. It's a question of trying to get to the real ideas and cut the--.

Lage: Now, I'm sure--I'm going to be a devil's advocate here--that a more cynical person would say, "Does the wording mean that much

to a congressman?" Are we talking about letters to congressmen? Or letters to the Point Reyes constituency?

Johnson: No, letters to the Congress.

Lage: How much does the wording mean, do you think?

Johnson: I don't know. We put an awful lot of energy into that wording, and it's hard to say, but they were--. We'd go to a hearing and we'd see everybody sitting behind the dais. We'd see the members, and we could see my blue stationery up there in front of them.

Lage: So they could use that for information?

Johnson: Yes, because they were very factual. I wanted to inject real genuine feeling into them and to simplify the issues. They were very much used, but maybe it didn't make any difference what the style was. But when we over not too long a period of time developed into a "Dear Katharine" relationship with Wayne Aspinall and so on, I like to feel it was of some consequence how we wrote. Anyway, I couldn't put anything out under my signature that I didn't like.

Lage: But I think it's important to make the point that you weren't writing letters just to persuade a congressman, but also to give him information which later was used to persuade others.

Johnson: Oh, very much so. The persuasion is only--. You don't persuade with rhetoric. You only persuade with facts. The most persuasive thing we did was give them the newspaper clippings. That is the single most important persuasive thing we did, because that showed what was going on in terms of support out there. The California clips and the national clips both were critical.

Lage: So getting articles in the newspapers out here, the public relations here, was important.

Johnson: Absolutely. Peter Behr's tremendously effective work in getting things in the paper out here and our somewhat effective work in getting things in the national press were all--. And of course, actually, Bill worked very closely with both Scott Thurber and Hal Gilliam out here. They were his special friends from way back, and they were very much for the seashore. So he was involved in this on the California end as well as the national end.

Dealing with Curmudgeonly Wayne Aspinall

Lage: Do you have any more to say about Wayne Aspinall? He's such an interesting figure in the conservation movement. Here he was working with you; in many cases he was opposing conservation efforts.

Johnson: I know.

Lage: Did you meet with him directly, then?

Johnson: Indeed we did. I felt instinctively--as I described the contrast of the meeting with [Senator Alan] Bible, where both of them were taking a hard line when we first met--I felt instinctively that there was more to be hoped for with Aspinall than with Bible. Bible had taken that intransigent stand about "the other body," and I knew from experience that when somebody had got the bit between their teeth about the other side not doing their share, you weren't going to be able to budge them. That turf thing between the House and Senate can get completely rigid. I just didn't feel we were going to get--.

Bible did keep his word. As soon as Aspinall moved, he moved. But he said he wasn't going to move, and somebody had to move first.

Lage: And Aspinall was holding out for the president. Or the Bureau of the Budget.

Johnson: Yes, Aspinall wanted the Bureau of the Budget to move, and Aspinall changed his mind before he actually made the public announcement. He showed us he had changed his mind when he gave us, in effect, marching orders the day after the Bureau of the Budget letter came in, to go ahead and write other members of his committee. It was obvious then that he had decided to move.

Lage: Was he aware of this petition campaign out here?

Johnson: Oh, of course. That's what we did. We started bombarding him as soon as it all began, with these materials. With the Save Our Seashore--

Lage: So he knew that a major public effort was--

Johnson: Yes, it was revving up and he was already starting to get considerable mail. We started our letter-writing push in the summer, so he'd been hearing from people, and he'd been finding out about news clips. We had the strategy of saying, "This

isn't your fault. You're not the bad person. Why should you take the public criticism when the fault is elsewhere? Let's just keep the heat on the Bureau of the Budget, and you move ahead." So that classically worded Bureau of the Budget letter which says, "There is no objection, but funds will not be available," he chose to say, "Oh, there's no objection; we'll move." But I don't think he would have done so without the evidence of the public support that had been generated.

Lage: In a personal way, could you describe the meetings with Aspinall? I've heard he's sort of a curmudgeon.

Johnson: Yes, he was a curmudgeon but I think this again goes right back to my father. I'm very drawn to curmudgeons. I can always usually get going with them [laughs] because they frequently have hearts of gold underneath. He just got very friendly with me eventually. You just don't go plowing at them head-on, you know. The curmudgeonliness is often just a defense against a harsh world. They've sort of got their dukes up before somebody else does something. My father was short, very small, and he went off to college at sixteen and had no money, went to a fancy college. So he developed various curmudgeonly tactics to make up for his small stature. And then he had to leave college; his father lost his job, and he supported his family and had lots of vicissitudes, but he developed these curmudgeonly tactics to show that he was a person of some substance despite all these problems in his life. I think a lot of curmudgeons do that. Underneath, they're really--

Lage: They're soft-hearted and don't want to show it sometimes.

Johnson: They're soft-hearted and don't want to show it, and they've developed some armor plate, you know, in a hostile world. But if you adopt a stance, you know--like the wolves, say, or whatever--you just make it clear from the beginning that you're not fighting. They can relax.

The Woman's Role. in Family. as Congressional Wife and Widow

Lage: Is there a difference lobbying as a woman?

Johnson: Yes, I think so. Especially as a widow. I think that, again, is a favored position to be in.

Lage: A congressional widow.

Johnson: Yes. I think it's a strong position to be in.

Lage: So they showed you every courtesy, I'm sure.

Johnson: They showed me absolutely every courtesy. I tried to be very, very courteous in response, so that we did manage to have good working relationships with everybody we worked with. We didn't get into any rows. I just knew that was going to be completely counterproductive. These were the people we needed to get the bill through. There was no purpose to that.

Lage: Just to go back to your earlier life, did you have brothers and sisters?

Johnson: One sister.

Lage: One sister?

Johnson: One sister.

Lage: In thinking of the woman's role and what was expected of you as a young person, did your parents have rigid ideas of women's roles?

Johnson: We had a completely mixed message. My mother and father were both firmly rooted in Victoriana. One funny story about the seashore per se was that when I was deep into the middle of it, my father looked at me one day and said, "Katharine, I hope you're not going to be like Mrs. So-and-so from Dickens"--I don't know who it was--"who always has inkstained fingers and her hair coming out, and she's always working on causes." [laughter] I said, "Yes, that's just who I am right now. You're right, Father, and that does not suit your Victorian ideal." But I just thought it was comical because he had it pinned down. That was exactly the state I was in at that point. Usually with a pencil I'd be chewing on, and just carrying my papers around with me everywhere I went and on the telephone. I was in a somewhat chaotic state. He didn't like chaos. He liked order, and everything about a big political effort, whether it be for a cause or for a candidate, is chaotic and disorderly.

Lage: But did he think it was not appropriate for a woman, do you think?

Johnson: Probably, yes. Yes, I think so. Although he nourished us both intellectually. That's where I say the mixed message. We were encouraged at every step of the way to do well in school. They took an intense interest in our classes and our grades and all

of that. So we got a very mixed message. My sister suffered more from this than I did because she went through college and should have gone to grad school, and they brought her back to learn typing and join the Junior League. She said it was the worst year of her life.

Lage: Learn typing and join the Junior League?

Johnson: Yes.

Lage: What a combination.

Johnson: Oh, it was awful. They just clipped her wings, really they did. In my case I just got out and flew away early.

Lage: Was she older or younger?

Johnson: Younger. And she has a fantastic mind. She's very much more like my father. She could have been a real powerhouse if she had chosen to teach college or anything, she could have done it. They were just thrilled with her at Sarah Lawrence, thrilled with her.

But anyway, yes, it was a mixed message. It was a very mixed message.

Lage: Did that affect you at all, in terms of how you went about this?

Johnson: I think that the cover, you could say, of being the widow lobbying was so safe and secure that it afforded me a chance to just break through everything. If I could swallow that position I was in--which I had to swallow because it just was the way it was, that was the fact--then I could go anywhere with it. And I felt a sense that this was for me personally a fabulous opportunity to break through a lot of barriers that I had been up against in my life, including the congressional wife role that we spoke of briefly--

Lage: Right. We didn't go into it too thoroughly.

Johnson: --which books have been written about. It's a very hard role because really, your main role is just a negative one, not to make a mistake, not to say the wrong thing, not to forget a name, not to express an opinion. It's all negative. There's no avenue in there for you to take a positive thing and run with it because it's fraught with--. Now, that's a generalization, and there are a few people who've been able to surmount that, but for the most part that's about the way it works out. When you're successful at it, it's because you haven't made those

particular kinds of mistakes and you have successfully muzzled yourself in all that.

Clem gave me a lovely opportunity that plays a little into the seashore. During the [1960] presidential campaign with Kennedy, he decided not to go to the national convention because the California delegation was split in about five directions, which made him very unhappy because he couldn't maximize the state's clout, and he said, "I'm not going down there and get in this free-for-all." So he went down the Colorado River in a rubber raft during the convention. He said, "I can be something of a healer when it's over, because this is hopeless. There's no way you can take charge or make any sense out of it." So he invited me to go with him, and I said, "How can I do that? The children--. Somebody's got to be able to reach somebody on the phone if anybody's in trouble or gets hurt or whatever. I can't do that, but," I said, "let me come back with you when the Congress was--" I think when it was in special session or something.

Anyway, there was a time that summer, and the children were still out here in camp and visiting friends and so on, and I said, "Let me come back and stay with you for two weeks and come down and work in your office." He said, "Certainly," which was very unusual. The average congressman would have been totally horrified at the idea. He was delighted, and said, "Fine," and they gave me the job of--. He did so many of his letters individually that it was completely inefficient. I mean, he shouldn't have. It was unbelievable, the correspondence that he did, just hand-dictated individual responses to letter after letter after letter after letter. I went through them all last year; it was unbelievable.

So in the office they said, "You could help us do some boilerplate paragraphs and figure out ones that we can use, and different issues, and pinpoint them." That turned out to be useful, and they used them, apparently, for the next two years. They told me that was a useful contribution. But that played right into the seashore because we were constantly shifting boilerplate language around.

Lage: Did Clem have a certain style of letter-writing that you picked up?

Johnson: I took paragraphs from his letters that could be applicable. In other words, there wasn't any point in having to dictate over and over again a very similar, practically almost word-for-word paragraph.

- Lage: But when you came to the seashore, did any of his approach to letter-writing have an influence?
- Johnson: No, I wouldn't say so, because his letters to his constituents were frequently full of the mentor that was so much a part of him. He used a lot of those letters to refine his own thinking and to teach and to explain. Certainly not too often to try to persuade them. He was not in a lobbying role. So I don't know that that would have been too comparable, but certainly they were lively. Probably more lively than anything we were able to do. He had a very, very lively style. But that may have affected me in some way I can't pinpoint. But that was a very nice experience for me.¹
- Lage: And an unusual one.
- Johnson: I told several friends of mine. They said, "What? George would never let me near the office." I just thought it up, and he said, "Certainly. Good idea. Come right down."
- Lage: And you really had a feel for politics, it seems.
- Johnson: I loved it. And he used to say I had good judgment politically. And Stuart used to say the same thing.
- Lage: I know the time wasn't right when they asked you to take his seat, but is that something you think you would have thrived in if the time had been right?
- Johnson: I don't know, Ann. I'm a funny mixture of extrovert and introvert. I need both in my life. I don't know if I would have thrived on that degree of pressure, seven days a week, fifty-two weeks of the year. I'm not so sure that would have agreed with me. But there would have been aspects. I tend to like to get--. Just like the seashore. I tend to like to get into something as an all-out effort. That's why, since my second husband died, I've been in several campaigns with very good results from myself. I like to get into it and give it everything I have, and then it's over.
- Lage: And then relax a bit.
- Johnson: Yes, and then get into another side of myself which is different and more contemplative. I think that the constant demands of

¹See Clem Miller, Member of the House: Letters of a Congressman, edited by John W. Baker (New York: Scribner, 1962). A new edition of Clem Miller's letters to his constituents is planned.

public life which never let up would be pretty tough for me temperamentally. On the other hand, the opportunity to serve and really do something that constructive would be a great honor, so one never knows about that issue.

Lage: What course the life might have taken; that's a hard question.

Johnson: Yes, that's right.

Parents' Sense of Responsibility and Public Involvement

Lage: Are there any more background kinds of things before we get into the specifics of that fall of '69? Anything else you thought about?

Johnson: No. Only in this one issue between the parents, that one thing they had in common was a deep sense of responsibility. They each ended up being the sole support of their elderly parents and helping with siblings. I remember one of the things my mother would say scathingly was So-and-so was one of these people who would let George do it. I think both my parents were people who never let George do it. So I think that sense of there's something has to be done and you don't sit around and wait for somebody else to do it was something that really did play into this.

Lage: I can see that operating when you were making the decision, "Should we take on this battle?"

Johnson: Right. You just don't really think that it's a good idea to sit around and expect somebody else to do it, because they probably will not. George will probably not do it, is the point.

Lage: Everyone else will be waiting for George.

Johnson: Everybody else is going to wait for George. And that was a deep bond between them.

But to get back to the differences, they each had these vicissitudes, and my father, as I say, had to leave college. My mother's father was missing most of her childhood years and not really providing, and they hit much harder times than my father. My mother's family had to separate; just financially, my grandmother couldn't keep them all together. When my mother graduated---. In fact, I don't know how she did it all through their childhood. My mother graduated from high school and went

down to teach school in a cornfield in the middle of lower Delaware, and lived with a farmer's family. Then she went to New York, and her first job was a bill collector at Staten Island, and lived with relatives. She worked her way up eventually in the Curtis Publishing Company, a very nice job.

But my father, whose father lost his job, they had bits and pieces of connections, and somehow it was very tough but they survived, and I don't think they ever hit the kinds of hard times that my mother's family had, nothing like it. Although they had in common this great sense of responsibility in having each looked after their families, my father had been insulated to a larger degree, and this again played into her more deeply realistic sense of how much injustice there was in the world, things like that. His [judicial] opinions I read after he died mostly came down in favor of the institution over the individual. [Clarence Southerland was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Delaware.] Not always. He was not extreme, but he liked to think of order and structure and all that. And my mother was really into righting wrongs.

Lage: A very interesting combination. The temperaments seem very different.

Johnson: They were very complementary in some ways. I think there was a side of my father that somewhere along the line he had squashed as not being the way to get ahead. But there's something about it he liked in my mother.

Lage: So which one did you take after more? More after your mother?

Johnson: My mother. But I think there's more--. That's why I think in the discussion the other morning that we shortchanged him. My mother's emotional volatility, most of which really came out of the stresses and insecurities that she'd had as a child--that emotional volatility was sometimes very hard.

##

Johnson: His steadiness and reliability, dependability, all those things, were things that I deeply valued in him. So I did identify. I think I was to some degree male identified, because I've always had this desire to get involved in work that is not--. Charity benefits and all that kind of stuff has always left me totally cold.

Lage: The sort of traditional Junior League sort of thing?

Johnson: Yes. I just couldn't stand any of that, I never could. So there's got to be some little bit of me that's male-identified, even though I've had all these children and have this big family and everything. And I am a lot like my mother, I think, in some ways. But I'm a combo, as we all are.

Anyway, that's enough. We kind of expanded a lot on this, but since it's a topic I had never thought out before, I felt the need to kind of expand it a bit.

Lage: And what we are trying to show is some of the personal side, and this is certainly part of it.

Allies and Co-Workers in the East

Johnson: Right. Now, in another vein, at some point I wanted to mention people who assisted me, and how they came into my life, and during the seashore [campaign] people just miraculously appeared to help there.

Lage: Let's do that now.

Johnson: There was an enormous amount of work, and I did a lot myself, but when we were moving these big mailings and so on there was plenty of opportunity for help. One key person was Clem's former secretary, Mary [Margaret Burke] Brown, who remained a close friend. She is a marvelous person who is very dedicated and interested in helping. She helped me with correspondence, she helped me with mailings, she'd help me with anything. She had little children and I tried not to take advantage, but anyway, that was a resource that was always available to me if I was in a jam. She was just fabulous.

And then I got a call out of the blue one day from Judith Elias, whom I'd never heard of. She was a Californian who loved the seashore and had heard about it's being in trouble. She was temporarily in Washington with her husband, who I think was in NIH [National Institutes of Health], and she called Alan Cranston's office and said, "I hear the seashore's in trouble. What can I do to help?" They said, "Go and see Katy Johnson." So she called me up and became an incredible help. She had a lot of time, and I think eventually I finally insisted that she be on a small stipend of some kind because she just gave me too much of her time. But she turned out to have fabulous lobbying skills. She was very good, person-to-person.

- Lage: So she'd go to Congress and visit?
- Johnson: Well, sometimes. Towards the end there, there were some times I remember we had her on the Hill, and she was fabulous. We didn't even know she had those abilities. But for a long time she was just helping me with all the paperwork. Judy was wonderful, and also has remained a friend.
- Lage: Has she stayed involved in political issues?
- Johnson: No, she put herself through law school and is doing, not arbitration, but--
- Lage: Mediation?
- Johnson: Yes, mediation. She's a very savvy, wonderful person. That just dropped into my lap, and then Clem's mother's friend's daughter who lived in Washington whose husband was a diplomat, Florence Gibson, would call me up and say, "Katy, do you need any help? Call me if you do." If I did, she'd just shoot over and start stuffing envelopes or whatever. She's developed her own recording studio and has all kinds of abilities. But she'd come over and stuff envelopes for the seashore at the drop of a hat.
- So these were the kinds of resources. And then we used the children up to the nines whenever they were around or available. They all helped. The night before the last big mailing [to all members of the House] before the vote on the floor of the House, we took the mailing to the [House] Judiciary [Committee] room. Stuart's old boss let him have one of the big rooms, and we assembled it there, and all the kids were there and everybody else would get dragooned and had a real party in there putting it together, and then we put it in inside mail. Bizz Johnson would let us have his franked envelopes, and we could dump that stuff right in inside mail.
- Lage: Was there any coordination with the Sierra Club lobbying office? Lloyd Tupling in Washington?
- Johnson: Oh, we worked with Lloyd all the time. We were on the phone and talking to Lloyd constantly.
- Lage: How did that work?
- Johnson: We were all on the same wavelength. We were all trying to complement each other and let each other know what we were doing.

Lage: Was the Sierra Club there lobbying too, or did they kind of leave it to you?

Johnson: No, no, they wanted to have their own. In fact, I don't know if I made this clear in the first interview. When I went out there in August, there were three people I saw: Harold [Gregg], Peter [Behr], and Mike McCloskey. McCloskey told us they'd already started a petition drive. They had already gotten going and they had stuff already happening. The Sierra Club always wants to maintain its independence, but they also do believe in liaison. And we were very pleased because they were very much focused on a letter-writing campaign. They basically, once Peter got going, I think they dropped their petition thing.

Lage: Peter used the Sierra Club mailing [list] in the Bay Area, and sent to all the members of the club a petition or something.

Coordination between Bay Area and Washington Efforts

Johnson: Well, we were all working together. Everybody. I'm not sure exactly how that worked for S.O.S, but I know that at one point I donated to their mailing out to all of their [Sierra Club] members to generate mail. Joan Roth did too.

Lage: Did you know Joan Roth before?

Johnson: Yes, I did.

Lage: Is that how you made the contact and got them to be contributors?

Johnson: I'm trying to remember how I met them. We saw each other in Washington; we had known each other, and Abby, one of my girls, babysat for their little girl. They lived not far from us.

Lage: Did you make the contact with them, then?

Johnson: I made the contact with Joan Roth for the Seashore. Yes.

Lage: Did you know Warren Lemmon? There are several letters about the seashore from Doris Leonard to Warren Lemmon.

Johnson: That's very familiar to me, but my memory needs to be jogged. It's a very familiar name.

Lage: He worked with Roth Properties in San Francisco. Did you have much contact with Barbara Eastman during this campaign?

Johnson: I got to know Barbara really later. I wasn't in on the early days, you know, when Clem was working with her. I was back in Washington. I found out more and more about her as time went on. And of course, she was still living in Los Gatos. Now she's full-time in Inverness. Later on, I remember driving down to Los Gatos and asking her if she would be interested in trying to head up an organization, a private organization of pro-seashore people such as many parks have. It's like an advocacy group. Friends of, or whatever. She felt she couldn't do it on top of everything else, but we had a wonderful talk. I just ran into this morning a very nice letter from her acknowledging my work to finish the seashore. We did become acquainted eventually, and I certainly was very impressed with her. She was an amazing person.

But I started out quite cold. I mean, there were big gaps in what I knew about the history there.

Lage: You'd been away from the area for a long time.

Johnson: I'd been away from the area, exactly.

Lage: Were there any turf conflicts related to that? People who thought it was kind of their seashore and why was this woman from Washington coming in?

Johnson: I think they needed help [in Washington]. I was far enough away geographically so they could run their operation exactly as they saw fit. There may have been some of those feelings, but they just really hardly filtered through to me. I didn't really pick them up because we weren't together geographically. The people I was in touch with on an almost daily basis were Peter [Behr] and Betty London, the S.O.S. coordinator, and Harold Gregg and Mike McCloskey. And George and Doris. Those were the people that we kept on a very close, continuing communication with. Then I also had some other friends on the board. Libby Gatov, who is a very dear friend, and Becky Watkin [former Marin County Planning Commissioner]. In fact, I think it--

Lage: On the board of--?

Johnson: S.O.S.

So sometimes I'd include them in my mailing. Sometimes I'd include the whole board. It depended on what we were doing.

But I don't remember being told at some point that I was out of line or--

Lage: I found no evidence of that. I just wondered if you--

Johnson: I just don't remember having stepped on anybody's toes. It would be hard to believe that I didn't at some point, just out of the sheer logic of the situation. But I think the geographical removal, I'm sure it would have happened, because my experience with campaigns is that, for instance, you've got a local operation going, and they send somebody out from Washington to "help" you? It basically means to run it. That's just a recipe for hate on all sides. But there wasn't any problem about that because I wasn't out there.

Lage: You were running the Washington end of it.

Johnson: I was just running the Washington end of it, and they knew they needed somebody to do that. So it just felt complimentary. I got some very nice letters from some of those people. I got a telegram from the McIntyres that I just found in the files.

Lage: Who are the McIntyres?

Johnson: I think they were on the board. Hal McIntyre. I don't know who they were, and they sent me this beautiful telegram thanking me and wishing I were there to be with them. They were marching across the bridge; I don't know what was going on. Anyway, it was just a beautiful telegram. So there were some very positive messages reaching me. I just don't remember any negatives.

Lage: Everything went so well that there may have been no negatives.

Johnson: It did go well. It did go well. There was that little bit of a flap about Aspinall. That was the only one, and that was really Peter. He was partisan, and we were partisan too sometimes. I mean, you know, he wasn't doing anything different than we did on our end as Democrats, but he just needed to moderate that and he did.

Lage: And maybe he didn't realize how you were working with Aspinall, what your strategy was.

Johnson: No, he didn't. But other people talked to him, and it just all got straightened out. I don't mean to gloss anything over, but I just honestly don't have any recollections like that. But I think I was geographically insulated from it. If I had been out there on a day-to-day basis trying to interfere with what they were doing, there would have been sparks all over the place.

But that wasn't where they needed me. They needed me back where I was. And I had no desire to do that.

A "Katy-gram": Fact Sheet on Point Reyes for Congressmen
STATUS OF POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE AS OF OCTOBER 15, 1969

Subdivision is imminent in the Lake and Pierce Ranches, and quite possibly elsewhere, within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore as authorized by Congress in 1962. The owners of these lands are unwilling and/or unable to hold them and Government funds are not immediately available to purchase them. At this time the Government owns less than half of the land authorized, these parcels being in an "unadministrable" patchwork pattern.

The earmarked Land & Water Conservation Fund (Source: offshore oil revenues, motorboat fuel taxes, park admission fees,) as authorized by Congress at \$200 million per year, contains sufficient funds to ensure the completion of Point Reyes and other urgent conservation opportunities. However, the Nixon Budget for fiscal 1970 allows expenditures from this fund at only \$124 million, which, after fixed commitments, leaves only \$17 million for all National Park Service land acquisition not previously programmed. The bleak prospect for Point Reyes and other such programs, given the premise of the hold up on this earmarked fund, is spelled out in the letter of Budget Bureau Director Mayo to House Interior Committee Chairman Wayne Aspinall on September 10th. It is not clear what, if any use is being made of these specifically earmarked funds (see Senator Nelson in the Congressional Record, enclosed.)

The House Interior Committee has held hearings on numerous identical bills providing for \$38 million additional authorization on May 13. Up to now, Chairman Aspinall has taken the position that he will not move any new authorizations while the Administration refuses to release all of the earmarked Land & Water Conservation Fund. However, it appears he may have shifted his position in regard to Point Reyes. The Interior Committee has just announced further subcommittee consideration of Point Reyes on November 13 (see attached Committee press release and that of Congressman Don Clausen). Chairman Aspinall has also written to the Department of the Interior for information relating to the values of specific parcels of land now in private ownership.

There are persistent rumors that there is some support both in the Department of the Interior and in the Congress for a reduction in the boundaries to carve out a "compact, administrable unit". Such a position may be presented at the November 13 Subcommittee meeting by the Department of the Interior or by a Member of the Committee. Congressman Harold T. Johnson (D. 2nd Dist.) who was instrumental in establishing the original boundaries and has been a leading spokesman within the Interior Committee for the Seashore (also having considerable seniority and an excellent working relationship with Chairman Aspinall) remains firmly opposed to any change in the original boundaries. Such a change would almost surely involve excluding the Pierce Ranch, including McClure's Beach and a substantial percentage of the ocean and bay coastline within the Seashore.

At the May 13 hearing, National Park Service Director George Hartzog presented as a money saving proposal a program to first condemn and then to sell off over 9,000 acres, 1/6 of the authorized Seashore, to private and commercial subdivision. Mr. Hartzog claims the authority to do this without further leave of Congress under new authority granted the Park Service under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act Amendments of 1968, but he is clearly violating the intent of Congress as spelled out in my letter to Congressman Johnson submitted for the hearing record. There is evidence of substantial opposition to this program within the House Interior Committee. This question, of far reaching precedent-setting importance for the entire National Park System, may or may not be under consideration at the Subcommittee meeting scheduled to consider Point Reyes on November 13. However, this November 13 meeting will certainly be, in effect, a confrontation between the Congress, which has shown bi-partisan support of conservation measures, and the Administration which thus far has given the lowest priority to the preservation of our natural heritage.

Chairmen Jackson and Bible in the Senate Interior Committee have been unwilling so far to move S1530 (Cranston-Murphy) until the House completes action.

VII BUILDING MOMENTUM, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1969

Combating Move for a Mini-Seashore

- Lage: Why don't we go back to the chronological approach, and then other issues will come up. Shall we return to that chronology that you looked at?
- Johnson: Yes.
- Lage: We last time brought ourselves up to September 10, when the letter came from the Bureau of the Budget. And you were told by Aspinall to go ahead and write to the committee members, which --
- Johnson: --which tipped us off that Aspinall--. He didn't actually make a public announcement for quite some time, but it tipped us off because he had obviously decided to switch his position.
- Lage: But there did seem to be a backdrop during October of fears on your part that several members were beginning to look at the idea of reducing the size of the seashore.
- Johnson: That's right. We got very worried about that. [looks through document]
- Lage: That's where I ran across the letter from you to Conservation Associates, Doris and George.
- Johnson: Right. On September 27 one of [Congressman] McCloskey's aides, and I'm sure it was Anne Canby, came from the Hill to 29th Street [Mrs. Johnson's home in Washington] to pick up copies of Island in Time and Wild Peninsula. She explained, "We're working on someone in the White House," and I wrote a friend the next day saying, "We hope it's the president." Who it was, was Ehrlichman.
- Lage: That's what was discovered through the archives.

Johnson: Yes, we've since discovered. And then in October S.O.S. sent that special issue of the Pacific Sun, cartons and cartons of it by air. I had a little piece in there saying, "Here's exactly how to help the Seashore with letters," and who to, and so on.

Lage: Did you distribute that issue in Washington? [Appendix B, p. 105]

Johnson: Oh, we distributed that issue all over the place. It ended up in the "every member mailing" at the end. We had enough. And then we sent it out in the interim with many mailings.

Lage: Did you get feedback? People commenting on that?

Johnson: Yes, I guess so.

Lage: It's a little hard to remember these details.

Johnson: Yes, that is hard, and one of the things I'd love to do, we really haven't segregated the correspondence. You asked me before about some of the responses, so it would be nice to give you a little more of the flavor of some of the responses. But that'll take a little digging that we haven't really pulled together.

But on October 7, Bizz asked me to come into his office for help in retaining the integrity of the boundaries, so that's when we were alerted that there was a move on to really change the boundaries. The Budget Bureau and others were going to say, "Let's have a mini-seashore." One of Jeff Cohelan's assistants had asked me which parts of Point Reyes are the most important. We found this absolutely alarming. There were newspaper stories that [Don] Clausen and William Mailliard were considering amendments. I wrote them, and I saw Mailliard's response recently. He said that they weren't considering any amendments.

Lage: Did you work closely with Mailliard? We haven't talked too much about him.

Johnson: We tried to. I mean, he was right there in the area, and we had an ongoing relationship with him. He never got deeply involved, but he certainly was courteous and played his part. His style was not one that was very activist, but he was very much on our side. He was certainly supportive.

Lage: Just not--

Johnson: Yes. He wasn't doing anything very dramatic about it, but on the other hand he was dependable.

- Lage: Now, would Clausen have been considering reducing the size, do you think?
- Johnson: Did we ever get any evidence of that? There were these newspaper reports. It was an idea that was floating around, and Clausen wasn't doing anything to squash it, and Clausen wasn't doing anything to say that he was for the full size.
- Lage: Not like Bizz Johnson.
- Johnson: Right. See, this is where this shows how critical Bizz was, all the way through. He never wavered, ever, in wanting the full size and the full amount of money. That was from day one, and it never changed. He was absolutely to be depended upon.
- Lage: He was on the subcommittee?
- Johnson: And he was on the Interior Committee. He just counseled us and encouraged us and exhorted us to hang in there and "Keep up the heat, Katy, it's the only way you're going to get it," and so on. He was just completely staunch; that's the only word for it. He was totally staunch. I would say that his support was absolutely critical. Absolutely critical. I just don't know where we would have been without somebody like that to rely on, who never waffled, never got discouraged, never acted gloomy. It was just like, this is what you've got to do. You've got to keep up the heat. While I won't say that he ever got off any great optimistic things, he never said anything negative either. Determination, was his motto, which fitted right in with ours. [tape interruption]
- Lage: All right. We were talking about Bizz Johnson. Before that we were talking about the efforts in October to diminish the size of the seashore.
- Johnson: Yes. Bizz called us in, so that's where my letter to Doris [Leonard] from the airplane was specifically zeroing in on getting them to help us write to other conservation organizations and get up a concerted campaign to defend the boundaries. Since George [Collins] had been involved in setting the boundaries from day one, he was an ideal person to be involved in that very particular issue of why those boundaries were important to defend, what the integrity of them was. Of course, here we have this peninsula that had migrated up the coast from Los Angeles over eons, which has completely its own patterns of flora and fauna and geology that are unique to it, and it would have been a crime to excise part of that.

- Lage:** These were natural boundaries, which seem easier to defend than maybe some other more arbitrary boundary.
- Johnson:** Exactly. So I asked Doris Leonard to activate a flow of mail, and then Bill [Duddleson] was very involved. He helped draft the letter that was later signed by thirteen national conservation organizations, a joint letter to the president asking full funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund, reminding him of his campaign promises, using Point Reyes as an example of the need for urgent action.
- Lage:** This letter broadened the issue from Point Reyes to the Land and Water Conservation Fund.
- Johnson:** Right. The letter of the organizations focused first and foremost on the Land and Water Conservation Fund and then brought in Point Reyes as an example. So it was really addressing the Mayo letter. They also asked Nixon to reverse the administration's unfortunate plan to raise revenues by selling off private subdivision rights, as proposed in the House May 13th hearing. So that issue was important for them to address.

Ryan Amendment to Prohibit Sell-Off Deals

- Johnson:** I don't think we've yet clarified that over the summer Congressman William Fitz Ryan of New York, who was on the Interior Committee and was, of course, on all our mailing lists, became particularly involved in that issue and drafted an amendment to the authorization of the new funds. He stayed with it, and [it] was eventually enacted, saying no property or interest acquired within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore shall thereafter be leased back or sold back under any existing authority for residential or commercial purposes, except for public accommodations and facilities. So he took that on as his special project and stayed with it, and it wound up becoming part of the law.
- Lage:** Was that a difficult one to get through? It seems as if the congressmen were not--
- Johnson:** No, I don't think so. It was just that there wasn't enough focus from our standpoint on what a terrible, terrible bad precedent that was, this sell-off. So we were very grateful for Mr. Ryan, who put a very particular, precise interest in that, saying, "This absolutely has to be scotched." He stuck right

with it. We didn't think people were exercised enough about it, just on principle. Beyond the issue of Point Reyes.

Lage: Did it ever become a part of another park proposal?

Johnson: We never heard of it. It had such a bad reception. And George Hartzog was sensitive to public opinion. I think he just totally misjudged the public reaction. I think that he must have gotten a lot of adverse mail. I just think he felt burned by the thing, and I don't think it came up again. But up to that time, the idea had been floating around, we later discovered, since 1966. And he hadn't been getting that much of an adverse reaction because people weren't paying attention. We were all asleep at the switch. So he just thought that it was in good shape; [that] the idea was a viable one.

Lage: A clever new idea.

Johnson: A clever new idea. So this letter from the thirteen conservation organizations also dealt with that issue of the sell-off, which is great.

Lage: Bill drafted the letter, and then was it sent out to the heads of the organizations, or was there personal contact there, do you know? Was it hard to get the thirteen conservation organizations together, get them to sign it?

Johnson: I'm sure that that had to be bicycled around and so on. Bill drafted the letter for the first signer, who was Joe Penfold of the Izaak Walton League. From then the letter took off and went off on its own. I don't have a copy of Bill's original draft, but he probably does. So it will be interesting to compare that to the finished letter.

Cooperation with Sierra Club's Tupling and McCloskey

Lage: How much of this working with your constituency--the various people you were in touch with to help on the Point Reyes issue --how much of that went on over the telephone, or was it mainly in writing?

Johnson: A lot of it went on the telephone, and some of it went on in person. I remember numbers of meetings with Lloyd Tupling in person. A lot of it was in person and phone, and not that much writing. And Lloyd was very important to us. I don't think

there's much to show on paper as to what we were doing. We were just strategizing all the time.

Lage: Did you know Lloyd before?

Johnson: No. I think Bill may well have. I did not know him before, but he was a gold mine, and he had so many years of experience up on the Hill, I had enormous respect for him. He had just been through so many wars, and he just knew what was--

Lage: Was his point of view in terms of the approach similar to your own?

Johnson: Very much so. Very much so. And he was a very principled person, so he was always thinking not only of your own specific agenda but what this would mean on a broader basis, what this would mean to other parks, what this would mean in the future. He had a broad viewpoint, and yet he was very goal-oriented. He was very, "Let's win this one." As I recall, he was a little dour to start with because he'd been losing some. As time went on and we did better and better, I think he became very enthused and happy with what we were doing, so that cemented a bond. Because he had been through so many wars and had to swallow a lot of things that he hated.

Lage: I've always heard very good things about him.

Johnson: Great person. Is he still living?

Lage: Yes, he is. I did a short interview with him for the Sierra Club. Not as long as I would have liked.

Johnson: That fellow really would have a headful of stories to tell. Because I used to listen to him mesmerized. I wish I'd taken notes.

Lage: Anything you can remember in specific? When you say you listened to him mesmerized, stories about past efforts?

Johnson: Old fights. You know, his battles were fresh in his mind, and he'd bring them up in connection with strategy and tactics and so on.

##

Lage: Now, how was the cooperation with Mike McCloskey?

Johnson: I just thought Mike was wonderful. From day one he was always candid, and he clearly had lots of other things going on. We

were not by any means the only thing on his plate, but he gave you a straight story, and if he said he was going to do something, he did it. He gave us good advice and he followed through, and he was a fabulous resource.

Lage: He had just become executive director of the Sierra Club in May '69.

Johnson: Oh, really? Well, we were very lucky to have his help. He was wonderful.

Lage: And he was not pessimistic or looking for a compromise?

Johnson: I don't think so. I don't think so. Remember we talked about the difference between the Washington outlook and the California outlook? Lloyd epitomized the burned out--not burned out, but weary--the weary activist in Washington for a good cause, with huge, moneyed forces on the other side, who'd been beaten down a lot of times. He couldn't afford to go around with too much optimism because he just had been banged around too much. Whereas Mike was out in California where everything's do-able. That's the attitude out here is, everything's do-able.

Lage: The Sierra Club's not being a Washington organization may give them a lot more strength.

Johnson: I think so. I've heard it said that the Wilderness Society has at one point--it may have changed--got too top-heavy in Washington. And then it gets into these power games, you know, you have to have as nice an office as the next guy, and too many resources get funneled into that, and the field suffers, which is where the heart of the operation is. I know the Sierra Club has always had very grungy offices in Washington. They make no attempt to be fancy, absolutely none.

Lage: And then they pull their people back periodically--

Johnson: They pull their people back, they get their mail out, they get the people to mobilize before a vote. They get instant attention because they have this big membership organization behind them. Other people try to go the other route, have the fancy offices and play the power games without the field, and they're not nearly as effective.

Aspinall's Markup of the Point Reyes Bill, November 13

- Lage: Okay, now we're moving along through October. I have a note that on November 6, Aspinall said he would mark up the Point Reyes bill, that he was tired of waiting for Nixon.
- Johnson: Yes, Aspinall said that Taylor's subcommittee will hold a markup session on November 13th.
- Lage: Do you think this is a way of putting pressure on Nixon, or just--?
- Johnson: Well, it was his reaction. He bore out our strategy, basically. He decided it was good for him to move ahead and let his committee not get all the pressure, and move the pressure on over to the White House where it really belonged. Yes, I do. So they held two days of closed executive session hearings and just heard one witness--Hartzog.
- Lage: Two days of closed hearings?
- Johnson: Yes. In those days almost all markups were closed.
- Lage: What does "markup" actually mean?
- Johnson: Marking up a bill is when the members sit around, and they've held their hearings, and the members have the bill as it's originally drafted. Then the whole concept behind holding hearings is to get input from the public before you move ahead with legislation. You start out with a bill, but then you hold hearings to get additional ideas. So a markup, in the old days before they were public, could be extremely informal. People were trading ideas back and forth, and they put in things and they took out things, and whatever.
- Since then people have decided that it was such a critical part of the legislative process that it should be held in the open rather than in private. So that was one of the major reforms that went in. I'm sorry to say I can't tell you just when that happened, but I know it was all brewing; when I was working for DSG we were all talking about it, but I don't think it had happened yet. I think we still had closed markups.
- Lage: So did you have a sense of what went on behind the closed doors?
- Johnson: That was the great game, and the reporters and everybody would hang around and talk to members as they came out of the markup and ask them what it was like and what they said, and so on.

Everybody was trying to get a sense of what occurred. But it was definitely behind closed doors.

Lage: But all you really got was how they marked up the bill, what final bill came out of it.

Johnson: That was the only thing that had to be publicly released. And then it was a question of what anybody chose to tell you about the process.

Lage: Did you get any inside information on that?

Johnson: Bill has summarized the markup session for me here. Now, I don't know where his information is coming from, because, as you say, all that's publicly released usually is a bill, as marked up. So when he says Hartzog testified on the current status of subdivision threats and current estimates, and he's asked how much could NPS effectively spend in the current year--so where that information came from, it would be interesting to ask Bill.

Lage: Yes. It must have been printed somewhere.

Johnson: Well, not necessarily. Maybe we talked to somebody who was in on the session, from Taylor's subcommittee. I think Bizz was on that subcommittee, so we probably got this out of Bizz.

Lage: Was it marked up in such a way that you were supportive of it?

Johnson: Yes, and it included the Ryan amendment. Yes, and with the full \$57.5 million, and no changes in the boundaries. So that's exactly what we wanted. That's exactly what we wanted.

S.O.S. Petitions and White House Announcement on Funding for the Seashore

Johnson: Now, we believe that on November 14, the S.O.S. petitions are delivered to the White House by Clausen. At the November 18 press conference, Clausen said he has down in his office some 350,000 signatures on petition. So our dates are a little fudged. One of the things Bill was looking for and he probably didn't find, that I just remembered, was a fabulous news story written by Leo Rennert at the time those petitions came to Washington. Leo captured the disarray of the Clausen office and others in dealing with these boxes of petitions. It was like, "Horrors, horrors! What are we going to do with this?"

Lage: They came to Clausen's office and then he was supposed to present it to the president?

Johnson: Yes. And then Clausen didn't know what to do with them, but he eventually took them up to the White House and dumped them up there. But the physical boxes were just very frightening to Clausen.

Lage: That's a lot of pieces of paper.

Johnson: Exactly. And Leo just captured the whole thing, and it was a perfect little image of people power entering an orderly, you know--

Lage: The halls of Congress.

Johnson: The halls of power, and the halls of power being disrupted by people power.

Lage: Did you see it happen? Did you see the boxes?

Johnson: No, we didn't see the boxes. But Leo brought it all to life.

So then on the 18th, the president has a happening at the White House with Senator Murphy and Congressman Clausen and Congressman Aspinall. And then a press conference. Aspinall takes the lead role in announcing that he and the president are of the opinion that if we, meaning the Congress, go through with the authorization for Point Reyes, which is all ready for final consideration, then the funds will be forthcoming as needed, and everything can be taken care of during the next two and a half years, and this great seashore can become a reality. And the federal government will have kept its promises to the people who were originally involved and to all the people of California who desire it so much.

Congressman Saylor's Insistence on Full Funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund

Johnson: The empty chair, so to speak, at this occasion was that of the ranking Republican on the Interior Committee, in other words, Aspinall's exact counterpart on the Republican side, who would have been chairman if the Republicans had been in power. John Saylor of Pennsylvania by every right should have been there. We don't know whether he--. Someone had said that possibly he had originally been on the list and taken off. Other people say

it was just a complete blunder that he was left out. By now the Nixon administration had become so worried about the adverse effects of not getting this through--the consequences for Murphy, the consequences for the administration--that they were obviously playing politics with Mr. Aspinall. He was the guy, as the ranking majority chairman, that they had to work with. So it's not at all impossible that they just forgot about Mr. Saylor, because he didn't seem very important to them.

Lage: It was a new administration, nine months into office.

Johnson: It's perfectly possible that they forgot about him, even though it's ludicrous because he was of their party and so on. But Mr. Saylor was not a person to be trifled with. He was a staunch conservationist, had worked for years on behalf of the National Park System. The day before Point Reyes legislation was put before the House in September of 1962, he mailed out material in favor of Point Reyes to every Republican in the House, the representatives. He had worked with Clem and liked Clem and so on. He was a person that should have been considered by the White House as they were working along with this, but as you say, they were a new administration and they really weren't interested in parks to begin with. That's why they had a "no new national parks" policy, right? So they just didn't give it any thought, I think, is probably what happened.

Lage: Had you given Saylor any special attention up to this point?

Johnson: No, in all honesty. I think we included him in all our mailings.

Lage: But didn't call on him or--

Johnson: I don't think we had called on him up to that time. In hindsight, that wouldn't have been a poor idea. But no, I think that's part of that Washington mind set. Who were the key players to help you get your--? We weren't getting anywhere without Aspinall, so we were basically very focused in on Aspinall. He was the one to decide whether or not that committee went ahead or not. And as you can see from this chronology, it was only a very short while before that he had decided to move. So our energies were very much centered on that.

Lage: So were you worried when Saylor came out, really, with quite a strong statement?

Johnson: Yes. We were worried. Of course we were worried. We were shocked. We'd all fallen asleep at the switch, but of course,

the White House was the worst. Saylor was totally outraged and said that this was a blatantly political move to--.. I don't know that he said it was to help a sitting senator's reelection campaign, but he knew it was. At any rate, it was completely unfair to the rest of the country that there were all these other pending parks that had been authorized but had not yet gotten the funds for completion, and the Land and Water Conservation Fund was blocked up, and you couldn't just select out one park that happened to be from the same state as the president and this particular senator, and just say, "Well, we'll just fix this one up," and then leave everybody else out in the cold. It was not to be borne.

And I think it might well have been Mr. Saylor's position anyway, even without being left out of the press conference. I don't think the press conference was crucial, but I'm sure that didn't help any. I can't see Mr. Saylor sitting still anyway, and it may have even been that he was invited and didn't go, or let it be known that he wasn't going to be part of it. That's the other scenario. I haven't seen anything in writing to tell us, but I don't think it's impossible that feelers were put out to him about attending the press conference and he rejected them.

Lage: Based on his response, did you get together and strategize how you were going to respond to this?

Johnson: Oh, we all talked about that, of course, and I did eventually go and call on him before the Congress adjourned in December. But we felt that we probably had the votes without him, but we didn't like having to be in a fight with somebody who was on our team to begin with and we liked. So we tried to think what we could do about it, but the fact of the matter was that we really couldn't do very much. He was the one who was in charge, and his intransigence eventually brought him exactly what he wanted. So it was his unwillingness to compromise that was important. There really wasn't much we could contribute to the situation.

Lage: Should you take the tack that you're going to focus on Point Reyes, or should you join in a broader battle? Did that come up?

Johnson: I don't think that we tried to shift our emphasis. We were already working with other organizations, and all our material made constant reference to the Land and Water Conservation Fund and so on, so we obviously had a perspective that had respect for other parks, but I think it was too late at that point for us to suddenly make some kind of total shift. I mean, certainly S.O.S. out here couldn't have done that. They had to be focused

in on the seashore. The only thing we could do was to let Mr. Saylor know that we shared his concern for the Land and Water Conservation fund. I think it probably was of some help to him to know that we understood his position as a matter of principle. I made that very clear to him when I went to see him.

Lage: How did you find him at that meeting?

Johnson: He was very, very courteous and gentlemanly, and sorrowful, really, to be in the position he was, but he had his heels completely dug in. I knew [that] just as well as I knew when I talked to Bible that day, although Bible was distant. This fellow was not distant at all. He was very concerned, but he just said, "This can't be." And looking back on it, there was no way he could have stood still for that. It was totally outrageous. It was just a political fix, you know. I mean, it was wrong.

Lage: Even though it was what you were working for along.

Johnson: Right. But I mean, it was absurd to single out one park in order to save one Senate seat of the same party as the president. I mean, it was ridiculous.

Lage: It's interesting to hear you say it, because really, that was the strategy of your whole campaign.

Johnson: You have to start from where you are, and move ahead with the power that you have and the leverage that you have. And you have to express, in order to get attention, a very strong determination. In order to mobilize your people, you have to mobilize them around something. There was no way you could mobilize S.O.S. around the parks for the entire country.

Lage: Or around opening the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

Johnson: No.

Lage: It is sort of an abstract concept.

Johnson: No. We had to have the surveyor's stakes at the Lake Ranch and all that. This is a good example, isn't it, of one-issue politics and what eventually always becomes the *reductio absurdum* at a certain point, where people get narrowed down onto something and then wash everything else away as if it didn't exist. And then they become very effective in that way. Say it's the handicapped, for instance, or whatever; getting ramps in. It's very, very valuable, but at a certain point they have

to face up to where they fit into a bigger picture. So I don't think you can start out from this widespread viewpoint. You've got to start with your very narrow objective. Because that's what galvanizes. If you're using people power, what galvanizes people is a very specific issue that affects them very directly.

[tape interruption]

Lage: We had talked about John Saylor, and I don't know if there is more to say on him.

Johnson: It was just that I had called on him, and that he let me know he was completely firm, that he could not approve Point Reyes solo, that there had to be funds released from the Land and Water Conservation Fund for the entire country.

Lage: Did he ask at all for you to help with that effort?

Johnson: I don't know that he asked. I think that I responded in correspondence to him by saying that we were working on behalf of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. I think I sent him some materials that showed that we had been aware of the issue and so on, that we would continue to support--. I remember saying something to the effect we would continue to support with all our effort as much as possible the full funding of the Land and Water Conservation fund, so I definitely made that commitment to him. We in effect had been doing that, but we probably did emphasize it all the more now that we had this particular situation with Mr. Saylor.

Mr. Saylor's intransigence, which had such a good result, reminds me of the issue of compromise that I think exemplifies how important it is to know when not to compromise. I think so often you see people compromising out too soon. Nothing was to be gained, from Mr. Saylor's point of view, by compromise. He simply had to take some heat, but he wasn't going to get anywhere with his overall aims if he had [compromised]. Bizz Johnson's unwillingness to compromise was another example of how important it was to just stick to a position under some circumstances. Whether or not everybody else around you was wobbling, you hold on, and that's what Bizz did. The more other people wobbled, the less he did. In fact, he at that point became more definitive.

Now, Mr. Aspinall compromised when he decided to change his position and hold hearings, and it was to his interest. I think he decided he had some allies to help him with an intransigent administration. Why not go with them? He correctly analyzed the situation, and he had people to help him get what he wanted,

which ultimately was the same thing Mr. Saylor wanted. He, too, wanted parks for [other parts of] the country as well as Point Reyes. He was by no means just committed to Point Reyes; he wanted parks--

Lage: He always seemed to tie it to the broader issue.

Johnson: Absolutely. And I think he realized that this citizen power could work for him and there was no point in putting himself in opposition to it. So that was the case of a sensible compromise, because it was increasing his likelihood of getting what he wanted. But in the case of Mr. Saylor and Bizz, only their intransigence was useful. If they had wobbled, neither one of them would have gotten what he wanted.

Lage: Did you ever fear that Saylor's opposition would affect the House vote?

Johnson: We thought we had the votes without it, but we didn't like it because we didn't want all that unpleasantness. Mr. Saylor had mailed out--did I say this already?--to every Republican member of the House, the night before Clem's bill passed in September of '62, Mr. Saylor mailed out a mailing in support. He was basically a friend, and we didn't like to have him be in opposition to us, so it made us very uncomfortable, even though we did feel we had the votes.

Congressional Concern about Escalating Land Prices

Lage: There seemed to be a lot of suspicion on the part of Congress that something funny was going on with the land prices out here. Land speculation, wondering whether somebody was getting rich.

Johnson: Did you say that that was a feeling in Congress?

Lage: I noticed it brought up in testimony.

Johnson: I think the main thing that they were concerned with was that the seashore was costing three times as much as any seashore had ever cost. How could this be? Were there profiteers involved? I think that concern was to some degree legitimate. The situation was ripe for that. There wasn't any solution for it. The boundaries had been set; the thing to do was get in there and buy it as quickly as possible and put a stop to all that. But I think the members did feel that some people must be getting rich, and they were right. It was a legitimate concern.

The longer that land went unpurchased, the more of that there was going to be.

Lage: Did you think there was anything mishandled, say, on the part of the Marin County supervisors or anyone else?

Johnson: I don't remember. There were some issues involving condemnation. The government wanted the power to take the land and not pay for it right away, and that was rough on individual landowners because that put their land in limbo; they couldn't sell it. They were still responsible to pay the taxes on it, and yet it was tied up. So there was something about that process that was a bit inherently unfair. I think they were supposed to be paid interest eventually. We have quite a few voluminous files on some of those issues. My husband Stuart got involved in some of them where there were legal issues, and he researched exhaustively some of that stuff. Frankly, I just didn't have the time to get involved in that legal minutiae, and I could see the dimensions of the thing, I could see that a certain amount of this kind of situation was going to be inevitable.

Lage: It does seem to be the pattern.

Johnson: Yes, but I didn't see that--. I just took the position that it was simply more justification for moving ahead quickly and getting this land bought. So I didn't get get into that.

Lage: That was one of Pete McCloskey's contributions to the hearing, I remember. He had been a Bay Area attorney who specialized in condemnation cases on behalf of landowners, and he testified that the rise in land prices at Point Reyes wasn't unusual; this was happening in California.

Johnson: Oh, yes, that's right. I do remember that now. That was very helpful because [he testified] it wasn't just Point Reyes. That was a very helpful contribution, you're absolutely right. He put that in perspective, and the fact that he was a Republican, that was helpful, because the Republicans were quite concerned with those issues. The Democrats tended to be more into the parks for the people, and the Republicans who were concerned with these issues emphasized fiscal responsibility, as we thought of Republicans in those days. Times have changed, right? But at that point they were, and so they would bring those issues up. It was, considering the gold mine that was there, I think it's surprising there wasn't more of that.

Lage: More complaints about it. And then also the redwood park had been so expensive.

Johnson: Well, the redwood park was very expensive, and there was some feeling definitely that California was getting too much money in relation to the rest of the country. When we made our last mailing before the House action, our lead item--I have an intact packet--at the very top was this article from the Deseret News in Utah calling for [support for] our seashore; we were trying to show that we had people caring about the seashore from all over the country. And in fact, it's true. Seashores are a deep-felt need, I think, for people. The more landlocked you are, the more you need to feel that you can get to the sea.

Conspiracy Theories##

Lage: I don't know if this would be something you would have heard, but I've heard people analyze the interest in Point Reyes, and they connect it to the proposed nuclear power plant at Bodega Head, saying that PG&E [Pacific Gas & Electric Company] wanted Point Reyes a seashore because that would leave the downwind area from Bodega Head relatively uninhabited. Was this something you ever--?

Johnson: No. I never heard of it, and after I saw your question I talked to Bill about it, and he hadn't either. We both really don't feel that there was much to that. They certainly never got involved in our campaign to assist us in any way.

Lage: I think the interest, if it existed, would have been in the earlier campaign to create the seashore because the Bodega Bay nuclear plant was no longer under consideration in 1969.

Johnson: Well, of course, Bill was present for all that.

Lage: Right. And he didn't hear anything.

Johnson: He had never heard of this. We both drew a blank.

Lage: I always ask about it because it seems very far-fetched to me, but there are people who firmly believe that.

Johnson: Who firmly believe that Point Reyes was going to be kind of a buffer zone?

Lage: Right. It's easier to establish a nuclear power plant if it's not in an area where there are a lot of people. Since Point Reyes was downwind from Bodega Head, you'd have this open area.

- Johnson: In fact, Bill was asking, "Is it downwind?" Bill was even questioning that part of the rationale. "Is it actually downwind?" he said.
- Lage: When you think of the winds as coming from the west--
- Johnson: Exactly.
- Lage: I think it might have been some rather conspiratorial thinking of the time.
- Johnson: There is conspiratorial thinking, and I've always been quite opposed to that. I am less so than I used to be. I'm more open to listening. If somebody has an interesting conspiracy theory, I'll listen to it more than I--. I think Iran-Contra had quite an effect on me in that way. So if somebody has a conspiracy theory that they've thought out or know something about, I'll always listen. I used to just phase right out; I wouldn't listen to it. Just to show the change in my thinking, whoever puts this forward, I'd be fascinated to know what they know, and talk to them.
- Lage: I don't know whether it was just an idea someone had, or it may have been the Doris Leonard connection, her interest in Point Reyes, and then she went on the board of PG&E.¹ I think a lot of people felt very suspicious about that, which I personally don't think was valid.
- Johnson: They really weren't that much an integral part of our project, although they were certainly helpful. And they had so many other things going, and the Arctic was their special thing. I don't know if PG&E has anything to do with Alaska?
- Lage: Not to my knowledge.

¹See David Brower, Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 1980, pp. 192-193.

VIII FINAL PASSAGE OF POINT REYES BILL, JANUARY-APRIL 1970

Preparing for the House Vote on February 10

Lage: Is there more to say about the vote in the House and the Senate, the final vote?

Johnson: Let's look back at the chronology and see if there's anything here we're leaving out here. We're up to the point where the bill was reported to the full House. Congressman Saylor says no in the House report, writes a minority report, [saying he] felt the National Park system is being subjected to political abuse, implying that Nixon had done it to help Murphy's campaign for reelection. And money needed for other parks' urgent needs would be diverted to Point Reyes at their expense.

In January the administration's supplemental budget includes some money for Point Reyes to begin land acquisition. And that we saw as a first step by the administration to follow through on its commitment made by Nixon to Aspinall [before] the [White House] press conference.

On February 10, as the House prepares to vote, Bizz sends out a "Dear Colleague" letter to all the members asking for their votes. With each letter is included a Sierra Club Island in Time poster, which we got from the Sierra Club and took up there and so on. So every member got, in addition to our mailing, a poster from the Sierra Club of Island in Time, which was beautiful.

Lage: Through Bizz?

Johnson: It came through his office, but I got the posters from the Sierra Club. I remember the tubes; I had tubes in my basement for years from that project. We got them all up there in tubes. And then we did this giant mailing that I described where we had all the children and everybody else in the House Judiciary

[Committee] room, processing the thing the night before the vote.

Lage: What would have been included in that? You had some newspaper articles?

Johnson: Oh, yes, we had the Pacific Sun supplement. And we had a big collection of newspaper articles. I remember that we put the Utah Deseret editorial on the top of the packet. Of course, we had this gorgeous thing we were so proud of from the New York Times--the full-page "Patchwork Park in Trouble" by Gladwin Hill. We just picked and chose the best things we thought we had to offer. Sometimes we'd put in some testimony on the House floor or whatever we felt would help to buttress the case.

Nixon Administration Reversal on the Land and Water Conservation Fund

Lage: Did you get around to call on some of the members of Congress?

Johnson: We did some of that. Although by that time, with Aspinall firmly on board and the positive [Interior Committee] report and the full-funding [agreement] and so on, we had pretty much confidence that we didn't have to lobby individual members personally. And we weren't going to get anywhere with Saylor, but he was busy working on his end. And the morning of the vote he stood in the well of the House and pulled out of his pocket a letter from the president in which the president committed to increase funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund, so he withdrew his opposition.

Lage: Now that was quite a coup.

Johnson: Yes. So that's why I say, his compromising out would have never achieved anything for him. It was only by his intransigence that he got that.

Lage: Do you know anything about how he got that? Did you ever get a story on it?

Johnson: I think he must have wanted it. I don't know, Ann, but Saylor must have been working hard to get it, because to reconstruct it, it looks like he didn't really like to be in that position any more than we liked him to be in that position. So he had his own methods of communicating with the White House. By this time they must have been treating him with respect, in contrast

with having the empty chair at the press conference. So he was at that point getting paid attention to, and he must have developed some liaison, but the story of just how that was won might be wonderful. If we could find an aide or somebody still living--

Lage: John Ehrlichman might know some of it, if we do get to talk to him.

Johnson: Yes. That would be a good avenue to pursue. Because Mr. Saylor, while he was not compromising, neither was he doing nothing, as it appeared. He must have been working to get the White House to modify, so that he could then support the bill.

Lage: It looks as if this public outpouring of support for Point Reyes must have taught the Nixon administration something about the strength of feeling behind these issues. But that would be nice to actually document.

Johnson: It would be wonderful. Really wonderful. So John Ehrlichman might be a source. But if there was a living former aide to Saylor, that could be a tremendous source. Also, somebody who was with the Republican minority staff, for instance, of [the] Interior [Committee]. Not necessarily an aide from his congressional office, but from the committee staff.

Lage: Now, February 10th was the debate in the House.

Johnson: Yes, February 10th the bill went through the House.

Lage: And did it go through fairly easily?

Johnson: By voice vote, complete with the Ryan amendment. Ryan spoke up on the floor, and said [reading from notes] of the 9,200 acres of the sell-off there would have been 1,475 subdivision lots, of which 75 would have marina frontage and 150 alongside a golf course. As "a matter of public policy," Ryan said, "a private country club development should not be created within the National Park system. Congress must neither countenance nor sanction the carving out of enclaves of private privilege within the system." So he never quit in his focusing in on that one issue and then dramatizing it right there at the end from the House floor. That was a very important contribution.

Lage: There's another place where the issues on Point Reyes have impact beyond the local area.

Johnson: Right. Exactly. The floor debate was a love feast. [laughs] John Saylor announced that very day he'd gotten the assurances

he needed. Nixon had announced that he supported full funding of the Land and Water Conservation fund. That is, he asked for appropriation, out of the fund, of all the monies then in it, \$327 million, to buy park and recreation lands and facilities that year. Saylor added that both Hickel and Budget Director Mayo had pledged all the uncompleted units of the National Park Service would receive a share of this money, so far as the administration is concerned. So a few months later the administration joined with the Congress in increasing the size of the fund from \$200 million a year to \$300 million a year.

Senate Hearing. February 26: Nixon's Signing. April 3

Johnson: Then on February 26, as he had promised, Senator Bible promptly held a hearing to act on the House-passed bill. Hartzog, as the administration witness, no longer advocated the sell-off, but pressed for repeal of the prohibition [in the 1962 PRNS authorization act] against use of the government's condemnation authority in the ranching area. He said that the Park Service had to have this power to act in time.

Lage: The power to condemn?

Johnson: Boyd Stewart testified that he and other ranchers didn't object, and Bible said he would do it. So that apparently was not in the House bill, but they put it in, in the Senate. "The ranchers would not object to the government's condemnation authority in the ranching or pastoral area."

Cranston criticized the sell-off, saying its effect would be to de-authorize one-sixth of the Seashore. Murphy and Clausen are silent on the sell-off.

Lage: Do you think for a reason, they were silent on it?

Johnson: Well, they were silent. Cranston urged the creation of a Citizens Advisory Commission, which we had been already working on and had talked to him about. He had instantly agreed on that, and it was just very much in line with his thinking. He's always been one to want to have citizen involvement in things. So this was an issue that came up quite soon after the major effort was over.

Lage: But that wasn't in the bill?

Johnson: It had not been in the [House-passed] bill, so we were hoping then to get it into the Senate bill, and Cranston was our spokesman for that. But we didn't press it when Bible demurred that introducing a new element could cause delay in conferencing with the House. So we backed off.

During the testimony, Senator Bible himself observed that he knew the campaign had produced "at least ten thousand letters, all of which were sent personally to me."

Lage: So this is another bit of evidence of how much they were hearing from California.

Johnson: Right. I testified for Marin Conservation League, and talked about the status of the imminent subdivision, and reported the extent of the public reaction to the Park Service and Budget Bureau's proposal to create commercial subdivisions, and said no one could comprehend how polo fields and shopping centers could be compatible with this land. Bible responded he was going to retain the Ryan amendment.

Lage: Did anybody object to it, do you recall?

Johnson: I don't think so. I don't think so. It's a simple matter to look that hearing up, but I don't think so.

Lage: I think they were pretty horrified by the Park Service's proposal.

Johnson: It just had been sliding through, and nobody paying attention. But nobody, when they thought about it, was for it. And I talked about an advisory commission, and spoke of Cranston's support but said that I didn't want to bog the bill down with the amendment and if necessary we'll try to persuade Congress in a separate bill. So we did try to go that route later, and we tried several routes before we finally got it.

So the Senate passed the [House-passed] bill with one amendment only, which was the removal of the prohibition against the use of condemnation to acquire agricultural land. That was the only amendment, other than what was already in the House. Because, of course, the Ryan amendment was already incorporated in the House bill.

On April 3rd the President signed the bill into law at a White House ceremony, and Peter Behr was there for that occasion.

Lage: Did you go to that?

- Johnson: No, we weren't invited. We were of the other party. It was a partisan affair.
- Lage: So Peter Behr was invited.
- Johnson: Right. There were some mini-Seashore noises in July. The San Rafael Independent Journal wrote an editorial saying "there's no special magic in a 53,000-acre park. Nothing says that a 30,000-acre park would be disastrous.
- Lage: Why in July, after it had already gone through?
- Johnson: We couldn't imagine where that came from. We were just aghast. I mean, it was just amazing to have that suddenly come up. Here's the legislation through and in law.
- Lage: Right.
- Johnson: Yes, it was bizarre. We wondered if they were local people that had pretty exciting development schemes afoot or something.
- Lage: It seems that even after it was authorized and signed, the Sweet land was still not secure.
- Johnson: Well, because it hadn't been bought.
- Lage: It hadn't been purchased, so there was still that threat.
- Johnson: Yes. Nothing was really secure until all the money was appropriated. Because even though the authorization had gone through, the appropriations process still had to wind its way. All that money had to be appropriated out of the appropriations committees, and had to get in hand. I don't know how long that whole process took, but it was a while.
- Lage: Did you ever have contact with any of these people that were getting ready to develop, like Bill Sweet or some of the others?
- Johnson: No. So, you know, I wrote a letter to the editor defending the [53,000-acre] boundaries. So that was the kind of funny little coda there, but nothing really came of it.

IX CONTINUING INTEREST IN POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Battles over Wilderness Protection in the Seashore, 1971-1976

- Lage: A year-long battle, really, is what it amounts to. Almost a year.
- Johnson: Yes, that was the monster. And there were lots more to come-- how the Park Service would develop it, [whether] it would treat it as a natural [area] or as a more recreational area. So we had these very long, protracted debates about the master plan, and that led into the wilderness issue. We finally concluded, when we saw some of the rationales that were used for some plans that we didn't like, [that some] of [the] Park [Service's] administrative policies were really just the creations of particular bureaucrats at a particular time--
- Lage: At a time when development was a little more acceptable.
- Johnson: At a time when development was acceptable. And under a system of classification that the Park Service had worked out [administratively], which was not in any law, the [national] seashores were automatically categorized as recreational areas rather than natural areas. We began to see more and more clearly that only the Wilderness Act protection for a big hunk of the seashore was going to absolutely guarantee that it would remain natural. Plans were revving up for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, which would have lots of suitable recreation area space that was all spread out in different areas and places where there had already been quite a bit of development of the land. We just felt that it was a natural complementarity there between those two parks so that we could successfully take the position that the Point Reyes area should remain as pristine as possible. So starting from [the Park Service's] rather small proposals of 5,000 acres, we eventually came to a 32,000-acre wilderness, which is very, very substantial.

Lage: What would be the date when that was finally accepted, do you remember, approximately?

Johnson: No. But I can get that for you. [Congress passed the Point Reyes Wilderness legislation in 1976.]

The debate on wilderness started out [in 1971] with a lot of our bureaucratic correspondence and whatever. It wasn't as much of a people power issue. It eventually became so. The wilderness issue did galvanize quite a constituency. Bill had a big role in unifying that constituency in California. He came out here and got all the groups together that were for it, and got them to agree on a position. Because he knew, and we both knew, that the Congress was not interested in any division in a local constituency. If they're going to move on something, they want a unified, local position. Because there are plenty of other places that have that, so they're not going to take on something where there's division.

Lage: Was there a lot of division? Were there people who didn't--

Johnson: Not a whole lot, but there were differences, and they needed to be hammered out. A position needed to be hammered out and adhered to by all the groups so that we could go to Congress and say, "This is what we all want." He did a very, very good job and showed a lot of initiative in coming out here and getting that going.

And then we had a big hearing in San Rafael which was unforgettable. It had this tremendous local California flavor to it, and very colorful. We had a man with a beautiful bird headdress speaking in behalf of the wild creatures, how they needed protection. Very eloquent. And we had a wide, wide variety of people that were involved.

One key person I'd love to tell you about that we discovered through a small little piece--I think a letter to the editor or a tiny little squib in some newspaper--we saw a reference to an organization in Davis, California, and the name of a man named Jim Eaton, and we didn't know anything but there was a reference to Point Reyes. We didn't know who these people were or what they were involved with.

Jim Eaton turned out to be a graduate student in geology who personally had walked over most of the seashore. He had been at this for years, coming down weekend after weekend after weekend from Davis. He knew more than the Park Service people, he knew more than anybody. So when we came to define the fine points of what the wilderness boundaries should be and why to

defend them and how the watersheds worked and all of that, this fellow turned out to be this incredible resource. He was one of the very few witnesses that we had in the big Washington hearing. He was the only witness who was not in the real sort of establishment. He had very much of a student look about him, but he spoke with so much authority that he was just an invaluable witness.

Lage: Was there a sort of a purist view of how pristine does wilderness need to be?

Johnson: Offhand, I would have thought not, but one of the things we learned and that fascinated me in the process of the wilderness struggle was that the Park Service had adopted a policy the general gist of which was--if you're stuck with a policy you don't like, enforce it to such a degree that nobody else will like it either. In other words, put wilderness in disrepute by having such an incredibly strict construction of what it means.

Well, we went back to the original Wilderness Act language, and it was flexible.

Lage: You mean the way they would define wilderness?

Johnson: The idea of saying we can't have wilderness because there's a tiny dirt track road here, you see. And oh, no, that wouldn't qualify for wilderness because this and this and this. Well, it turned out that that again was one of these administrative Park Service decisions that really wasn't rooted in the Wilderness Act. The act that Congress passed made no such kinds of overly strict interpretations, because what really happens is that the minute you leave something alone, it reverts right back very quickly, including concrete. Plants just push their way right up through concrete. You can go and see it in jungles in Central America, where these vast structures have basically just been destroyed by the vegetation. So that was one of the things that we fought for, and said that we didn't accept that definition of wilderness criteria.

Lage: Was the Sierra Club unified with you on that issue, too?

Johnson: We all got together on it. There was an odd occasion on which Edgar Wayburn seemed to feel we needed less acreage than we had thought we'd all agreed on that we needed, but it passed over and nothing came of that.

Lage: Was this his effort to compromise, you think?

Johnson: We were unprepared for it. We didn't understand where that came from or what happened. We just heard him with astonishment. We had not been prepared for the fact, saying that we could get along with less acreage. We thought everybody was in agreement. Nothing came of that, and we got the full acreage, eventually, that we wanted.

Lage: So that made it a very different park from the one-time conception of a marina and a dredged estuary.

Johnson: One of the last unspoiled estuaries on the West Coast, if not the last. That was one of the worst proposals of all, to get into the estuary.

Lage: I think it educated the Park Service at the same time.

Johnson: They did come up with some pretty poor proposals along the way, but they have really, really changed. They're much more conservative now, much more sensitive to the natural concerns, and at the same time they work very closely with the ranchers. I think they've done a wonderful job out there.

Seashore Administrators. Ranchers. Conservationists##

Johnson: I think we've been extraordinarily fortunate to have John Sansing as superintendent out there for a long number of years. He's really spent most of his working life out there. He has developed such good working relationships with the conservation community, with the ranchers, with all the local people. He works closely with the GGNRA people. He's just invaluable. At one point there was-- I think the Park Service has a policy of rotating park administrators. He was to be moved, and Boyd Stewart went to work to help on that with, I think, Alan Bible, and they stopped it. He's been able to remain there, because he just was irreplaceable. So I think almost everyone agrees that he's been extraordinary.

Lage: Do you think the conservationists respect the position of the ranchers, their point of view?

Johnson: When you say "the conservationists," I think that issue has-- and it doesn't just involve the Seashore, it involves the West Marin community--has become quite controversial in the last few years, and there is a big division within the conservation community. They're split between some very purist people who feel that, really, ranching has no place, not only within the

seashore but even in West Marin in general, that basically cows and the pollution that they bring and so on are just inimical to keeping streams clean and doing things the way they want them done.

There are other members of the conservation community who feel that is a very short-sighted point of view, because the ranches out there present a tremendous buffer zone to keep off the development. Nobody's making money ranching anymore, and they're laboring under tremendous handicaps. Also, the community has a certain character and viability. If the ranchers go, what are you going to get? You're just going to get a lot of subdivisions, with all the problems that entails. So I would certainly count myself among those who feel that this very purist point of view is very, very short-sighted and unfortunate.

Now, John Sansing has done very well in having good relations with the ranchers. That's why I say you could find among the conservationist community purists who would line up on this other side who would probably say that John was too pro-rancher. I certainly don't feel that way. That's just an issue that's going to be ongoing, I'm afraid.

Citizens Advisory Commission

- Lage: Does the Citizens Advisory Commission represent the various views?
- Johnson: The Citizens Advisory Commission, which we finally got through, and we got it through piggy-backing it onto the Golden Gate [National Recreation Area] authorization legislation, is for both parks.
- Lage: One commission for both parks?
- Johnson: Exactly.
- Lage: I see.
- Johnson: They don't represent views per se, exactly. They are more a sounding board for others to present views to. They don't, for the most part, take very strong positions, although there have been people who are identified with strong positions on the board, I know. Edgar Wayburn and Amy Meyer from GGNRA were on it from the beginning, and certainly they had their point of

view. But there were other members of that commission who were not identified as having a particular agenda.

It's more a question of a framework in which these issues that have come up--proposals by the Park Service or proposals by the citizenry--can be aired for all to listen, a public forum in which people can come--the agenda is published ahead of time--so then people can come in and hear it, and I think may even be able to speak. I'm not sure about how that exactly works, but it's not an advocacy organization. It's a very efficient way of heading problems off, and first of all informing people as to what's happening, because sometimes proposals may be gathering steam, say, within the Park Service that the public would know nothing about. As it is now, this procedure has become so well established that the Park Service just automatically, whatever they may be planning to do, they instantly just present it to the Citizens Advisory Commission.

So here's this vehicle in which everybody finds out what's going on. It's very, very valuable, and it's been done all over the country. We studied the Cape Cod one in particular before we proposed ours. But all over the country it's been done with great success. The Park Service wasn't all that much for it, and now they like it, because it's clean. It's just an orderly, clean way of getting the issues out and acknowledging that the public has an interest, acknowledging that the public has a role. There's this initial thing of "Oh, my Lord, if we let the public in everything will be a mess," but it's actually much messier when people have to find out things at the last minute and are furious and so on and so on. When they know that there's this orderly machinery and they are not going to be kept in the dark, everybody behaves much better, and the public behaves better, and things just go better. It's been a big success.

Lage: So it sounds as if you keep on top of how things are going.

Johnson: Absolutely.

Lage: But you haven't been on the advisory committee. It's mainly local people?

Johnson: Oh, no. I live in Washington. I wouldn't be appropriate for that. And they're appointed by whatever administration is in power, so for the most part they've been preponderantly Republican. But there've been some--.

We had Frank Boerger [former San Francisco district engineer for the Army Corps of Engineers] as chairman, who died

not long ago. Frequently, they are retired people who've had administrative experience and so on, and a public service orientation. He just gave very generously of himself and his time and so on. I don't think he had a tremendous Park Service orientation to start with, but he was a crackerjack chairman. He was very, very good.

Lage: It's interesting that the appointments are political.

Johnson: That was the way the whole thing was structured to start with. I think we got involved and changed the formula of how the appointments were to be made. I've got a boxful of material on this. We got involved in that because it was too political, so we injected some safeguards in there to have a certain percentage from this source or that source. I forget, but we got involved in that a little bit.

Lage: I'm glad you kept your hand in.

Opposing Fee Legislation for National Parks

Johnson: Oh, yes. It seems like there's usually something to keep going on. Just three years ago or so there was fee legislation that would have rescinded the prohibition against [admission] fees which was written into the original Point Reyes and GGNRA bills. It was part of a much bigger package to institute fees in parks all over the country, and the rationale was that the fee money would go straight back to the parks, which was unconstitutional, because you have to authorize and appropriate funds from the general treasury under the constitution. You can't have it off the books, in effect. You can't have your separate financial thing going off in a corner somewhere. All monies that are received go into the general treasury, and all money that goes out has to go through Congress to be appropriated.

But in this bill, there was a magic formula that somebody thought they'd figured out, and under the arguments that the parks were beleaguered and needed funds, a big compromise was engineered which was bipartisan, Republican and Democratic, and all the big conservation organizations went on board. Two days before the House vote, which was just about the time I found out about it, it was acknowledged that it was unconstitutional and that the whole rationale was impossible, and they had to change the language of the bill.

But the momentum--this is the way Congress works sometimes --the momentum gets going; they just couldn't stop it. There's

the inertia phenomenon, when you can't get anything started, and there's the momentum phenomenon when you can't get anything stopped. And this was the perfect example of the momentum phenomenon. So the bill just galloped through the House anyway, with people standing up and saying, "We mean for the money to go to the parks" and things like that, which had no binding force whatsoever.

So I went over on the Senate side and testified before Senator [Dale L.] Bumpers [Democrat from Arkansas] about this on behalf of Environmental Action of West Marin for the seashore. And he'd been out there, and he loved the park and didn't really think it was all that good an idea to rescind something that was in the original legislation. He removed that rescinding of the prohibition. In other words, we went back to square one, the way the bills were originally written for those two parks. But this had no effect, of course, whatsoever on the bill in general, which was galloping through. It just went galloping through.

We were out here [in 1989] for the dedication of the environmental education center which is named for Clem at the seashore. Howard Chapman, who was retiring as the regional director of the Park Service, spoke at that occasion, and he made a very specific reference to this fee legislation, so I got in touch with him and he sent me copies of letters he'd written and so on. He felt this was very, very unfortunate legislation that was going to drive policy in new ways, that the amount of money taken in by a certain park would entitle them to more [appropriations]. There were various things there that he just thought were completely very, very poor policy. Very bad policy.

But I came into it late, and it was a juggernaut. We didn't do anything, but we did protect, at least, our two parks from that. Fees are a complicated subject in the case of some parks, say, like Yosemite, where they have enormous police expenses and all kinds of things, but in the case of urban parks they're really designed for local people, and the people who need them the most are the ones who can't afford to take expensive vacations. The idea of people driving out there and being turned away because they didn't have the fees made me just sick. So at least we stopped that, but there's usually always something going on out there that you need to kind of keep track of.

Lage: Now, are you going to get out to Point Reyes this trip, or have you?

Johnson: I haven't yet. I've only been here for a few days, but it's my dear love to go there. There's so much to see than I've ever even been able to--there's so much out there; it's so big. There's a tremendous amount of usage in certain small areas, and then there are vast areas that are not explored by most people.

Other Projects in Washington

Lage: Let me ask you, unless you have more to say on Point Reyes?

Johnson: No.

Lage: Very briefly, what other kinds of things have you been involved with in Washington? You mentioned that you like to get involved in things and then you take a rest. Have there been things that aren't related to Point Reyes?

Johnson: Well, I've gotten involved with two of Alan Cranston's campaigns, out here. First, for his presidential campaign in 1984, I started out in Maine for the Maine straw poll and then came out here with it. And then for his Senate race, the most recent Senate race, I was out here the whole time.

Lage: Are there other things that you've gotten involved in?

Johnson: I wrote a book that interests me. That was a campaign in its own way for me. I've worked with a man who was a doorman at the White House under five presidents. It was sort of his oral history, so I did the written manuscript.

Lage: Did you tape record?

Johnson: Yes. Originally, our concept was to be a biography, but when I went to sell it, the editor wanted--then we did sell it to Morrow--they wanted it in first person, so I did two manuscripts on it. But I just learned an enormous amount from that. It was a wonderful experience.

Lage: What is the title?

Johnson: From the Door of the White House. We did it for upper juvenile, but we didn't write down, so adults have enjoyed it too.

Lage: And who was the person?

Johnson: His name was Preston Bruce, and he is a very special, nurturing man who formed these deep relationships with all the presidents. They grew to depend on him, and he was there as a witness to a lot of extraordinary things. He was riding the elevator with President Kennedy and Bobby Kennedy the night of the Cuban missile crisis. So it involved for me researching a lot of the background of these various events because you had to bring in what was going on with, say, the Cuban missile crisis in order to provide a context for his remarks. And of course he experienced the Nixon downfall, the Kennedy assassinations, the whole Johnson-Vietnam thing.

Lage: Sounds fascinating.

Johnson: Yes, it was a great project.

Lage: When did you complete that?

Johnson: Well, I completed it, and then the editor, who loved the book, and she was chief editor, took a long time to get it moved out because she didn't want to give it to anyone else and she was busy. And it finally came out about--after Stuart died, so it came out about '83 or '84. But it was really written quite a while before that. So that was a project. That was another one of these things that had some big cavalry charges in it, but there were some periods there where it could be quieter.

Lage: Sure. How did you know him?

Johnson: I was brought into it out of a writing class that I was in. I was writing something else, and the woman who ran the writing class said, "I have a project for you. There's this fellow who--." She knew him. "There's this fellow who wants to have help in getting a book out, but he has gone through two writers. But I know there's a book there and I think you can do it." So then she brought in a third person who interviewed him on his childhood. He is a black person, so she brought in this young black woman to do the interviewing for the childhood. So there were three of us involved. But I wound up doing the writing for the whole book.

Lage: That sounds fascinating.

Johnson: People enjoy it.

Lage: Anything else you want to add?

Johnson: Well, I can't think of anything offhand, Ann.

TAPE GUIDE--Katharine Miller Johnson

Interview 1: November 16, 1990]	
tape 1, side A	1
tape 1, side B	1
tape 2, side A	15
tape 2, side B	29
	42
Interview 2: November 20, 1990]	
tape 3, side A	50
tape 3, side B	50
tape 4, side A	61
tape 4, side B	73
tape 5, side A	84
	95

Mr. TAYLOR. The Subcommittee now stands adjourned.
(Whereupon, at 4 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.)
(Information submitted for the record follows:)

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 26, 1969.

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BIZ: I am terribly worried about Point Reyes National Seashore. Never has it been as threatened with so little time to protect it as it is today.

It is sad to think that nearly seven years after Clem rejoiced at the enactment of the original authorization, less than half of the land within the Seashore boundaries is actually owned by the government. The 2400-acre Lake Ranch, called the "gem" of the Seashore, with two miles of ocean shoreline, is to be offered for subdivision this month. Grading has commenced. The owners cannot continue to pay the taxes.

And, at this exact point of crisis in the land acquisition program, the Seashore faces a wholly new threat posed by its guardian, the Interior Department.

Congressman Aspinall, Chairman of the full Interior Committee, and Congressman Taylor, Chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, recognized the urgency of the land acquisition crisis by scheduling the hearing on May 13th before the Subcommittee to consider bills to increase the authorization for the Park by \$38 million dollars.

At the hearing, it was reassuring that the Members were clearly aware of the threat of imminent subdivision within the Seashore and gratifying that the same concern was unanimously expressed by other Members of Congress who

testified, by Marin County landowners and officials, and by representatives of conservation organizations.

In contrast, the Interior Department proposal came as a great shock. First, the Department requested \$10 million dollars less than House sponsors of both parties deemed necessary from figures originally emanating from the Department of Interior. This inadequate amount would be spent over five years, at a time of wildly escalating land values. Having made no attempt to make up this deficit, the Department then proposed that over nine thousand acres, *one-sixth* of the National Seashore, (subject to condemnation from the original owners for creation of a public recreation area, be sold to new and different private owners to raise money. That money would not even be returned to Point Reyes, but would go instead into the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The response of the Marin County witnesses was extremely heartening. Both county officials and landowners testified that they were opposed to any sell off. Mr. Douglas Maloney, County Counsel of Marin County, said the proposal would be considered simply a reduction in the size of the Park, to which the Board of Supervisors was on record as being opposed. Supervisor Louis Baar said he felt it would be poor judgment at this time to try to intermingle residential and commercial use with the park use. When asked if he would not welcome an increase in the county tax rolls, he replied that the Park would help the County tax base by increased revenues from tourism.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reacted to this proposal with an explicit editorial: "TO RAISE MONEY, JUST SELL A PARK." The editorial began, "National Park Director George Hartzog was involved in a public act of despair . . ."

Clearly, behind this proposal is the desperate need for funds for the beleaguered Land and Water Conservation Fund and the Interior Department which Clem called the "stepchild" among the Executive Departments. Contrast the Interior Department budget for 1970 of \$438 million as compared to that of the Department of Defense (military expenditures only) for \$80.2 billion.

But whatever the pinch, the expressed intent of Congress should not be violated, nor can one group of citizens be expressly favored by their Government over another group.

In 1962, when it created Point Reyes National Seashore, the Congress stated its purpose: "to save and preserve, for purposes of public recreation, benefit and inspiration, a portion of the diminishing seashore of the United States that remains undeveloped." (Emphasis added)

During the luncheon recess, I saw in the Hearing Room, an elaborate drawing prepared by the Park Service, of one of two private commercial subdivisions contemplated at Point Reyes. In his testimony, Mr. Hartzog spoke of "low-density" residential-commercial development. This drawing depicted high density 1-5 and 1-10 acre zoning complete with a school, shopping center, motel, marina and country club with golf course (presumably open to residents only).

The Interior Department, in its prepared statement, claims it has the authority to create these new subdivisions within the Seashore, without asking leave of Congress, under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act Amendments of 1968, PL 90-401. But Section 5(a) of this law specifically limits the authority of the Secretary to sell or lease property "subject to such terms and conditions as will assure the use of the property in a manner which is in the judgment of the Secretary, consistent with the purpose for which the area was authorized by Congress." (Emphasis added)

The Senate Interior Committee Report (#1071, 90th Congress, 2nd Session) on PL 90-401 explicitly states:

"While the Secretary is authorized to convey such freeholds or leaseholds in a manner which is, in his judgment, consistent with the purpose for which the area was authorized by the Congress, the Committee wishes to make clear the legislative intent that new commercial development, such as residential subdivisions, within national parks, seashores, recreation areas, and the like, is not to be considered within the purposes for which such areas were, and will be, authorized by Congress." (Emphasis added)

In sum, Congress granted some discretion to the Department of the Interior, and the Department now declares its intention to do exactly what Congress expressly forbade. It proposes to deauthorize, by administrative action, one-sixth of a National Seashore which Congress took pains to create.

Dearlly as Clem loved Point Reyes, and would have been horrified at commercial subdivisions inside its boundaries, he would have felt far greater dismay at the possible establishment of a far reaching disastrous precedent affecting seashores and recreation areas all over the nation.

In addition to the harm to Point Reyes and other places not yet designated, the Department of Interior proposal can only discriminate between citizens whose lands are taken.

For example, Mr. Joseph Mendoza, a second generation rancher at Point Reyes, testified at the hearing that he passed up the tax saving offered by the California Farm Conservation Act, and the consequent restriction on its use, with respect to the part of his land which would be in one of the two tracts the Park Service proposes to sell off for "low-density" residential and commercial development.

If the Park Service buys this parcel for the price it would command as farm land and resells it for residential-commercial development, the Park Service would pocket the difference and Mr. Mendoza would fare the same as other landowners within the Park. If, on the other hand, the Park Service pays Mr. Mendoza the full value of his land for residential and commercial development, Mr. Mendoza would get premium prices for his land, unlike other landowners whose property was not selected for development, and the Park Service would get nothing. If Mr. Mendoza negotiates a higher price for this parcel, somewhere between its value for residential and commercial purposes and its value for ranching, to that extent Mr. Mendoza will be favored over other citizens whose land is not so selected by the Park Service and the Government will pocket the narrowed difference.

So, to the degree that the Government realizes a profit through its power of condemnation, the original owners of the land will be the innocent victims. On the other hand, to the extent that the original owners are actually compensated, other landowners are discriminated against. Once the Government goes into the business of reselling public land for development, it inevitably will be enmeshed in just this sort of discrimination.

The Congress should reject out of hand this unfortunate Interior Department proposal. It should reassert its authority over Point Reyes. It should institute a legislative taking to freeze land values, followed by appropriation of the full \$38 million needed.

\$38 million is a great deal of money but Point Reyes is beyond price. It is located less than two hours away from a metropolitan area of nearly five million people—and there will be double that many by the end of the century. Half a million visitors came in 1968 alone. They were drawn there not by fancy facilities, nor by any specific famous attractions, but by a unique "Wild Peninsula" (the title of a new book for younger readers describing Point Reyes and its history, by Laura Nelson Baker). Many came from all over the United States and foreign countries as well as from the San Francisco Bay Area.

\$38 million is not too large a sum when one projects the number of men, women and children who over many years to come will gratefully appreciate the foresight of the Congress in setting aside this beautiful land.

I would be grateful if you would forward this letter to Chairman Taylor with the request that it be included in the record of the Subcommittee hearings.

With best regards,

KATHARINE (MILLER) JOHNSON.

Here's exactly how to help Save Our Seashore

By KATHARINE MILLER JOHNSON

The Seashore is caught in a deadlock between the Congress and President Nixon's Bureau of the Budget. Since the Budget Bureau has not released funds already available and set aside, specifically earmarked for National Park land purchases, the Interior Committee of the House and Senate have not been willing to act further on bills to complete the Seashore, nor on any other pending bills for land purchases for National Parks.

Key Members of Congress of both parties have stated that Point Reyes legislation will be moved if these funds are released.

There are four key people in Washington, all of whom need to hear directly, by individual thoughtful letters from private citizens, how very much Californians value Point Reyes: the President, himself a Californian, Senator George Murphy (R. California), Congressman Roy Taylor (D. North Carolina) and Senator Alan Bible (D. Nevada).

1. President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Only the President can release the necessary money to purchase park land, even after Congress authorizes the additional funds and then appropriates the funds.

Although President Nixon's Budget Bureau stated it had "no objection" to authorization bills to complete the Seashore (and certain other projects elsewhere), its letter of September 10th went on to say that "funds likely to become available will not be sufficient" through 1973 for Point Reyes or for any park land purchases not already funded.

Only last year Congress carefully strengthened the Land and Water Conservation Fund to provide \$200 million per year to buy land for pressing park and recreation needs. Receipts from offshore oil, motorboat fuel taxes, park admission fees and other sources were specifically earmarked for this purpose and these revenues were set aside. Yet President Nixon's budget has reduced the approved spending of this fund to \$124 million for fiscal '70 leaving only \$17 million for all national park land purchases.

On the floor of the Senate Monday, September 22, Senator Gaylord Nelson (D. Wisconsin) stated, "Right now, there is, altogether, \$164 million that has been designated for the fund and, under law, will remain there indefinitely, unspent, and unappropriated — unless this situation is corrected."

On September 19 Senator Hatfield (R. Oregon) stated in the Congressional Record, "I must also raise the question of the will of the people which was definitely expressed through the action of Congress, . . . to spend \$200 million to acquire this needed land. Congress is being thwarted by the non-elected Bureau of the Budget. The bureaucrats downtown have become a fourth branch of Government, isolated and secure. They seem totally unresponsive to the will of the people. I do not believe that Congress ever intended to put this power of the veto into the hands of the Bureau of the Budget."

Former presidents have changed their budget priorities and their budgets, and have overruled their budget directors. President Nixon, I believe, will do likewise in this case if and when he is convinced that enough citizens care strongly enough.

2. Senator George Murphy
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

Senator Murphy knows the Seashore. He has teamed with Senator Alan Cranston to co-sponsor the Senate authorization bill, S. 1530, for Point Reyes. As a fellow Republican from California, and as a senator seeking reelection next year, he is in a position to put the case for saving Point Reyes very effectively directly to the President. In addition to letters to Senator Murphy directly, copies of letters to the President would help him to do this.

3. Congressman Roy Taylor, Chairman
Subcommittee on National Parks
and Recreation of the Committee on
Interior and Insular Affairs
Room 2455 — Rayburn House Bldg.
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Congressman Taylor's subcommittee held the important May 13 hearing at which Marin County witnesses did such an excellent job of presenting the case for saving the Seashore. As a result of that hearing, the Subcommittee may now approve the pending bill to authorize the needed funds, so that the full Interior Committee, under Chairman Wayne Aspinall, and then the entire House of Representatives can act.

I am convinced that both Congressman Taylor and Congressman Aspinall, along with other Committee Members of both parties, want to save our Seashore for all Americans. They are, however, reluctant to move ahead on any bills to purchase park lands as long as the Administration refuses to spend available funds. However, other Members of the House Interior Com-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Where a letter will help most

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE

mittee, while entirely in accord with the objectives of Chairman Aspinall and Chairman Taylor, do not share their understandable reluctance to move ahead.

I attended the full Interior Committee meeting on September 25th, called to discuss the Budget Bureau letter of September 10th. At this meeting Congressman Don Clausen (R, 1st Dist.) and Harold T. Johnson (D, 2nd Dist.) and a number of other members of both parties forcefully argued that the Committee should move ahead immediately to pass Point Reyes and other important pending park bills, regardless of the ambivalent Nixon Administration position.

Statements at this meeting by Chairman Aspinall, Chairman Taylor, Congressman John Saylor (R, Penn.) the ranking Republican Member of the Committee and others, as well as their personal letters to me, demonstrate their real desire to complete Point Reyes. At this meeting there was not a single negative comment regarding the merits of securing the entire National Seashore as initially authorized in 1962. Members of both parties of this Committee virtually unanimously expressed outrage and distress at the Budget Bureau's letter and hope that the President himself would intervene to change his Administration's position.

A powerful argument for the Interior Committee to move ahead with authorization is the statement of the Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman, Julia Butler Hansen (D, Wash.) on the House floor on July 22. In a colloquy with Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan (D., 7th Dist.), long-time sponsor and advocate for the Seashore, Chairman Hansen said, "May I say to the gentlemen with regard to Point Reyes, when the authorization is approved for additional expenditure, additional appropriations will undoubtedly follow."

1. Senator Alan Bible
Chairman, Subcommittee on
National Parks and Recreation
of the Committee on Interior
and Insular Affairs
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

Senator Bible is in a position to hold hearings and act on S. 1530 jointly sponsored by Senator Cranston and Senator Murphy to authorize needed funds for Point Reyes. Senator Bible need not wait for the House to act. Except for the introduction of S. 1530 by Senators Cranston and Murphy, no action has been taken in the Senate. Senator Bible, despite urgings from Senators Cranston and Murphy and others, has been reluctant to even hold hearings until the House completes action. Prompt Senate hearings, however would be extremely helpful in alerting Senators and others of the imminent subdivision threatening Point Reyes. Senator Birole should be urged to hold hearings and recommend Senate passage of the Cranston-Murphy bill promptly without waiting on the House and without waiting for the President to release the needed funds.

It can only be helpful for Bay Area citizens to inform their Congressmen and Governor Reagan about how they would feel if Point Reyes should be despoiled through false economy. Citizens should bear in mind that

to purchase park land is to acquire a capital asset which can only increase in value for all the people. This is in fact anti-inflationary as it removes such land from possible speculation.

The question of national priorities is certainly relevant. The money needed for Point Reyes and other irreplaceable park opportunities is substantial but should be seen in the light of billions in the federal budget spent for items which do nothing to sustain the human spirit.

I want to emphasize my conviction that the whole of the National Seashore at Point Reyes will be saved if citizens who care mobilize themselves in its support - NOW.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mrs. Johnson is the widow of the late Congressman Clem Miller, who championed Point Reyes National Seashore in Congress, was killed in a crash of a light plane while campaigning and is buried in the Seashore on a bluff overlooking Wildcat Beach.

Katy Miller Johnson

Funeral services were held in Washington yesterday for Katy Miller Johnson, a noted California conservationist who died there last Wednesday of cancer. She was 64.

Her first husband, Representative Clem Miller, who represented a district spanning the north coast, sponsored the legislation that created the Point Reyes National Seashore. He was killed in a plane crash in 1962, but she remained the unofficial Washington lobbyist for the seashore. She was also active in many Democratic political campaigns.

In 1965 she married Washington attorney Stuart Johnson, who died in 1982.

Survivors include Mrs. Johnson's six daughters, Abigail Miller and Clare Watsky, both of San Francisco; Marion Miller of Eureka; Amey Miller of Chapel Hill, N.C.; Katharine Miller of Boston; and Eunice Johnson of Washington; and eight grandchildren.

A California memorial will be held at a date to be announced, the family said.

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

Peter Behr

MARIN COUNTY ENVIRONMENTALIST AND POLITICAL LEADER:
SPEARHEADING THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE CAMPAIGN

An Interview Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1990





Peter Behr
1969

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Peter Behr

INTERVIEW HISTORY	111
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	112
I BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 CRISIS AT POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE	113
Authorization of the Park, 1962	113
The Situation in Congress, 1969	114
Proposed Development inside Seashore Boundaries	115
Katy Johnson, Catalyst	116
II THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER, 1969	117
Gathering a Group: "The Best Procurable"	117
Campaign Outline, Petition Drive, Funding	118
Special Edition of the <u>Pacific Sun</u> , October 1	121
Sierra Club Poster, Book, and Film	122
Senator George Murphy's Key Position	124
The Brass Plate, Museum Exhibits, Ocean Beach Cleanup	125
Endorsements from National Audubon Society and Governor Reagan	127
Sierra Club Mailing	128
Publicity on Local Television and Radio	129
III THE SCENE IN WASHINGTON: EFFECTS OF THE CITIZEN CAMPAIGN	131
May 13, 1969, Congressional Hearing	131
Presidential Turnabout on Point Reyes and Full Funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund	132
Underestimating Costs of Seashore Land in 1962	134
S.O.S. Success: "An Angel on Everybody's Shoulder"	135
IV MORE BACKGROUND AND FOREGROUND TO THE POINT REYES STORY	137
Point Reyes and the County Supervisor's Election, 1961	137
Density Provisions and Planning for West Marin	138
Viability of the Dairy Industry	141
Escalation of Land Prices, 1962-1969	142
Handling the Hamlets in the S.O.S. Campaign	143
Difficulties in Acquiring the Lake Ranch, 1970	145
Remembering Bunny Lucheta	146
Further Thoughts on Nixon, Erhlichman, Murphy, and the Seashore Campaign	147
TAPE GUIDE	150

APPENDIX A -- Letterhead of Save Our Seashore	151
APPENDIX B -- Letter from Stewart Udall, October 6, 1969	152
APPENDIX C -- Petition to the President	153
APPENDIX D -- Campaign Outline for Save Our Seashore	155
APPENDIX E -- Proclamation from San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto	160
APPENDIX F -- Media Coverage of S.O.S.	161

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Peter Behr

It was a Peter Behr presentation to the Marin Garden Club that was the catalyst for the oral history project to document the Save Our Seashore campaign. His cogent and witty tale of the citizen campaign and its far-reaching impacts caught the imagination of Garden Club members. Through their efforts, this project was launched, with Peter Behr as its first interviewee.

When Katy Johnson sounded the alarm for Point Reyes from Washington in the summer of 1969, Peter Behr was in a perfect position to come to the rescue. He had recently retired after seven years on the Marin County Board of Supervisors, where he had been a strong spokesman for parks and the environment. He was considering a run for the state senate. In the meantime, he had the time and the commitment to provide leadership for the Point Reyes campaign.

His oral history, recorded at his home in Inverness on April 5, 1990, provides a record of the campaign and its principal participants from September 1969, when Save Our Seashore was organized, to November 1969, when as many as 450,000 signatures on petitions to President Nixon were delivered in Washington. Behr's recollections of the campaign's efforts to arouse citizen interest, involve key political figures, and focus media attention on the crisis at Point Reyes provide a case study of a classic grass-roots environmental campaign. Some key Save Our Seashore documents from his files are appended to the interview.

Peter Behr went on to serve for eight years as California state senator (1971-1978), where he authored a wide variety of legislation in the areas of environmental protection; legislative reform; health, welfare, and education issues; and insurance and property tax reform. He was named California Conservation Legislator of the Year in 1972, following the passage of his Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Mr. Behr's years in the California State Senate have been documented by the Regional Oral History Office for the California State Archives State Government Oral History Program [Peter H. Behr, Environmentalism and State Senator, 1971-1978, oral history interviews conducted in 1988 and 1989].

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Peter Howell Behr

Date of birth 5/24/15 Birthplace New York City

Father's full name Karl Howell Behr

Occupation Investment Banker Birthplace Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mother's full name Helen Neuman Behr

Occupation Housewife Birthplace Columbus, Ohio

Your spouse Sara Elizabeth Clarkson Behr

Your children Lola Behr Haskins, Peter Howell Behr Jr., Gertrude Behr Scott

Where did you grow up? New York City

Present community Inverness, California

Education Yale University 1937 B.A.

Yale Law School 1940 LL.B.

Occupation(s) Recently retired. Practiced law in San Francisco for 22 years. Member
of California State Senate 1970-1978 - Marin Bd. of Supervisors 1960-1968.

Areas of expertise ENVIRONMENT

Other interests or activities Hiking, gardening, education, politics, travel

Organizations in which you are active Marin Conservation League - Planning &
Conservation League, Friends of the River.

I BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 CRISIS AT POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

[Interview 1: April 5, 1990]##¹

Authorization of the Park. 1962

Lage: This is April 5, 1990, and I'm interviewing Peter Behr about the Point Reyes National Seashore and the Save Our Seashore campaign. You were going to start out with the eve of the battle and give us a little background on how it came about.

Behr: A little background. The Point Reyes National Seashore was actually first authorized on September 13, 1962, with President Kennedy's administration. Senator Clair Engle was very important in the establishment of the park, along with a large number of other persons. The idea for the park goes way back to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conrad Wirth, who was the National Park Service director [1951-1964]. He recommended the seashore [when he was assistant director of the National Park Service].

Lage: Back in the thirties.

Behr: Back in the thirties. In 1937, the county master plan showed the seashore as set aside for public use--at least all the wooded hills and all the beach areas along the frontage of the ocean. Then Fred Seaton, who was the secretary of the interior under Eisenhower, also recommended the establishment of the park, but that didn't happen until September 13, 1962. The purpose was to acquire 53,850 acres for the park, and only \$14 million was appropriated to acquire this large acreage. After a few years, actually in 1966, the expenditures were increased by another \$5 million to pay off judgments on condemnation suits which had been brought by the National Park Service--some three thousand acres at the time.

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 150.

The Situation in Congress, 1969

- Behr:** By the time Katy [Katharine Miller Johnson] came to talk with me at the very beginning of September 1969, the money had long since been exhausted. Some 31,000 acres were still in private ownership, and an additional \$38 million was needed. While there were many bills for this purpose, none of them were moving. There was a bill by both U.S. senators, George Murphy and Alan Cranston, pending in the Senate. On the House side, seven bills were before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs under [Chairman] Wayne Aspinall. But they were going nowhere, because the Bureau of the Budget had refused to authorize more than \$124 million out of the \$220 million that was expected to be appropriated each year for five years under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act.
- Lage:** So even if the bill passed, the thought was that the Bureau of the Budget wouldn't spend the money?
- Behr:** All the money authorized was earmarked for ongoing projects, except for \$17 million, and that would be what was left over to acquire parks for the entire United States. We were competing with all sorts of other projects, such as Cape Cod National Seashore [Massachusetts], Padre Island [Texas], Assateague Island [Maryland/Virginia], and many others. Both the Cape Cod Seashore and Padre Island each needed \$17 million apiece to get going. Cape Cod preceded us. Another problem was that we had recently acquired the Redwood National Park, which was also in the congressional district of Don Clausen. This created enormous jealousy, because putting these two new national parks in the one congressional district was a little much for many of the senators and congressmen.
- Lage:** Did the people involved in the seashore battle have a sense of competition with Redwood National Park, or a sense that it should take a back seat so that Point Reyes could be completed?
- Behr:** No, because Redwood National Park was a whole new deal. At the time the bill was signed by the president, every bit of that land became the property of the federal government, and from then on they merely paid interest on the parts that hadn't been paid for.
- Lage:** The concept of legislative taking.
- Behr:** It was a legislative taking. The first time used, and by far the best way to go about it. [Without a legislative taking, actual purchase of park lands occurs over a period of years following authorization of the new park, while costs increase because of inflation and land speculation. --Ed.]

Proposed Development inside Seashore Boundaries

Behr: The Point Reyes Seashore, in the meantime, was unusable because it was a patchwork quilt of private and public ownership. The public couldn't trespass on the private land to get to the public land that had been acquired. The public pieces were small, in general, and unusable. In addition, there was a tremendous explosion of development taking place inside the park boundaries because, of course, all the land that hadn't been acquired was up for development. Maps had been filed for ten subdivisions, more than a hundred lots had been sold inside the seashore boundaries, twenty subdivision houses had been built or were under construction, and we had this problem with Limantour Spit, where those houses were actually going into private ownership.

The Lake Ranch, which was 2,500 acres and said to be one of the jewels of the park, was owned by a gentleman named Bill Sweet from Oregon, who was a timber man. He began timbering and stated that he was dividing it into forty-acre parcels for sale. In addition to that, we had the Pierce Point Ranch, which was owned by a real estate syndicate; another 2,500 acres which was about to be subdivided.

Lage: It was already sold to real estate interests?

Behr: Yes! They owned it for some period of time. That's one of the gems--the farthest northern part. Have you been on it?

Lage: Yes.

Behr: It's beautiful. Five miles of seashore and five miles along Tomales Bay. The tule elk are roaming free there at present.

Lage: Was there no protection--legal protection--aside from purchase, to keep these things from being developed?

Behr: No. We had a meeting with the National Park Service director, George Hartzog, and his representatives, when I was still on the Marin County Board of Supervisors around 1966. He said, "Why don't you just zone it all agricultural?" The answer was that the zoning of all of West Marin was A-2, which allowed for excessive housing density, and we couldn't carve out some of these acres, obviously, and put them into a different zoning, because it would be a form of inverse condemnation. We explained this, but from then on we'd earned the undying enmity of George Hartzog.

So in any event, the whole situation seemed very dour, and in fact it seemed unbeatable because while Robert Mayo, who was

director of the Bureau of the Budget, finally agreed reluctantly to allow Congress to move forward with its bills for the seashore, he said there'd be no money, and Wayne Aspinall said that not a bill would move through his committee unless the appropriation had been approved in advance.

Lage: Was Wayne Aspinall not sympathetic to the seashore?

Behr: He was a very powerful man, and I think he was as sympathetic as he could be, but he also had the burden of every other seashore and park in the whole United States waiting for money. We were the Johnny-come-latelys of the people with our hands out. The feud was with the president, because Mayo spoke for the president, and the president had cut down the budget for the Land and Water Conservation Fund to \$120 million instead of \$200 million. So the argument was at a very high level and impossible to resolve, or seemingly so.

Katy Johnson, Catalyst

Behr: Katy Johnson came, and she had always dreamed of the seashore being in memory of her deceased husband, Clem Miller. She offered a paid secretary and a paid publicist if we would do something, but she didn't know what to do. She said, "Just start some drive; because otherwise everything we've done is going down the tubes."

Lage: She came to you individually?

Behr: Yes, she did. By this time I was off the board of supervisors, after seven years, and able to take the time to try this. But it had to succeed between the time she came, which was in early September, and the end of the year, because the federal budget can be changed, but it's a very, very difficult procedure to change the budget once it's finalized and get something extra into it that's not authorized by the president, who can always veto every bill that comes in he doesn't like.

II THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER, 1969

Gathering a Group: "The Best Procurable"

Behr: So that was the situation; we were stuck, but we wanted to do something. So we formed this organization, Save Our Seashore [September 2, 1969], a name stolen from a little group in Sausalito which had been buying up tideland lots, and that was their "Seashore Off Sausalito." I felt better when I learned they'd stolen the name too. [laughter] So we started off--

Lage: Now when you say "we," how did you--

Behr: Well, what I did was to begin to gather around a group, mostly women, who were not simply the best procurable, but the best, from my experience. We had Margaret Azevedo, who for a long time was on the Marin County Planning Commission, and a tremendous person. Still is. Jean Barnard and Aline McClain, both of whom had put me on the board of supervisors [in 1961] by taking over the running of my campaign, my recall campaign, were said to dislike each other, but they stayed working ten hours a day, day after day, on that campaign.

Lage: This was Aline and Jean?

Behr: Aline and Jean Barnard--Mrs. John Barnard. Then we had Libby Gatov, who was a former treasurer of the United States. Em Gilman, who was a widow and former president of the Marin Conservation League. Harold Gregg, who was also a former president.

Lage: Your token male.

Behr: My token male. Grace Wellman, of course, who is chipper as a sparrow and a tremendous go-getter. Also Bunny Lucheta and Joan Polsdorfer. In any event, these were persons who'd worked together, who knew how to work together, who got down to work and didn't waste any time, and that's what we needed. And there were many others like them as well.

We put together a very prestigious advisory board, mainly to use on our letterhead [Appendix A, p. 151]. One that we needed, or wanted, was Stewart Udall, because he had been the secretary of the interior during Kennedy's administration and a really, truly great man. I heard he was going to be at the Oakland Museum. I'd never met him, and decided to go for him, and went there with a letter which I'd prepared for him to sign. But he was making the dedicatory speech for the opening of the Oakland Museum; I couldn't get near him. So I found who was driving him to the airport, some young man whom I'm indebted to, and I told him that just before he left the secretary, give him the envelope and the letter, which happened.

Very soon afterwards, we got a letter back stating that he was delighted to become a member. I still have that letter, which is kind of fun [Appendix B, p. 152]. He hadn't changed my draft very much, but added enough to color it with his own overlay. He sent it back on October 6, which wasn't too bad, really, when you consider it.

Lage: So you didn't even talk to him personally, but just approached him by messenger?

Behr: That's right. Never saw him. But it worked. Then we decided that we'd have to have an office, so we got an office for \$60 a month and took it for three months, knowing it was now or never, as we say. That was paid for by the Marin Conservation League, which put up \$180 dollars. That was a very large contribution. We moved on the telephone company for redtagging and they agreed to give us their highest priority, so we got our telephones installed in jigsaw time, brought in borrowed furniture, and were open for business in San Rafael in about three days.

Then, in order to get some order into this, since nothing had happened yet--

Campaign Outline. Petition Drive. Funding

Lage: Did you yet have an idea of what you were going to do? Katy Johnson didn't bring you the idea?

Behr: No, she had no thoughts about it. She was just nervous. So I decided that the person who was making the problem and could solve it was the president, and that we should have a petition drive

addressed to him, and also a letter-writing campaign and an effort to stir up the media, and other events that I'll mention in passing.

So we drew up a petition which said only this: "Dear Mr. President, please help us save Point Reyes from the bulldozers. Only you can preserve this magnificent seashore for all generations of Americans. It's now or never!" [Appendix C, p. 153] I figured that was easy to read, quick to understand. In order to get enough signatures we felt that everyone should be allowed to sign, not just registered voters, because we all had a part in the park. That included children, if they were old enough to understand. Some of our best circulators were children.

Then we drew up an outline of the campaign, which was quite detailed and ran for three or four pages, to hand out to any other organizations that wanted to help, and indicated how we thought the campaign should go forward [Appendix D, p. 155].

Lage: So you were hoping to enlist other organizations to circulate this petition also, or to start their own?

Behr: Oh, yes. The outline was broken down into [going through pages] two, three, four, five pages on legal-sized sheets, and wound up by saying that all basic points contained were officially approved by the executive committee of Save Our Seashore at its open meeting of Thursday, September 11, 1969, at the Civic Center, San Rafael, California. "The press was in attendance at this meeting and was formally notified in advance of all meetings of Save Our Seashore." So we got together, and everybody approved the campaign outline and the fact we would go for petitions. And we were in business.

Lage: Did you have a model in mind? Was there something that caused you to think a petition drive would be a good idea?

Behr: I was chairman of the Alliance to Save San Francisco Bay, but that didn't have much to do with this. This was a seat-of-the-pants, off-the-cuff, let's-go kind of operation. Then we needed circulators, and we needed money, and we didn't have any money; we didn't have any circulators. But like any campaign, you also need up-front money, so I got up a promissory note for \$8,000, and I had it signed by people who could afford it, each in effect taking \$1,000.

Lage: Now tell me, what exactly does that mean? Do people donate the \$1,000?

Behr: No, they signed the promissory note we got from the Bank of America, so they became individually, jointly, and severally liable for the full \$8,000 if it wasn't repaid.

Lage: And who comes up with the \$8,000?

Behr: Hopefully, all the contributors we didn't have.

Lage: I see.

Behr: Well, by December '69 we paid that down to \$2,247.33. On July 1, 1970, it was paid off. So that worked.

The nicest story about that was Charlotte Riznik. Charlotte was a longtime reporter for the Chronicle who is loved by everybody who knows her. She said, "I want to sign that." "Charlotte," I said, "I'm not sure you want to do that." She was really quite poor. "Well," she said, "I've got \$1,000 in the savings bank; I'm going to sign it." So she did. She later became our PR [public relations] person for \$250 a month, which was one of the best gifts we received, for she was invaluable.

Then for the petition drive I called up the Coro Foundation, and I said, "Have you got any Coro interns who are free for a wonderful undertaking?" They said, "We don't have a single one." I said, "Are there any who've just graduated who don't have a job yet?" They gave me the name of Jim Williams, who was a quiet, sleepy-looking, handsome young man. I called Jim and he came over, and he said, "Sure, this sounds like fun." So there was our first circulator.

Lage: Now, was he a paid--?

Behr: He didn't get a dime.

Lage: He didn't get anything. This was volunteer for him.

Behr: So then I said, "Now, you're a graduate of Coro. You go back there and talk to those interns formally or informally and come back and tell me who is the best of them." So he did. And he said, "There's one that's so outstanding that I don't even have to describe him." Bill Kahrl, who was a Yale Scholar of the House and had written a movie which had been shown at the Cannes Festival and could do just about anything. So I bully-ragged Coro into giving me Bill.

Lage: Even though they said they didn't have any available?

Behr: Yes, well, Bill was helping me. [laughter] He was a strong character. He told Coro he wanted to get out of "this blank-blank supervisor's race. It's dull. This sounds like more fun."

Then Huey Johnson called me about a young lady named Francia Welker. He said, "I've got this gal who's been my secretary. She's not with me any more." I later had a feeling that she was too strong a character for even Huey. I mean, she was a very strong person, and very smart and attractive.

So she came along, and the three of them asked me what to do. By this time we had some petitions printed up. I said, "Go forth." [laughter] They said, "Don't you have any instructions?" I said, "Of course I do. Get signatures." They went through all the colleges and universities and high schools in the Bay Area. It was just the time when everything was bubbling in the universities and colleges and high schools and the younger generation. So they got a welcome reception and an enormous number of signatures. I hardly ever saw them; but the signatures kept floating in by mail.

Lage: Did they distribute petitions for others to circulate as well?

Behr: Oh, sure they did. Absolutely.

Special Edition of the Pacific Sun, October 1

Behr: Then I got ahold of the Pacific Sun because we needed some better publicity, and we couldn't afford it. They started up a special edition, Save Our Seashore.

Lage: Now, how did you arrange that? Did you have a long-term connection there?

Behr: Yes, I knew the publisher, Steve McNamara. By October 1, '69, they began to get all this advertising from all the conservation organizations throughout the state. Every time they got a good advertisement they increased the size of the special edition. [laughter] By the time they were finished, it was a paper that was really quite colorful and went on to two sections of sixty-four pages.

Lage: Was it a special edition, then, or an insert?

Behr: It was a special section of the Pacific Sun devoted to the campaign [October 1, 1969]. It was really a beautiful edition, filled with all sorts of lovely pictures and articles.

Lage: I'd like to collect some of this material from you.

Behr: We can handle that. But look at this photograph. This reminds me of something else. Cathy Stone--. Isn't that a fine photograph?

Lage: Yes. That's the Lake Ranch.

Behr: Well, Cathy Stone was the young daughter of my internist, Doctor Tom Stone, in Mill Valley. She was working for the magazine Rolling Stone, and she said, "You ought to get Perkle Jones to work." I'd never heard of him, but he turned out to be a famous photographer. I said, "I don't know Perkle Jones." She said, "I do. He works for us, and I'll get him going." So he came out over one full weekend, went all around the seashore and got a great many beautiful pictures and took them back and developed them himself. So he gave us a number of large photographs that we used in a variety of ways, which I'll mention later. And this was another welcome gift.

I made a deal with Steve McNamara that I would take fifty thousand copies of that little newspaper for the price of printing them. So I paid him \$4,000; that's what some of this money we needed was used for. Then we started to distribute them. One place we wanted them was in Washington. We didn't have the money to send them there (they were heavy as lead), so I had another friend, who's died since, who was well up in a major airline. His name was Tom Barbour. I talked with Tom and told him this dilemma. He said, "Give me the number you want to send." And I've always believed they went "lost luggage."

Lage: [laughter] Oh, you're kidding.

Behr: All I know is we never were billed. But Tom was way up there, and he said, "Oh, that's a good cause." So Katy Johnson was at the other end, and she distributed this special edition of the Pacific Sun all over Washington, to all the congressmen and people that counted. Then we started selling them for fifty cents apiece, as souvenirs. We got back just a shade under \$3,000, so the whole deal cost us \$1,000.

Sierra Club Poster, Book, and Film

Behr: Then, this was at a time when all the kids loved posters. You know the book, Island in Time by Harold Gilliam [Sierra Club, 1962]?

Lage: Yes.

Behr: Well, they have that lovely picture of the seacliffs, the Dover-type cliffs on the cover? So I went over to the Sierra Club and said,

"Look, you've got a poster program for all your books. How about a poster for the Save Our Seashore campaign? We can use that one." Well, they said they didn't have a poster program which was in effect at that time.

Lage: This was right after [David] Brower had left [as executive director of the Sierra Club].

Behr: Yes. I said, "Look, we've got to have that. Why don't you find out what the cost of a minimum run is on this new poster that I'm suggesting, and I'll take half of the minimum run." So they agreed, and we got the "Island in Time" poster. We paid \$1,366.40 for a couple of thousand of them, and we got back \$1,856.68; we made money on it. Those were sent all over to people who were interested.

Lage: Did you send those out of the area? Or did you sell them--

Behr: No, we didn't send them out of the area. We sold them in all the schools and got them used in booths and events that were put together.

Then we had the Island in Time books. I wanted to get those, in the worst way, to Washington, so I bought a hundred copies of the hardbacks and a hundred copies of the paperbacks, and we shipped those off to Katy to put where she felt they would do the most good.

Then there was the Sierra Club's wonderful "Island in Time," a documentary film, which we wanted to use. But there was a dispute between the two ladies who had done it.

Lage: I remember hearing something about it.

Behr: It was being revised at the time, and I talked with Larry Dawson, who was in charge of the film side of the Sierra Club program. He was very sympathetic, but he said these two ladies had absolutely forbidden the use or distribution of this old film until it had been revised. So we winked together, and in time I got some of those.

Lage: Did you get the two ladies together, or how did you--?

Behr: They never knew. So we sent some of those off to Washington, for Katy.

Lage: So some of these things were in place, in a sense. The book had been written and the film made, I guess, for the first campaign [to get the seashore authorized in 1962].

Behr: When you think about the Sierra Club contributions. The "Island in Time" poster was not in place, but the film was, the book was, and we used them in another way which I'll describe later.

Senator George Murphy's Key Position

Behr: The key person in this whole effort turned out more and more to be the person I thought would be the key to it. That was Senator George Murphy. He was running against John Tunney [for reelection in 1970]. I knew that George was a close friend of the president's. He was having a neck-and-neck race, and he needed votes in the north. We figured that he would be a powerful influence on our side. So I wrote him a letter on September 22, which was quite detailed. It ran for four pages. [looking at letter] I got it hand delivered by a Mr. Joseph McKeown, who was going to Washington on business.

Lage: Did he have a connection with George Murphy?

Behr: No, but he was going to Washington, and we had to move quickly. Our letter described how wonderful we were, how much we cared, gave him some background on the seashore, which he probably didn't need.

Lage: He had been one of the sponsors.

Behr: Yes, he was one of the two co-authors on the Senate side of the bill and was working very hard. It wasn't a question of his intense involvement. It was a question of thanking him for his help for us and [letting] him know we existed.

##

Behr: We sent him an eight-foot map, through Mr. McKeown, with circles showing the number of the estimated population within each 25-mile circle, out to a hundred-mile radius from the seashore, which indicated that five million of his constituents lived within a hundred miles of the seashore. We thought this would be a strong hint of the importance of it to his reelection.

We sent him also the original land-use survey and economic feasibility report, the one done by George Collins [for the National Park Service in 1959]. It was almost out of print and even back in 1965 was just about unavailable, but we got one. This report collected a lot of accurate, interesting facts on the seashore.

We presented him at the same time with a photograph of one small part of the Lake Ranch, soon to be subdivided into forty-acre parcels and sold on the open market. That was one of the photographs by Perkle Jones. It had a Morgan horse in there, and we knew he loved Morgan horses.

Lage: Where do you get these little bits of information like the fact that he loved Morgan horses?

Behr: That probably came from Boyd Stewart, who was a great Morgan horse breeder and fancier, one of our most fascinating ranchers out here. We told Senator Murphy we were coming along well with our petition drive, and thanked him for everything he'd ever done. It was all very sincere, and it helped.

Lage: Did you make any bold suggestion, like "Will you approach President Nixon?"

Behr: He'd already done it, and he continued to do it. I mean, he was right in there punching.

The Brass Plate. Museum Exhibits. Ocean Beach Cleanup

Behr: Then there was the brass plate, which had been residing in The Bancroft Library since it was first found.¹ It had been declared genuine, but it wasn't on display. So we got permission through The Bancroft Library to exhibit it at the De Young Museum for a week and the Oakland Museum for a week. We sent replicas of the brass plate to Governor Reagan and Secretary [of the Interior] Hickel.

Lage: Was that before its authenticity had been called into question again?

Behr: Oh, yes. It may still be genuine. That's another story. But in any event, we put it up in the De Young, and that helped induce our friend Joe Alioto [mayor of San Francisco] to declare by proclamation, which I think is lovely-- [holds up proclamation, Appendix E, p. 160] Look at that. God, you know that's important.

¹In 1936 an engraved Plate of Brass, dated May 17, 1579, and signed Sir Francis Drake, was discovered in Marin County. Since then there have been continuing controversies regarding its authenticity, as well as whether Drake landed in San Francisco Bay or in Drakes Bay on the Point Reyes peninsula.

Lage: Beautiful. Proclaims the week of October 18 to 25, 1969, a Save Our Seashore Week. And urges everybody to write the president.

Behr: We thought that was nice. He was a lively mayor, and full of energy. He came to the exhibit trailed by all the television media, who were anxiously making this an historic event.

Mayor Alioto wanted to keep the brass plate for another week, but by this time Oakland had gotten all warmed up, and they wanted it, and they had a right to it. He was sore as hell, but we got it away. We surrounded both exhibits with all of Perkle Jones's best photographs so people could see what it was like. Afterwards we took Perkle Jones's photographs and sent them to the most important senators and others in Washington as little tokens of our appreciation.

Then Diana Wayburn, who's the daughter of Ed Wayburn--you know Ed; everybody knows Ed [former president and longtime director of the Sierra Club]--decided on an Ocean Beach [San Francisco] cleanup. She said that she wanted to prove that high school youngsters really cared about beaches and could take care of them. So it was all set for a certain date and time, and the media was informed, needless to say. Ed called me up steaming mad, and he said, "That chief administrative officer [of San Francisco], Tom [Thomas J.] Mellon, I don't know what's the matter with him. He says they can't do it."

I said, "I can't believe that. Tom's a terribly decent chap, nicest man I know. I'll call him up." So I called him; I said, "Tom, what's going on with this Ocean Beach cleanup?" "Well," he said, "they told me they were going to pick up everything that they find on the beach and dump it in front of City Hall as a protest for not keeping the beach cleaner." [laughter] Well, I said, "Tom, if I can promise you they'll put it all in nice little piles along the Great Highway [which runs along Ocean Beach], will you agree to have it picked up by city crews?" He replied, "Of course." So that was over, and they had a nice event.

Lage: And did they tie that in to the Save Our Seashore at Point Reyes?

Behr: Oh, sure. That was the reason it was being done. Oh, yes, indeed. Then we got endorsements from all the local boards of supervisors in the Bay Area. We got a joint resolution from the state senate, which covered both the senate and the assembly, and we had all the conservation organizations' endorsements.

Endorsements from National Audubon Society and Governor Reagan

Behr: The one amusing thing about this Save Our Seashore edition [of the Pacific Sun] was that they'd gotten advertising from all the conservation organizations except the National Audubon Society. Steve McNamara said he felt I should try to get them. So I made a cold call to New York City, where they had their stately headquarters on Park Avenue, and asked to speak to somebody about it. They said, "It's a Jewish holiday; there's nobody here." I said, "There must be somebody there." "Well," they said, "there's Dr. Elvis Starr; he's our new head, but he's just come." I said, "Put him on the phone." [laughter]

So I persuaded him to take two full pages of advertising for Save Our Seashore. He said, "Well, send me the bill; nobody else will know anything about it." He also added, "Get rid of all that bird stuff. We're expanding now into habitat and other things. Look at the last issue of the Audubon magazine." That was when I asked him, "What about the copy?" He said, "Put it together! I've got no time for that. But remember, no birds."

Lage: No birds. That's very interesting. It just seems like an incredible array of different kinds of things you were off doing. Did you have these energetic Save Our Seashore board members doing different portions of the campaign?

Behr: Oh, yes. I mean, this is just an overview, but everybody was detailed and worked steadily and accurately on these things. They were just a first-class team. It wasn't a pick-up team at all; it was the best procurable.

We kept all the incoming petitions in a vault at the Bell Savings and Loan in San Rafael. The reporters were becoming interested in how we were doing, and we refused to tell them. [laughter] So that created sort of the Greta Garbo approach to a little bit more publicity. Then we went down to Los Angeles for the Governor's Conference on the Changing Environment, which Reagan had set up. By this time he'd endorsed the effort also.

Lage: Was it difficult to get his endorsement, do you remember?

Behr: I never knew how it was received. We just got it; he endorsed it, but I didn't approach him. Somebody may have, but he came along.

Lage: Was any of the Livermore family involved in Save Our Seashore?

Behr: Not in any major way. They may have been; that's not fair, but I didn't know about it.

Sierra Club Mailing

Behr: Well, we were short of signatures, obviously; we claimed we were going to get a million. We had two months to get them in--three months. So I went through a Mr. [Warren] Lemmon, who was Bill Roth's [San Francisco businessman and philanthropist] right-hand man, and asked Mr. Roth for money sufficient to mail out petitions with a letter to all the members of the Bay Area chapter of the Sierra Club. By this time I had two young ladies, Barbara Rosen and Sonya Thompson, acting as liaison with the Sierra Club. That mailing was very important and quite costly, because we would be getting twenty thousand petitions into the hands of persons who cared.

Lage: This would be members of the San Francisco Bay Chapter of the Sierra Club?

Behr: They all were members of the Bay Area chapter. But I had to get the money; we didn't have it. Lemmon said that Bill Roth was short of cash this month and couldn't make it. By then I was feeling very despondent because we needed the mailing so desperately, but it turned out that somebody approached Roth's wife, and she put the money up. So we went ahead and got those out to the membership.

At that time there was a rift in the club. Phil Berry had just been appointed president. Ed Wayburn and some of the others thought he was much too young for a job this important, and there was quite a schism. So I drafted a cover letter to go with the petitions, and they both agreed to sign the letter when we sent them out. So we took care of both sides of the schism. We sent out twenty thousand of those, and that helped an enormous amount. All we had on the back of the petitions was the return address.

Lage: Did you have some way of keeping track of where your petitions were coming in from? Were the Sierra Club ones marked in any way so you knew--

Behr: It wasn't that well organized. We just wanted them.

Things were beginning to move pretty well at that time. We were beginning to make some inroads, and I can't tell you how important Katy Johnson was in the whole effort, or her husband, Mr. Stuart Johnson, who knew exactly what she was doing, why she was doing it, and was behind her 100 percent, 1000 percent. Which is quite touching, I think.

Lage: I think so too.

Behr: Shows he was a big man.

Lage: Was it in Washington, primarily, that Katy Johnson was active?

Behr: The whole effort in Washington, she was it.

Publicity on Local Television and Radio

Behr: We also got an enormous amount of publicity on all the local television and radio stations; we did keep track of that [Appendix F, p. 161]. We got television programs on all the channels--Channel 5, Channel 4, Channel 7, Channel 9, at least the big Bay Area ones. I guess Channel 4 set the pace because they had a fifteen-minute original film featuring spectacular seashore views from the air. They had me being interviewed by Phil Wilson as we walked along the beach. Actually, KRON hired a plane and went five or six times to Point Reyes with cameramen. That was a target for everyone to reach for, and Channel 5 went on an editorial by Mario Cotruvo, an interview with myself with excerpts from the "Island in Time" film. Another editorial by Mario Cotruvo, "Island in Time" excerpts with myself on "Electric Impressions" with Ron Majors on November 14. These ran from September 22 to November 14.

Then Channel 7 had a half-hour talk show on Jim Dunbar's show, 7 A.M., September 18; we phoned in questions. I was one of the participants in a panel consisting of myself and Al Bianchi and Cindy Patterson, who was a youth worker in the campaign. Prettier than a picture, lived in Inverness and was one of I don't know how many children. Cindy had a cake bake for us, and raised \$57. She was lively as a cricket.

We showed the first quarter of a million signatures on petitions being shipped out of the office when Wanda Remy was interviewing me. More shots from "Island in Time" on November 10 from Channel 7. Channel 9 had a one-hour discussion of the Point Reyes Seashore, and we had, aside from myself, George Collins with Conservation Associates, who was the one who prepared all the surveys up and down the entire coast for the best seashores and had formerly spent a lifetime with the National Park Service. John Chambers, from the Marin Assessor's Office, was with us--the number two man there. And Gordon Pusse, who was president of Land Investor's Research, which owned the Pierce Point Ranch.

Lage: Was this a debate, or were they all in favor of it?

Behr: They all were in favor of it.

Lage: Including the land developers?

Behr: The Land Investor's Research?

Lage: Yes.

Behr: Yes, they were. They had divided the Pierce Point Ranch, I guess by this time, into forty-acre lots, and they were anxious to sell them. The two big parcels that were left untouched were Pierce Point Ranch and the Lake Ranch. After the whole matter was decided and President Nixon had agreed to appropriate the funds for the seashore, there was a supplemental appropriation of \$7 million to take care of these two big ranches, which went through quickly.

Lage: So they got a fair return on their efforts. Did they do as well as they would have if they'd subdivided, do you think?

Behr: It's hard to say. I can't answer that.

Lee Raskall was the key broadcaster at KGO, or key editor. He drew up editorials and we went over them together. They ran them six times a day for four days, starting September 18. He was pleased as punch. So were we. They helped greatly.

Lage: You really got tremendous support.

Behr: Oh, we did. KQED interviewed me on the street on October 20. KTIM, which is our local station, gave us a panel on September 25. We'd phoned in questions. KCBS featured spot announcements and news items on November 2. KFOG in San Francisco ran an editorial October 20. KPFA in Berkeley used all our spots. KPAT in Berkeley ran an editorial and spots. KFAX in San Francisco ran their own editorial. And so it went.

We sent spot announcements to nineteen radio stations other than the ones I mentioned. At least two-thirds used them, and possibly more, but we couldn't check it accurately. These covered Berkeley, Oakland, San Francisco, Pittsburg, Burbank, and so forth.

Lage: Was this so successful because Charlotte Riznik had the connections, or why?

Behr: I think Charlotte helped a lot. Everybody loved her, everybody wanted to help her. She knew a lot of people, so she helped a great deal.

III THE SCENE IN WASHINGTON: EFFECTS OF THE CITIZEN CAMPAIGN

May 13, 1969. Congressional Hearing

Behr: So then, going back instead of forward, to the terrible moment on May 13, 1969, when there was a hearing of a subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on the House side. We had sent our people-- . I was no longer on the Board of Supervisors, but the county sent a supervisor, Louis Baar, and Boyd Stewart, who was our great Point Reyes rancher, and other Marin County witnesses.

That was the terrible moment when [National Park Service Director George] Hartzog proposed that some 9,208 acres of land on the western slopes of Inverness Ridge be sold at public auction for development. There would be two tracts of 4,600 acres each, subdivided into lots up to ten acres. Both areas would include small communities with shopping centers and polo fields and riding stables and golf courses. The estimated sale would bring in about \$10 million.

He wanted the bills amended to read, instead of \$57.5 million, \$47.5 million, amended to allow this sale to go forward. He said he wasn't going to be using any of that money to buy any other parts of the Point Reyes seashore; he was going to put it back in the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

Lage: Do you have any understanding of how that idea came about? It was a new concept.

Behr: He never liked us, and he felt we'd done him wrong. He sent his people out here with the same concept around the middle of '67 or '66.

Lage: I think in '66 it was brought up before.

Behr: Sixty-six. And we just would have nothing to do with it. He wanted us to have a special zoning for the areas, and we refused it. He was miffed.

Lage: But if you'd had that special agricultural zoning, he couldn't have done this.

Behr: He wanted a zoning that required that everything in here be compatible with nature, including, I guess, polo fields and golf courses. But it was an indication, clearly, from the administration, that they weren't going to budge. That was the point at which Wayne Aspinall [chairman of the House Interior Committee] said, "Nothing's doing on the seashore until we get an appropriation authorized by the president."

Presidential Turnabout on Point Reyes and Full Funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund

Behr: I think what happened, which broke the deadlock, was a [November 18, 1969] meeting between George Murphy and Don Clausen and Wayne Aspinall, with the president, four days after the president received our 450,000 petitions.

Lage: When did he get the petitions?

Behr: November 14, I think.

Lage: So you kind of sent the first installment of petitions?

Behr: We sent them all at that time.

Lage: But were you continuing the campaign?

Behr: Oh, yes, but that was the bulk of it. And at that point, Nixon said, "We will see to the appropriation of the funds necessary for the seashore." Now, this, of course, wouldn't have gotten our bills moving at all because we couldn't possibly move with the rest of the representatives of all the other districts in the United States getting shortchanged. What happened, though, was that on February 10 of 1970--and this isn't generally understood--but on February 10, 1970, Mr. Saylor--Congressman John Saylor--received two letters, one from Robert Mayo, the Budget Bureau director, and the other from Walter Hickel, secretary of the interior, pretty well outlining what the president had in mind.

On that very day, according to the Congressional Record, members heard read by the reading clerk the president's message dated February 10, 1970, where he stated on page 10: "I propose full funding in fiscal 1971 of the \$327 million dollars available through

the Land and Water Conservation Fund for additional park and recreational facilities." Nobody had expected any more than \$200 million, which was all the law required. He had taken all the money that had previously not been spent, tied it into the \$200 million appropriation, and that's where they came up to the \$327 million.

Lage: So he really went beyond what you were hoping for.

Behr: Went way beyond. That was it. I mean, the floodgates opened. Everybody was funded.

Lage: So this allowed you not to have to compete with the other parks and seashores.

Behr: And we couldn't compete, because we were really such Johnny-come-latelys, and unless we broke the dam, it was impossible to move on. So it was a very good campaign.

Lage: Was this something you didn't expect? This increase?

Behr: I don't think anyone expected him to go above \$200 million. When this happened, I mean, it was time for great rejoicing.

Lage: Do you have any background on that, or any inside information on how that may have come about?

Behr: I have a feeling--which is not provable, but it's been hinted at by others who know more (How do you like that?) [laughter]--that George Murphy came to his old friend Richard Nixon, and in the Oval Office said to him, "Dick, I've got to have it. I've simply got to have it." While this is apocryphal, I like to think Nixon said, "Well, why didn't you tell me sooner?" [laughter] It didn't do it for him. George lost to Tunney, but he felt it was the best procurable thing to do for his campaign, which was foundering a bit.

But I got into terrible trouble when they had a testimonial dinner for Senator Murphy.

Lage: In the next year, during the campaign?

Behr: In Marin County. I said what was simply true; I read a letter from the Sierra Club to George Murphy, which I had a copy of. I said it was the closest thing to an endorsement the Sierra Club has ever made. And no Democrat's every forgiven me for that. Even the Sierra Club remembers it. And it was true. They knew damn well he was the one who caused it to happen. But I didn't know the details. But I was loudly berated by all the good Democrats around. After all, I felt I was a titular Republican who was trying to stand up and be counted.

Lage: [laughs] Well, you did sort of owe Murphy something for his pressure on President Nixon, I guess.

Behr: I think so. I felt setting the record straight was worthwhile.

Underestimating Costs of Seashore Land in 1962

Behr: You know, it was interesting, and one thing that hasn't been brought out, is how they ever got to that \$14 million figure at the beginning.

Lage: The figure setting the cost for the seashore when it was authorized in 1962?

Behr: Yes. There's a 26,000-acre pastoral zone within the boundaries of the seashore, and they came to the conclusion that little, if any, of the land would have to be acquired to preserve its character. So in the original plan there were 26,000 acres that they sort of sloughed off.

Lage: That they thought would remain in ranching and would be fine.

Behr: And wouldn't need to be bought. Well, that quickly proved not to be true.

They also thought that there was a certain portion of land that could be acquired by exchanges rather than paying cash, and the governor of Oregon squashed that as far as the Lake Ranch was concerned. Because the Bureau of Land Management--I think it was the BLM--had a lot of forest lands in Oregon which were going to be exchanged for the Lake Ranch, but the governor of Oregon did away with that.

Lage: And this Bill Sweet was an Oregon lumberman.

Behr: Yes, he was.

Lage: Do you know anything about how he happened to buy here? Did that used to be Boyd Stewart's property? That Lake Ranch?

Behr: No, it was owned by a Yale man, a Mr. Tevis. At one time it was a camping spot for wealthy San Franciscans, a hunting camp.

Lage: It doesn't look like prime lumber terrain, really.

Behr: It turned out the lumber was no good.

Lage: It just seems an odd purchase for an Oregon lumberman to come down and--

Behr: He may have had second thoughts. But he was ready to subdivide. And the Pierce Ranch was ready to subdivide, and the Marshall land --the Laguna Ranch--was ready for subdivision--1500 acres. Things were in pretty bad shape.

Lage: And then the Park Service, under Hartzog, was ready to subdivide also.

Behr: Oh, Hartzog. Oh, yes, he was ready. When he came down to be at the dedication of the seashore with Lady Bird Johnson, I reminded him when they landed the helicopters that they were landing on Drakes Beach, which the county had given free to the federal government for inclusion in the seashore. He grumped and grumbled, but he didn't acknowledge anything. And you know, the state gave 11,000 acres of tidelands to them all around the entire perimeter of the seashore.

Lage: I didn't realize that.

Behr: Yes. So they were nicely treated.

S.O.S. Success: "An Angel on Everybody's Shoulder"

Behr: It all worked out, finally. We [Save Our Seashore] closed out in early February; we signed off with the Division of Charities when we gave our first and last report to them. Because we were all ad hoc, meaning we'd never become 501(C)(3). We were just a joint venture.

Lage: You didn't make it a formal tax-deductible organization?

Behr: No, we had no time. So in the end we had to explain that to the attorney general's office of charitable something or other.

Lage: Does that create problems?

Behr: It didn't because Aline McClain was our treasurer, and she was there for a purpose. There wasn't a single "i" that hadn't been dotted or a single "t" that hadn't been crossed. Her books were in smashing order and I think they were off by \$2. The whole campaign cost--excluding that gift by Mrs. Roth, which was made directly--about \$24,000 or \$25,000. All that money came back.

Lage: In contributions?

Behr: Yes, little contributions. It really is quite remarkable. All the organizations came through, and individuals with \$5, \$10, \$15, \$23, \$8. I never saw small contributions amount to so much. They just came flooding in from everywhere. Very few large ones. We were helped by a few large contributions at critical moments. But there was an angel on everybody's shoulder.

One time during the middle of the campaign, the IJ [Independent Journal] reported that the petition drive might anger Wayne Aspinall and should be stopped. This was attributed to Don Clausen, who did splendidly on the seashore when he got going, but he was always difficult with the environment.

Lage: He was weak on the environment?

Behr: Weak on the environment.

Lage: And he was the congressman who had the two big projects in his district--the redwood park and Point Reyes.

Behr: That's exactly right. But we got to Washington at once with the IJ report and Clausen denied it the next day. We were really rolling. You know campaigns when they're absolutely rolling to the point where you can't keep up with everything that's happening because so much is going on at the same time?

Lage: Yes.

Behr: You're then in a successful campaign, by definition. That's the way this worked.

Lage: Now, what do you attribute the success to? Is it to the management and organization or is it--

Behr: The timing was right. It was a group that was put together, knew what they were doing, and went about doing it. They weren't afraid of failure.

IV MORE BACKGROUND AND FOREGROUND TO THE POINT REYES STORY

Point Reyes and the County Supervisor's Election, 1961##

Behr: Do you want to go back to the very beginnings of your outline, which we haven't covered?

Lage: I do. I was thinking that since you were in that unique position of having been on the Marin County Board of Supervisors, and in fact your going on the board of supervisors had some effect on Point Reyes, as I understand it, maybe we should review that a little bit.

Behr: Before the recall election against J. Walter Blair, the board of supervisors was voting 4 to 1 in favor of a twenty-thousand-acre seashore on the southern part of the Point Reyes Peninsula. [Others had proposed a 54,000-acre seashore.] Wayne Aspinall said he wouldn't set any single bill of the ones that were pending for hearing until the local support was existing.

Lage: This was in '61.

Behr: That's correct. So when I ran for supervisor I came out strongly for the seashore, and it was a very important issue in the original campaign [the election to recall Blair and to elect Behr as supervisor].

Lage: When you were first asked to run on this recall election, did your backers bring up the seashore?

Behr: That was one of the major issues. I was essentially backed by [former supervisor] Vera Schultz's supporters, who wanted somebody to replace J. Walter Blair, because he had defeated her, for reasons that nobody understands. She was strongly in favor of the seashore.

Lage: So when you came on the board, that made it then 3 to 2?

Behr: It turned out that's what happened. Bill Gness came along, finally. Walter Castro was always in favor of it [the 54,000-acre seashore]. I was the third one.

Lage: How did Bill Gness come around? Somebody told me there was a story there. Is there?

Behr: When the first votes were taken on the seashore after I came on the board, it was a foregone conclusion, we thought; it was 3 to 2 in favor of the larger seashore.

Lage: Of the larger one? But it was 4 to 1 in favor of the smaller one when you went on the board.

Behr: That's right.

Lage: That should make it 3 to 2 in favor of the smaller one.

Behr: Yes, but Bill had shifted in the meantime, and sided with Walter Castro and me. But when we took the vote, he returned to his old position and voted against it. So then it was 3 to 2, but it was the wrong way again. [laughter] He represented the Novato area, and the Novato Advance was at that time a daily newspaper. Someone, I'm told, wrote up an editorial blasting Bill in the most uncertain terms. He was told that it would be published if he didn't change his vote by the next meeting. For one reason or another, he changed his vote.

Lage: For one reason or another.

Behr: So that made it 3 to 2 the right way.

Lage: And then did he stick with that?

Behr: Oh, yes. Yes. He usually followed Walter Castro, but this time, for a moment, he slipped away. I can understand why. His whole family was in dairy ranching when they came here originally. He'd been at everybody's hunting camp throughout the entire county at one time or another, so he was deeply and permanently embedded in the ranching community. So he came quite naturally by the smaller seashore, and sort of unnaturally, we needed him, so he came along.

Density Provisions and Planning for West Marin

Behr: You mentioned [on the outline] this change in density provisions in the West Marin master plan. Well, that's an interesting story. I

can't give it to you clearly because I'm not sure. But I'm sure of one thing, that I was very concerned, personally, that we would find the environs of the national seashore developing into a pile of hot dog stands and junk.

So I talked to Clem Miller about it, and Clem went to work with the HHFA, Housing and Home Finance Administration. I think that's right. In any event, he got the full amount requested for federal financial assistance to prepare the Point Reyes section of the West Marin master plan for \$29,906. I have the letter he sent to Walter Castro, a copy of it with a little slip saying, "for Peter Behr who did it, for information, Clem," which I've always been touched about.

Lage: The idea was to do a master plan to prevent the kind of commercialization that you feared around the seashore?

Behr: Exactly right. That was our purpose.

Lage: I see. So was that carried out, then?

Behr: What happened, or seemed to happen, was that we got hold of Mary Summers, whom everybody worshipped, including myself; she had been our first planning director [in Marin County]. She was retired by then. She tied in with a Dan Coleman, who was an engineer [to draft a master plan for the seashore area]. What they came up with was highly unsatisfactory. For example, Waldo Giacomini's diked wetlands at the end of Tomales Bay were made into sort of a West Marin Venice-by-the-Sea, with canals shown going through them and little houses all over. I don't know what went wrong, but it was unfortunate.

Lage: So that was the plan for the private land around the seashore that resulted out of this county study?

Behr: Yes.

Lage: What happened then? Was that not approved?

Behr: I can't recall. I'm reasonably certain it wasn't approved. I know I bitched a lot, and I think it wasn't approved. Then the zoning density went up to twenty-four units per acre. Was twenty-four per acre?

Lage: Well, this is what I saw. The density had started quite low, and then during the period between the time the seashore was approved in '62 and '69, it had risen so that you could have twenty-four units per acre, in some areas.

Behr: I guess that's so.

Lage: I think I had read that you had objected to changes in density. I mean, this obviously was part of what was driving up the cost.

Behr: Objected to increased density, you mean?

Lage: Yes.

Behr: Oh, I certainly did.

Lage: But you don't remember the politics on the board?

Behr: I really don't.

Gary Giacomini saved the western side of Marin County.

Lage: Tell me about that.

Behr: His great feat was to establish zoning which limited housing to one unit per sixty acres, through almost all of West Marin.

Lage: This was when he was on the board?

Behr: Yes. And it's still that way. So it's pretty well done away with any major developments. These units can be divided from the land which allows them and can be sold and transferred to a more compatible location. But they're used up then. The original property loses them. So far, that hasn't happened very much.

Lage: I'm not getting exactly what you mean. You mean you can combine--

Behr: If I have a ranch of sixty acres, to make it simple, I'd be allowed to have one unit on the ranch. One residential unit. But I could say, "Look. I'll sell you the right to have an additional residential unit on your land. I'll not have my unit any more, so mine will be permanently undevelopable. You're a large developer; you want to collect eight or ten of these and cluster them in some location that's capable of taking them. So you're gaining something by buying these units.

Lage: But then all the rest of the sixty acres will be undeveloped.

Behr: Yes, that's right.

Lage: How did the landowners feel about that? The ones who probably could have had high land prices and development, if zoning was for higher density?

Behr: Well, their feelings were no doubt mixed. But it's been accepted now, for a number of years, and either they've given up or they've decided it's not a bad idea. Because the whole dairy industry is gaining some pride with Marin Agricultural Land Trust [MALT] and so forth, and are cooperating in buying up development rights from many of their dairy ranches.

In this last major bond issue at the state level, of over \$700 million dollars, \$15 million has been set aside for acquiring agricultural easements, development rights, on dairy ranches in West Marin. So MALT has some money to work with.

Lage: It's so promising.

Behr: It's promising, if the industry remains viable. That's the main thing.

Viability of the Dairy Industry

Lage: Is it viable now? I thought that was always sort of a hand-to-mouth--

Behr: Yes, it is at present. Most of the ranches are owned and operated by second, third or even fourth generation dairy families, who own them outright. This means they have no mortgages to pay, and ample security to obtain loans from the banks. Many of this generation's dairy ranchers have gone to UC Davis and they know how to run dairy ranches efficiently. Most of the milk from Marin and Sonoma County goes to San Francisco, and that's consumer milk, which gets a higher price. If you've got a good herd (and it's said that behind every milk cow is a better heifer), these things combine to make a profitable operation.

And then there's a way of handling price dips. You can add more dairy cows to your herd to make up for lower prices. You have out here in West Marin, because of all the fog, another month and a half to two months of good grazing, which helps reduce feed costs. So by and large, if you know what you're doing, you can make a decent living. It's very confining work, indeed, but it's all right.

Lage: When you say "confining," you mean--

Behr: It's a twenty-four-hour-a-day job, seven days a week.

Lage: They are not gentlemen ranchers.

Behr: No, indeed. You can't afford that. And that's the reason we have a large amount of Mexican help. Documented and undocumented, I think. Many of them documented.

Lage: What about milk price supports from the state? Isn't that something that's gone up and down over the years, or been debated?

Behr: It's still being debated. But they say the most powerful lobby in Washington is the dairy industry.

Lage: I thought milk supports were from the state.

Behr: Oh, no, they're federal supports. And state supports.

Lage: Did any challenge to milk supports come up during your term as state senator?

Behr: No, it's never been challenged.

Escalation of Land Prices, 1962-1969

Behr: So let's see what else we have [on interview outline]. "Why were land prices within the seashore rising so rapidly?"

Lage: Right. From this period of '62 through '69.

Behr: Everybody seems to start with the original appraisal and appropriation of \$14 million, wasn't it?

Lage: Right.

Behr: And yet the original appraisal, if you take in the givens, none of which proved true, was about \$35 million. So you have to start with the givens of \$35 million.

Lage: So they appropriated fourteen, but it actually--

Behr: We touched earlier on why the original appropriation was only \$14 million. It was based on two assumptions that were in error. The first was that the 21,000-acre pastoral zone would remain in ranching and would not need to be bought. They also believed some of the land could be acquired by exchange for other federally owned land. This didn't happen.

If you put a value of \$21 million on land within the seashore boundaries that didn't need to be bought, or could be exchanged, it brings the original estimate to \$35 million.

The Park Service took a long time getting started on buying up properties, and I believe they started offering prices that were too generous, and establishing benchmarks which come back to haunt them later.

Land prices rose because they were taking the less valuable, smaller properties first. The larger parcels, more desirable, large enough to subdivide, with ocean frontage, water, access, and sophisticated ownerships, were left to escalate in value as land became less and less available.

The development on Limantour Spit showed how valuable ocean property was. Twenty homes were built and a number of lots sold.

Finally, the period of '62 through '69 was one of high inflation, which escalated property values.

Lage: Are those homes still there at Limantour, or were they taken down?

Behr: Most of them are gone. A few are being used for homes for park rangers. Maybe five or six are left.

Lage: I asked you about the stance of the board of supervisors in '69.

Behr: They were highly in favor of the larger park. The battle was over, and they were anxious to have the seashore completed.

Lage: So over those years of the sixties, the county came around.

Behr: Absolutely. Absolutely.

Handling the Hamlets in the S.O.S. Campaign

Lage: In the papers I ran across the fact that the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, or Joel Gustafson [foundation president], at least, wasn't keen on this petition drive. Do you recall anything about that, or whether there were others who weren't keen on it?

Behr: There may have been some. I vaguely remember that Joel Gustafson wasn't.

Lage: He thought it would make it too local, somehow. That if the support seemed to be just local, Congress wouldn't go for it.

Behr: That could have been. I never knew him well.

Lage: Did you ever hear that objection brought up?

Behr: I may have.

Lage: Did it have any validity?

Behr: When you get into a campaign of this kind, you pay no attention to anything that's negative. You just move ahead, or try to. So those things don't stick in your mind. We had our low moments, but then you sort of rally the troops and cry out, "Charge!" again, and go forward.

Lage: It does take a "go forth" type of person. Not a Hamlet.

Behr: Oh, no, you can't have doubts. Even if they're legitimate. You've only got so much time, and we knew we only had a few months, so it was really a surprising end result.

Lage: And you set a very high goal for yourself. A million signatures.

Behr: Well, we did. [laughter] I won't argue with that.

Lage: You weren't disappointed in the final figure of 450,000 signatures, I hope.

Behr: No; it looks like a million when you put that many petitions together.

Lage: Was there a ceremony in presenting the petitions?

Behr: Yes. Don Clausen presented them to the president. Four days later the president changed his mind, and we like to think S.O.S. had something to do with it.

Lage: It seems like it, doesn't it? And then you went back for the signing of the bill [April 3, 1970]?

Behr: I went back for the signing, yes. And enjoyed it.

Lage: Did you do anything with Congress after-- . You know, Congress had to pass it after Nixon said okay. Did you get involved in any testimony or anything there?

Behr: No, that was being handled at the Washington end. I didn't know Washington well. I still don't. And what I know, I'm not sure about. [laughter]

Lage: Are you just as glad you never got in that scene?

Behr: Oh, yes. I am. I had my fun.

Lage: I think we've gotten a good tale here.

[tape interruption]

Difficulties in Acquiring the Lake Ranch, 1970

Lage: We wanted to add something that may not be clear.

Behr: On March 24, 1970, there was a hearing in Congress, under which they asked for a \$7,100,000 appropriation, an additional amount from the Land and Water Conservation Fund, in order to acquire the Pierce Point Ranch and the Lake Ranch. There was a hearing, and it was unanimously approved. This took away any risk that the Pierce Point Ranch or the Lake Ranch could be developed.

Lage: So this was an effort to take care of it immediately.

Behr: Close the barn door before the horse got out.

Lage: It must have been a great sense of achievement when all this came about.

Behr: It was fun. It was fun.

Lage: And this was right on the eve of your running for the California State Senate?

Behr: It turned out to be.

Lage: But at the time, you weren't aware that you were going to be running?

Behr: I hadn't made up my mind, but I was sniffing around and looking forward to the possibility of doing it. But I certainly hadn't decided it. [tape interruption]

Lage: We're talking about Bill Sweet and the Lake Ranch.

Behr: On April 26, 1970, or thereabouts, Sweet sold six forty-acre parcels of land on the Lake Ranch at Point Reyes just after the president had signed legislation to complete the purchase of the seashore. There was no reason for it; we objected with great urgency to all concerned and said that the Department of the Interior should reprogram funds already appropriated for acquisition of public lands elsewhere and replace such funds with the \$7 million, which should be approved and available well before June 1, which happened.

And then I went on to urge them to reprogram, and said some other unkind things about Sweet, which certainly were deserved, because the money was there and he knew it.

Lage: And he had given the impression of being in favor of the land being bought by the seashore.

Behr: That's right.

Lage: It seems to me he had a lot of conservationists working for him and with him. Did you ever get to know Bill Sweet?

Behr: No, I didn't.

Oh, here's a letter from Katharine [Miller Johnson] that I suppose Bill Duddleson might or might not have, to John Oakes of the New York Times. It was just showing that she was in there all the time.

Lage: Did you have a lot of back-and-forth communication with her?

Behr: Not a great deal. I went to Clem's funeral, and that was the saddest thing I've ever been to. She came out with her five little daughters on a dull day much duller than this, drizzling, for a full military-like funeral, which always cuts me apart, under the big trees near what is now the seashore's headquarters. With the flag that was given, and all those things. God, I wept like a baby.

Lage: Terrible.

Remembering Bunny Lucheta

Behr: I would like to mention someone else.

Lage: Do, please.

Behr: Bunny Lucheta was in the forefront of this Save Our Seashore effort and was one of the more remarkable people I've ever met. Afterwards, she came with me and was on my staff for eight years at the state senate, and unfortunately died this year at what we all felt was much too young an age. She was really the head of my staff for all those years while I was in the senate, although she was mostly in San Rafael so we couldn't give her the title. But I didn't do anything without consulting her. She never steered me wrong, she never raised her voice, and everybody loved her. We all feel sad that she's gone.

Lage: I think you told me that she was the one that organized your papers so beautifully.

Behr: Oh, yes, she did all that.

Lage: I think that sets a standard that not too many ex-senators have met. Did you get to know her through the Save Our Seashore, or had you known her before?

Behr: I got to know her then. I'd known her before; I'd known all of these people before, but she was so outstanding. And she trained most of my staff in San Rafael, who later came up and were administrative assistants in Sacramento. She had rapport with everyone, and the staff was exceptional. It was one thing I missed most when I left Sacramento. But I've kept in touch with all of them.

Lage: It takes a real talent, I think, to be that organized and also have good rapport motivating others.

Behr: Oh, she was wonderful. She was a special person.

Further Thoughts on Nixon, Ehrlichman, Murphy, and the Seashore Campaign

[The following section was added on May 16, 1991, during the editing process.]

Lage: When I spoke with Bill Kahrl about his role in the Save Our Seashore campaign, he recalled that the Governor's Conference on California's Changing Environment [November 17-18, 1969] was a key event for the campaign. He mentioned that John Ehrlichman was present at the conference and recollected that you had met with Ehrlichman and won his endorsement for the Point Reyes appropriation. Do you recall that?

Behr: I did meet with John Ehrlichman at the conference, but it was about another matter, which I think I told you about in the state archives oral history.¹

Lage: No, the story is not in that transcript. Why don't you tell me here?

Behr: Many years earlier, when President Nixon was a congressman, I entered into a debate with Mr. Ernest Besig, who had been for some years the executive director of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union. We were debating the recent passage of the Mundt-Nixon Act, whose main purpose was to register Communists. This debate took place in Mill Valley, and I received a fifty dollar honorarium, which at the time was ample inducement for my presence.

Since no one on the West Coast had yet seen the act in print and I felt desperate in debating a professional, I asked Congressman Nixon's staff for help and was sent two buckram-bound volumes of the hearings covering the Alger Hiss controversy. After the debate, I put the two volumes in my library and failed to return them.

At the conference I asked Mr. Ehrlichman whether the president would want these long-lost volumes, and if not, would he autograph them for me if I should ever come to Washington. He assured me the president had no interest in them, and he would see to it that the president would autograph them if I ever came to Washington.

It turned out that I was the only civilian invited to be present at the signing ceremony for the bill containing the final funding to complete the Point Reyes National Seashore. I lugged the two volumes to the ceremony, and admitting they were either stolen or taken from some library, I told the president I thought the statute of limitations had run out and I couldn't pay the accumulated fines. He took the two volumes, turned them over with frightening interest, and shortly thereafter disappeared through a door. I reminded Mr. Ehrlichman of his commitment to get them autographed, and he went through the same door. After some ten minutes he came back and told me brusquely that the president wanted the two volumes for his library. At that point, I had no choice but to be generous and have never seen them again.

I found out later that the Library of Congress annually presents each member of a congressional committee with one or two

¹Peter H. Behr oral history interview, conducted 1988 and 1989 by Ann Lage, Regional Oral History Office, for the California State Archives State Government Oral History Program.

volumes of the proceedings before the committee during a given year, and I had purloined the complete transcript of the testimony of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers before the House Un-American Activities Committee, of which Mr. Nixon was a key member.

Lage: Who won the debate between you and Mr. Besig?

Behr: I was the hometown boy, and I am sure Mr. Besig was the winner on points, but he was on my turf. He no doubt was on the right side and undid me, but no votes were taken, and I kept the fifty dollars.

Lage: Would you agree with Bill Kahrl's recollection that the governor's conference was a key event for the Save Our Seashore campaign?

Behr: No. We needed to show up, and we had a booth there, as did a lot of groups, but it wasn't a key event for us. The whole campaign was directed at George Murphy. It was apparent that he needed northern California support in his upcoming election campaign, and he could be a key player to influence President Nixon. But this was not divulged at the time.

Lage: Katy Johnson doesn't seem to place such importance on George Murphy.

Behr: That's right. This was mostly in my own mind as the campaign developed. After all, Murphy and the president were old-time friends and I am sure the president took an interest in retaining his senate seat, not only for an old friend but also a loyal Republican. And we were told later that Murphy had, in fact, gone in to see the president and said, "Dick, I've got to have it." Murphy was the one who won the president over.

Lage: Now, how did you find that out?

Behr: I'm afraid I don't recall exactly how we found that out, but it was generally understood at the time.

Transcribers: Noreen Yamada and Elizabeth Kim
Final Typists: Elizabeth Kim and Kian Sandjideh

Tape Guide--Peter Behr

Interview Date April 5, 1990

tape 1, side a	113
tape 1, side b	124
tape 2, side a	137



SAVE OUR SEASHORE

714 C STREET • SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA 94902
 (415) 456-0185 — 456-0189

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PETER BEHR, *Chairman*
 MRS. ALFRED J. AZEVEDO
 MRS. JOHN R. BARNARD
 MRS. WESLEY P. BUNNELLE
 PETER B. DOYLE
 MRS. ALBERT GATOV
 MRS. P. K. GILMAN
 HAROLD E. GREGG
 MRS. HARRY W. LUCHETA
 MRS. FRANKLIN J. McCLAIN
 MRS. JOAN HURST POLSDORFER
 MELVIN J. RUPP
 EDWARD J. RYKEN
 LOTHAR SALIN
 DR. WILLIAM F. UPTON
 MRS. THEODORE C. WELLMAN

FINANCE COMMITTEE

B. A. FARLATTI
Tiburon
 JAMES F. McCONNELL
Novato
 MELVIN J. RUPP
Novato
 WILLIAM E. WASTE
Kentfield
 MRS. HAROLD WATKIN
Kentfield

ADVISORY BOARD

ALBERT BIANCHI
San Rafael
 PHILLIP BERRY
Berkeley
 FREDERICK BLUMBERG
Lafayette
 JOHN A. BUSTERUD
San Rafael
 DANIEL A. COLLINS, DDS
Mill Valley
 GEORGE F. COLLINS
San Rafael
 MRS. MORSE ERSKINE
San Francisco
 MRS. STUART H. JOHNSON JR.
Washington D.C.
 MRS. PHILIP KEARNEY
Mill Valley
 MRS. CLARK KERR
El Cerrito
 RICHARD C. LEONARD
Mill Valley
 IRWIN LUCKMAN
Oakland
 MRS. DONALD H. McLAUGHLIN
Berkeley
 DR. WILLIAM E. SIRI
Richmond
 DR. EDGAR WAYBURN
San Francisco



OVERVIEW

October 6, 1969

Dear Mr. Behr:

I accept with pleasure your Executive Committee's invitation to serve with many of my West Coast friends as a member of Save Our Seashore's Advisory Board.

As you know, the Point Reyes National Seashore was officially authorized to be created in 1962, while I was Secretary of the Interior. It is truly unique, both ecologically and historically.

That this magnificent stretch of the California Coast, within a mere one hundred miles of five million people, has remained virtually intact and unchanged from the first day it was sighted by Sir Francis Drake in 1579 seems almost a miracle.

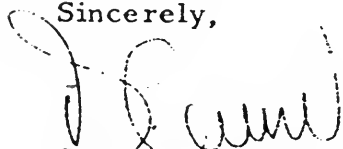
But unfortunately, this near miracle is about to become a thing of the past, for many of the loveliest areas within the proposed Seashore are in imminent danger of being bulldozed, subdivided, and sold on the open market.

This is so, because 30,940 acres within the Seashore's boundaries are still in private ownership, seven years after it was officially created. Not only do we face an impending tragedy, if these lands are lost, but we have only ourselves to blame.

It is a scandal of historic proportions if the American people, at the peak of our affluence, admit that we lack the foresight and the wherewithal to preserve this great Seashore intact for ourselves and for future generations. If we can afford, this year, \$600 millions to develop an SST, it is an admission of moral bankruptcy if we are unable to fund the completion of the purchase of these parklands.

I am proud to join your Committee. Let us be militant - and refuse to let Washington say no to our legitimate demands.

Sincerely,



Stewart L. Udall

Mr. Peter Behr
c/o Save Our Seashore
714 C Street
San Rafael, California.

PETITION

to the **PRESIDENT** of the **UNITED STATES**

concerning

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Dear Mr. President:

Please help us save Pt. Reyes from the bulldozers. Only *YOU* can preserve this magnificent seashore for all generations of Americans. It's **NOW** or **NEVER!**

Name

Address

Date

1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____
13.	_____	_____
14.	_____	_____
15.	_____	_____
16.	_____	_____
17.	_____	_____
18.	_____	_____
19.	_____	_____
20.	_____	_____
21.	_____	_____
22.	_____	_____
23.	_____	_____
24.	_____	_____
25.	_____	_____

1. Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by Congress in 1962.
2. To date only 22,540 acres of a total of 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes.
3. The result of #2 above is:
 - a. The present ownership is a patchwork quilt of public and private ownership and cannot be administered efficiently.
 - b. Prices on remaining private lands in the Seashore boundaries are rising rapidly.
 - c. Much of the choicest private land is soon to be subdivided.
4. Immediate acquisition is imperative if this, the only National Seashore on the West Coast is to become a reality.

.

I, _____, certify that

I personally circulated this petition and informed signatories of the above facts.

Name _____

Street No. _____

City or Town _____

State _____

PLEASE RETURN THIS COMPLETED PETITION BY OCTOBER 31, 1969, TO:

SAVE OUR SEASHORE (S.O.S.)
 Box 2724
 San Rafael, Calif. 94902

CAMPAIGN OUTLINE
FOR
"SAVE OUR SEASHORE"
(S. O. S.)

S. O. S.
714 "C" Street
San Rafael, Calif.

Box 2724
San Rafael, Calif. 94902

Objectives

1. To get Congress to raise the authorized ceiling for acquisition of 30,940 acres of privately owned property within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore from the present \$19,135,000 (all spent or committed) to \$57,500,000.
2. To get Congress to appropriate the \$38,365,000 necessary to purchase this private property, which still remains in private ownership seven years after the Seashore was authorized.
3. To obtain the active support of President Richard Nixon and his administration to raise the authorized ceiling, as set forth above, and include in his forthcoming budget the \$38,365,000 required to complete the National Point Reyes Seashore.

Policy

"SAVE OUR SEASHORE" is a non-partisan organization, and this campaign must be conducted on a STRICTLY NON-PARTISAN BASIS. Every member of the Executive Committee, any Subcommittee, or anyone else who works, speaks, or purports to speak for "Save Our Seashore" shall adhere to this basic policy at all times and in all places.

Urgency

Many of the private property owners can no longer afford the cumulative effect of property taxes and other carrying costs involved, having waited seven long years for the federal government to buy their lands, which, for the most part, produce very little income.

Both the Lake and Pierce Ranches (each 2500 acres in size) will be subdivided by their owners or sold for subdivision in the very near future, if Congress and the President do not act at once. These are regarded as two of the proposed Seashore's most beautiful, needed, and strategically located ranches. Others, equally unique but less publicized, are also soon to be broken up. In fact, one good-sized ranch has just been sold. Others are listed with local real estate brokers. Once subdivided, their value for park purposes will decline, and their cost to acquire will greatly increase.

The Difficulty in Washington

Seven bills, authored or co-authored by 26 California Congressmen, led by Congressman Don Clausen, within whose First District the Seashore lies, are awaiting action in the House of Representatives. If one of them becomes law, the authorized ceiling for appropriations to acquire Point Reyes National Seashore would be raised to \$57,500,000, the amount necessary to make The Seashore a fact, rather than a long-standing moral commitment. A companion bill, co-authored by California's two United States Senators, George Murphy and Alan Cranston, is pending in the Senate

A hearing was held in Washington on May 13, 1969, before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Persuasive testimony was presented by many groups and individuals, including Supervisor Louis H. (Bud) Baar of Marin County and Boyd Stewart, a large and highly respected West Marin rancher.

But here are some of the problems we envision at this time, and they are critical ones indeed:

1. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in his recent letter of September 10, 1969 to the House Interior Affairs Committee, stated the Bureau "does not object" to including a Point Reyes Seashore appropriation. Saying "no objection" and expecting to get the necessary funds into the President's budget are by no means synonymous. The Bureau's letter, in Washingtonese, is no ringing endorsement, to say the least.

2. The Department of the Interior has recommended amendments to reduce the \$57,500,000 ceiling contained in H. R. 3786 and the other pending bills to \$47,435,000, and has urged Congress to authorize selling off 9,200 acres within the Seashore boundaries to the highest private bidder for such uses as private housing, hotel, motel, and shopping centers, with what it describes as "suitable restrictions" This urban redevelopment approach, for park lands, while ill-received by many Congressmen at the Subcommittee hearings, is still the official position of the Department of the Interior. If permitted, it would certainly emasculate the Point Reyes National Seashore, and make it a second-rate project, instead of one of the nation's most exciting and worthwhile parks.

3. The Point Reyes Seashore must compete with the Cape Cod Seashore, out of authorization and in need of \$17,000,000; and Padre Island in Texas, which carries a price tag of \$17,800,000.

4. Point Reyes is in the same Congressional District with the Redwood National Park, a cause for resentment by some Congressmen from other states.

5. The Bureau of the Budget has cut the \$200 million Congress authorized for the Land and Water Conservation Fund (source of land acquisition funds) to \$124 million, leaving after prior commitments only \$17 million for National Park Service land purchases (including Point Reyes) for the entire nation for fiscal 1970.

6. Cut-backs in federal spending are being mandated throughout federal departments by the present administration in an all-out effort to slow down inflation. The Seashore may die from what we believe would be the very definition of false economy, despite the admitted need to stop the continuing erosion of our purchasing power because of galloping inflation.

7. The lead time for raising the ceiling on Point Reyes and getting an appropriation bill through Congress is very short indeed, which adds to the present emergency and the need for sudden action by all concerned citizens.

Proposed Target for Our Campaign

(1.) To convince President Nixon that the Point Reyes National Seashore MUST be saved, and NOW, or it will be permanently lost, which is not the case with other high priority projects within the Department of the Interior.

(2.) To convince a majority of United States Representatives and Senators to the same effect.

The key to success lies in the active cooperation of a great number and variety of existing organizations throughout the Bay Area, such as business and conservation groups, women's clubs, professional, service and youth organizations, improvement clubs, senior citizen's associations, Chambers of Commerce, and the like. This is a non-partisan issue, which enlists tremendous support from all ages and all points of view. People and organizations are eagerly waiting to be told what to do, and there is NO opposition we have heard about or encountered, either in the Bay Area or elsewhere in California.

The major thrust of this campaign is to elicit personal appeals, both public and private, by letters, petitions, and resolutions from all types of individuals, organizations, and elective bodies directed to President Nixon, key Congressional leaders and members of the Congressional Committees which must act favorably to get bills sent out of Committees to the House and Senate floors for a vote, with a "Do Pass" recommendation

Timetable

Timetable for peaking the campaign is very short, no more than 90 days from September 2, 1969, when S.O.S. was first organized. The compelling reason is that the President's budget for the next fiscal year will be presented to Congress in early January, 1970, and while new additions can be grafted on to the budget after it is submitted to Congress, this is an extremely chancy possibility to rely on, in view of other competing needs, backed by powerful interests, many of which are admittedly entitled to high priority. We are honestly face-to-face with a "Now or Never" proposition. One of our strongest selling points is that "Parks are Forever", and the need for more of them is understood by almost every thinking individual. Their loss is irreversible. Quality land is scarce and rapidly becoming an anachronism. *

Funds

"Save Our Seashore" is NOT a tax-deductible organization. We have no financial angel to bankroll this effort, nor are we depending on finding one. It is a second effort to mobilize the "People Power", which so recently saved San Francisco Bay. To do the job -- and it CAN be done, we must find people who care enough to put a dollar or two in an envelope and send it along. We promise to force every dollar to "walk the second mile". We also promise to account for every dollar spent t the end of the campaign, with receipts for them too, available for public inspection

The Nitty-Gritty of the Campaign

The Petition Drive

A petition drive has already begun in Marin County, and will spread within the next two weeks to the other eight Bay Area counties, and then throughout the state and country. Our organization's goal is ONE MILLION SIGNATURES. Petitions are addressed to the President of the United States and ask him please to save this magnificent seashore for all generations of Americans, and state that only HE can do it, and it's NOW or NEVER. Petitions can properly be circulated and signed by anyone, regardless of age.

Children must be fully informed of ALL the facts before they are allowed either to sign or circulate a petition, and also must be of an age to understand what it's all about. However, it is an Article of Faith with the "Save Our Seashore" Executive Committee and Advisory Board that children have the

most to gain, and the most to lose, depending on the outcome of those who believe in the Point Reyes National Seashore, and are willing to back up their belief with action, either independently or within the frame-work of the S. O. S.

All citizens must work to convince Congress and the President of the emergency facing the Seashore. Working together, we can cause this unsurpassed and yet unspoiled stretch of California's seacoast to be saved. Let us get it gift-wrapped and placed this very year under the Christmas Tree of every child in America.

SUGGESTED COMMITTEES

Organizations

Solicit local organizations to adopt resolutions, circulate petitions to members, send out fact sheets concerning the Point Reyes emergency in mailings to their members, and urge all members to get their children to circulate petitions in school and elsewhere. Also, and of utmost importance, get letters written to the President, Governor Ronald Reagan, and key legislators. If any organization can make a contribution to S. O. S., please ask them to do so. Among the key legislators are Senator Alan Bible of Nevada, Senator George Murphy of California, Congressman Wayne Aspinall of Colorado.

Publicity

Write press releases, set up T.V. and radio programs, arrange public relations events and particularly pay attention to the local newspapers, which can probably help the most, if they are given the help they need from you. All publicity of a policy nature MUST be cleared through S. O. S. in San Rafael, California, unless obviously in accord with policy already laid down in this outline.

Program

Arrange speakers for meetings and luncheons. Check with S. O. S. in San Rafael concerning availability of the newly revised Sierra Club 16 mm film, "Island in Time". It is in color, with sound, and very fine indeed. See if you can get it shown in your elementary schools for Nature Education, assuming we can make it available, which we cannot promise at present. It is strictly informational, of course, with absolutely no political undertones or overtones.

Schools

A working committee to involve the schools to the extent of "nature education", focused on Point Reyes, would be very valuable indeed, with poster contests, and painting for the lower grades of birds, flowers, beaches, seascapes, Sir Francis Drake's galleon, Miwoc Indians, and so forth.

Finances

Prepare a budget for money needed for your own county's activities, appoint a finance committee of three to five persons, let them pick their own chairman, and set a realistic dollar goal, which need not be very much. Remind everyone that a dollar today is worth five dollars a week from now, for activity usually generates the dollars to finance it. To begin, however, is "The Name of the Game". Time is already about to run out for "The Island in Time".

Special Events

Draw up a calendar of all major events and locations where crowds will gather. Parks and other areas where people congregate who know at first hand the crying need for more recreational land in the Bay Area are excellent locations in which to circulate petitions. At special events, arrange to have booths or card tables, staffed and, of course, supplied with ample petitions and fact sheets, and other accurate literature and reprints about Point Reyes. We can help you with this. Just telephone!

Headquarters

It does help to have one. If it is to be a "working" headquarters, avoid a location which attracts casual drop-ins. Check your real estate board for a vacant office, search for a sympathetic owner who will let you use one free. If you are lucky enough to find one with parking nearby, this is of immense value. Furniture is easy to borrow, and all you need to get into business are a few tables and chairs, a typewriter, and a few other incidentals -- but first on the priority is telephone installation. Insist on sudden service, solicit help from your local public officials and plead with your telephone company's District Manager directly, often, and urgently. It is amazing how quickly the good old Telephone Company can get your phone installed, if you are red-ticketed.

Volunteers

To staff your headquarters and cover special events, you will need volunteers, and your campaign simply cannot get off the ground, if you depend on the few faithful martyrs (and I mean that literally) whom you know you can count on. Start with them, for there is simply no substitute for them that has ever been devised -- but begin at once to get a Volunteer Committee whose sole duty is to get as many volunteers as possible lined up and committed for certain days, times, and/or special events. Quota organizations to produce a certain number on their own hook. This is probably one of your most important committees. Get the best martyrs you know on this committee as soon as possible, or you will find they will try to do it all themselves, and die of exhaustion, frustration, or their dedication.

Conclusion

These campaign plans have been prepared to help your County Chairman. Under no circumstances are they meant to be regarded as more than one possible approach to organizing your county. They are a guide only, as the developers say about Master Plans. Each Chairman obviously has not only the right but the duty to follow his or her best judgment. What works in one county may well not work at all in another, and your chairman or committee will decide some of the above suggestions may be wrong, useless, unfeasible, or simply silly. If so, we promise not to be offended.

All basic points contained in this Campaign Outline were officially approved by the Executive Committee of "Save Our Seashore" at its open meeting of Thursday, September 11, 1969, at the Civic Center, San Rafael, California. The press was in attendance at this meeting and is formally notified in advance of all meetings of "Save Our Seashore".

Peter Behr
Chairman, S. O. S.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
SAN FRANCISCO

JOSEPH L. ALIOTO

Proclamation

Although the Point Reyes National Seashore is established under law, this priceless natural and recreational treasure is still far from complete and the acquisition of land must proceed immediately to prevent further sales to subdividers and to hold down inflationary costs.

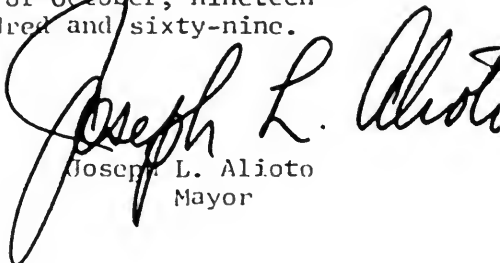
With the tremendous increase in population in the State of California it is imperative that recreational facilities be provided close to urban centers for the resident and for the many vacationers and tourists...the Point Reyes National Seashore meets those needs.

In recognition of the importance of acquiring all authorized land needed for the project the San Francisco Board of Supervisors on March 17, 1969, joined with the Marin County Board of Supervisors in endorsing the speedy completion of the Point Reyes National Seashore to its full 53,000 acres.

By action taken October 14, 1969, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors has requested additional measures be taken to insure public support for the project.

NOW, THEREFORE, be it resolved that I, Joseph L. Alioto, Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, do hereby proclaim the week of October 18-25, 1969 as "SAVE OUR SEASHORE WEEK", and call upon all San Franciscans and concerned citizens everywhere to write to the President of the United States, urging him to agree to include in his budget the additional \$38,000,000, required to complete the Point Reyes National Seashore.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have here-
unto set my hand and caused
the Seal of the City and
County of San Francisco to
be affixed this twenty-third
day of October, nineteen
hundred and sixty-nine.


Joseph L. Alioto
Mayor



TELEVISION PROGRAMS FOR SOSColumbia Broadcasting News Service (Westinghouse)

PKIX- Channel 5, San Francisco

- Editorial by Mario Cotruvo, Sept. 22-24 "Eye Witness News"
- Interview with Peter Behr with excerpts from film, "Island in Time", Oct. 23, 6 P.M.
- Editorial by Mario Cotruvo, film shots Nov. 10 and 11, at 8A.M., Noon, and 6 P.M. Featured Nov. 13 Congressional Hearing.
- "Island in Time" excerpts with Peter Behr, Nov. 14 on "Electric Impressions" with Ron Majors.

National Broadcasting Co.

KRON- Channel 4, San Francisco

- Dramatic 15 minute original KRON film featuring the spectacular seashore from the air - the surf, sandy beaches, birds etc. and Peter Behr being interviewed by Phil Wilson as they walked along the beach. (KRON hired a plane, went 5 or 6 times to Pt. Reyes with camera-men) Program, Nov. 10, 6.30 P.M. and Nov. 11 Noon.

American Broadcasting Co.

KGO- Channel 7, San Francisco

- Half hour Talk Show, on Jim Dunbar Show, 7 A.M. Sept. 18. the phoned in questions were answered by panel consisting of

Peter Behr, Chairman of "Save Our Seashore"

Alfred Bianchi, Marin Property Owners Assoc.

Cindy Pattison, active youth worker in the campaign.

- Film showing first quarter of a million signatures on petitions being shipped out of office and Peter Behr interviewed by Wanda Remy. Also shots from "Island in Time". Nov. 10 6.30 P.M.

KQED-Channel 9, San Francisco, NET-National Educational TV

-News Item- November 4

- One hour discussion on Pt. Reyes Seashore, specially on land values, the unpurchased, highly desirable Lake Ranch and Pierce Ranch, and other phases regarding completion of the Seashore Park. An in-depth discussion lead by George Duschek. Nov. 6 at 9 P.M. and repeated Nov. 9 at 5.30 P.M. On the panel were:

Peter Behr, chairman of SOS

George F. Collins, Conservation Associates

Gordon Pusse, Pres. Land Investor Research

John H. Chamber, Marin Assessors Office

RADIO TIME GIVEN SOS

KTIM AM and FM, San Rafael

Panel discussion lead by Kitty Oppenheimer, Sept. 25. Phoned-In questions answered by panel consisting of:

Peter Behr, Chairman of SOS
 Mel Rupp, Executive Comm. SOS and Land Investors Research
 Margaret Azevedo, Marin County Planning Commissioner

KQED FM, San Francisco

Peter Pehr interviewed on street , Oct. 23

KABL, San Francisco

Steve Somers interviewed Peter Behr, Oct. 5, 8 P.M.

For one week used several taped spot announcements daily.

KGO, San Francisco

✓ Ran editorial 6 times a day for 4 days starting Sept.18. Done ✓
 by Lee Rashall

KCBS, San Francisco

Featured spot announcements and news items Nov. 2

KFOG, San Francisco- ran editorial Oct. 20

KPFA, Berkeley- use of "spots"

KPAT, Berkeley - ran editorial and spots

KFAX, San Francisco- ran editorial

KYA, San Francisco- used news and spots

###

SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS were sent to the 19 following Radio Stations, and at least two thirds used them (possibly more-impossible to check accurately)

KCBS- San Francisco	KKIS- Pittsburg
KNBR "	KKHI San Francisco
KQED "	KCRA "
KFRC "	KYA "
KSFO "	KABL "
KGO "	KEAR "
KTIM- San Rafael	KFAX "
KPFA Berkeley	KDIA Oakland
KPAT Berkeley	KNBC Burbank
KNEW Oakland	

###

Harriet Bockwith
 out of Q

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

Margaret Azevedo

CIVIC LEADER AND SAVE OUR SEASHORE BOARD MEMBER

An Interview Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1991



Margaret Azevedo
1976

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Margaret Azevedo

INTERVIEW HISTORY	165
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	166
I BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 CAMPAIGN	167
Active in Marin County Civic Affairs	167
Working in Clem Miller's Congressional Campaigns	168
Learning to Love Point Reyes	170
Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation	171
Escalating Land Prices in the Seashore	172
II THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE ORGANIZATION	173
Peter Behr's Fortuitous Position for Leading the Campaign	173
Campaign Basics: Drawing on Past Experience	175
Challenging Behr's Determined and Persuasive Leadership Style	178
Marin Stalwarts on the S.O.S. Executive Committee	180
Bunny Lucheta: Astute and Charming, with Consummate Political Skills	181
Other S.O.S. Leaders, a Nonpartisan Group	185
Grace Wellman, Katy Johnson, Becky Watkins	186
III REFLECTIONS ON PLANNING IN MARIN AND THE SEASHORE CAMPAIGN	189
Early Leaders in Protecting Marin's Natural Beauty	189
The 1972 Marin County General Plan	192
More Recollections of S.O.S. Leaders and Campaign Techniques	193
The Democratic Process on Committees and Boards	196
Impressions of Clem Miller	198
From Political Action to Political Analysis	198
TAPE GUIDE	200

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Margaret Azevedo

Margaret Azevedo came to the advisory board of Save Our Seashore as a veteran of Marin County civic affairs and political campaigns. As Katy Johnson sums up in a 1970 memo, "Margaret took on the man-killing job of organizing the distribution of the petitions for Save Our Seashore and in fact kept the whole ship afloat many times." Despite the fact that her role in Save Our Seashore was an important one, Mrs. Azevedo has been involved in so many citizens' campaigns that her memories of events in fall of 1969 are not specific. Nevertheless, her long experience enabled her to discuss how such campaigns are organized and say with authority in her oral history interview, "The first rule is to find some good, hard workers, get them going."

It is her knowledge of these good, hard workers for the environment and other civic projects in Marin County that makes Mrs. Azevedo's interview so valuable. She goes down the line of advisory board members and recalls their special talents and contributions, giving us a picture of active Marin citizens, most of them women, many of them working with little public acknowledgement to shape the county as it is today.

Mrs. Azevedo was interviewed at her home in Tiburon on April 10, 1991. She reviewed the interview transcript, making no substantive changes. The tape recordings of her interview session are in The Bancroft Library.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name MARGARET BONNAIE AZEVEDO
Date of birth OCT 11 1914 Birthplace _____
Father's full name WILLIAM ALMON WOOD
Occupation MEDICAL DOCTOR Birthplace BROCKVILLE, CANADA
Mother's full name ELLEN CAMERON WOOD
Occupation _____ Birthplace FAIRFIELD, CALIF
Your spouse ALFRED JAMES AZEVEDO
Your children JOSEPH WOOD AZEVEDO
JANET ELLEN AZEVEDO
Where did you grow up? OAKLAND CALIF
Present community TIBURON, CALIF
Education A.B. U.C. BERKELEY
Occupation(s) FREELANCE WRITER, JOURNALIST
Areas of expertise _____
Other interests or activities LOCAL GOVERNMENT &
POLITICS
Organizations in which you are active MEMBER OF BOARD,
CALIFORNIA COASTAL CONSERVANCY

I BACKGROUND TO THE 1969 CAMPAIGN

[Interview 1: April 10, 1991]##¹Active in Marin County Civic Affairs

Lage: We're talking about the Save Our Seashore campaign in '69, but I wanted to get a little background about you, and then about your interest in Point Reyes, and then move into Save Our Seashore. I know you've been very active in civic enterprises here in Marin. Can you just give me an overview?

Azevedo: Yes, I will. My husband and I came to Marin--to Tiburon--in '51.

Lage: From where?

Azevedo: We're both Californians, and we both grew up in Oakland, but we came over to Marin when he got a job with the adult division of the San Francisco School District. We liked Tiburon because an uncle of mine had lived here at one time, so we were fortunate enough to find a little house we could afford. Not this one.

Lage: Not this one?

Azevedo: No, we built this later.

And really my first activity in the county was Democratic politics, working in the Adlai Stevenson campaign [Democratic candidate for president, 1951]. Then I became acquainted--someone

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 200.

put me in touch with Vera Schultz, the supervisor, the first woman supervisor in the state--¹

Lage: In the state? I hadn't realized that.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, she was. She was in her first term then, and I managed her election for her second term.

Lage: Which was when?

Azevedo: That would have been '56. Before that, I'd become active in local affairs--the Tiburon Property Owners Association and I can't remember what else, but they were local issues I was working on. But then an opening came on the Marin County Planning Commission after that campaign, and Vera appointed me to the county planning commission. That's when I developed my interest, still ongoing, in land-use planning and all the problems of land-use planning. So I served on that planning commission for sixteen years. Then when the Coastal Act passed, I went on the regional Coastal Commission, served on that four years, and now I--

Lage: So that would be the seventies?

Azevedo: Yes, that was in '72. And then at the end of that four-year term, I was appointed to the State Coastal Conservancy, and I still sit on that board. But meanwhile--you asked about local activities--during that period when I served on the planning commission I also became active in a whole lot of other county issues. I was part of an organization called the Marin Council for Civic Affairs, and we worked on whatever was the problem in the county.

Lage: Not just the land use?

Azevedo: It wasn't just land use. One big issue was transportation, getting the bus system after Greyhound pulled out, and housing issues, because I'd worked in war housing during the war. So that broadened my acquaintanceship with county problems and my interest.

Working in Clem Miller's Congressional Campaigns

Azevedo: And then, you see, I got involved in Clem Miller's campaign. I knew Clem before he ran for Congress because he was a member of the Marin County Democratic Party Central Committee, and so was I, and that's

¹Vera Smith Schultz, Ideals and Realities in State and Local Government, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 1977.

when I became acquainted with Clem. He was a great guy. Clem had a family background of money, but he never talked about it and he didn't want to be known as somebody with connections with the DuPonts.

Lage: He came out here partly to get away from that, didn't he?

Azevedo: Well, I don't know, but he would come to the meetings--he was doing landscape gardening--and he'd come to the meetings in his boots and work clothes and so on.

Lage: Did you see him as a potential candidate at that time?

Azevedo: Well, we picked him. We'd kind of taken over that central committee, and some of the old guard had picked somebody--I can't even remember his name, a nonentity from Sonoma County--and we younger ones didn't think much of that. We put Clem up; we persuaded Clem to run, and I think he did run [in 1956] and was defeated that first time. And two years later, he did win. No, we had to go in and fight for Clem as our candidate because Clem wouldn't put on any airs and he didn't make concessions to people, but we knew Clem. We knew his--

Lage: What were his qualities that you found--

Azevedo: Well, he had intelligence, just an intelligence about issues and people, and a great determination. For instance, before he ran, we all got involved in the redevelopment of Marin City, which had been war housing, and the issue was, should we build new housing there? One of the governmental questions was, should there be a housing authority? Should we form a housing authority? There had never been a housing authority. Or should it be run by the board of supervisors?

A lot of us felt the housing authority was the best way to go, but we didn't think we'd have a chance of getting that through, so we settled for the time being for the board of supervisors, but Clem didn't settle. Right to the very end, on this big citizens' committee, Clem was voting to establish a housing authority, and of course, not that much later, they did, because they had to. But that was Clem.

Lage: He thought it would be better run, or that it would be more--

Azevedo: He knew it was the proper instrument, and he was right. We knew he was right. But Clem stuck to his guns on things, and we admired that, even though we said, "Clem, you're right, but we don't think we'll get that through with this whole shebang." Clem stuck to his

guns. Yes, he was a very steadfast man, and his beliefs were deep and they were liberal, as we were.

Learning to Love Point Reyes

- Azevedo: So that's how I got involved in Point Reyes, through my connection with Clem. And someplace in there--you see, I'm not remembering dates very well--the idea of Point Reyes came from a man named George Collins. George Collins was with the National Park Service, and he lived in Kent Woodlands. George had been given an assignment to go up and down the coast to see if there were any good prospects for a national seashore, because the first national seashore, I think it's Cape Cod, had proved such a good idea--something not quite a national park, but a seashore. He found Point Reyes. Well, at least some of us knew what was out there. My husband and I--
- Lage: Had you spent time out there?
- Azevedo: Yes, we used to go out to McClures Beach when our children were just little, so that had to be the fifties. You got permission to go through a private ranch and went to McClures Beach, because it was just a lovely beach out there. But none of us thought of it as a park.
- Lage: It seemed remote?
- Azevedo: It was remote, and it was a different kind of scenery. I had to learn to love that kind of scenery. It wasn't the Sierra, which I was so used to. It wasn't the Monterey Peninsula, where I spent a great deal of time as a child. It was its own place, island in time.
- Lage: That's right. So do you think that George Collins gave the idea to Clem?
- Azevedo: I don't know. He certainly got the idea going in Marin County. He went and talked with groups and so on; he was promoting it. So it was bound to get to Clem, but I didn't really become an--. Well, on the planning commission I tried to get a vote supporting the idea after Clem either was putting his bill in or had his bill in. All I could get was two votes out of seven people. On the board of supervisors, for quite a while Vera was the only vote. The people were not behind this thing. The ranchers were fighting it, the land speculators who had bought up ranches and were just holding them, they were opposed, and there were all these stories about what a terrible climate it was, all this fog, nobody would go.

Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation

Azevedo: So one day after Clem was in Congress, had his bill in, one of his aides, Bill Grader--Bill ran a newspaper in Fort Bragg and had a salmon canning factory of some kind. Bill had always been interested in politics and had been active, and he was Clem's field man. One day Bill came down, phoned me, and said, "Margaret, I have to talk to you." I always kind of trembled when that happened because I knew Bill was going to ask me to do something. I was always so busy with all these things.

We had a little meeting: Bill, I, Barbara Eastman, who is back living in Inverness full time now; she's been a very active Bay Area conservationist; and then a man whose name I forget, who was with the state Chamber of Commerce. The three of us sat down with Bill. Bill said, "Clem's got this bill in Congress, and there's no evidence of support. You've got to do something." So on the spot we formed something called the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation. We began firing letters and telegrams off. We were nothing but a paper organization, but we did get that marvelous Caroline Livermore to agree to be the honorary chairman. Caroline was just great. We told her what it was about, and she said certainly, so that was a very good name. So we were getting our friends, anybody we could persuade to show evidence of support.

Lage: Letters to Washington.

Azevedo: To Washington, yes, so Clem could say yes, there is a constituency that's for this. Then we did formally organize that National Seashore Foundation, and it worked.

Lage: Joel Gustafson ended up being chairman of it.

Azevedo: Joel was part of it. Yes, he may have been the first chairman. I don't remember all the names. Joel was very active, yes. And we were supporting funds for it.

Lage: And did you turn the board of supervisors around at that time?

Azevedo: Yes, Vera turned them around. Maybe she didn't get Bill Fusselman, but she turned the others around. Gradually, the ranchers came around. Some of the bitterest opponents came around when they realized if they didn't want to sell, they'd be protected, and if they did, they'd get a fair price. So the sentiment, by the time Peter Behr started his campaign, the sentiment had shifted a great deal.

Lage: By 1969.

Azevedo: Yes. By that time people were going out to see it. They were hearing outsiders describe it as so beautiful, and the realization came, we have a treasure.

Escalating Land Prices in the Seashore

Lage: So this was a long period of time. Of course, the seashore was authorized in '62, and then in '69 we came up with the need for further appropriations, in order to--

Azevedo: Yes, because the original appropriation was not nearly enough. I don't even remember whether that came with the bill or there had to be a financing bill, I don't remember that, or how much it was. The then county assessor, Bert Broemmel, always told me that the prices for land had been very artificially raised because the Parks Department had this policy--maybe they still have, I don't know--that they wouldn't condemn and go to court.

Lage: It was in the 1962 bill that they couldn't condemn.

Azevedo: Oh, was it?

Lage: It was written into the bill that they couldn't condemn parcels of 500 acres or more in the pastoral zone.

Azevedo: Oh, all right. I'd forgotten. Maybe that's what Clem had to do, but you see, what you had was land speculators and big real estate and developers in the county who had gone out doing their thing and bought up ranches. I don't know how many, but I remember, I think Neil Schultz, the developer of Greenbrae, had bought up most of that gorgeous Olema Valley. And then he'd lease back to the ranchers, so the ranching went on, and he was just holding it. Bert always felt that it was those businessmen who held out for the big prices, and the Park Service paid it. And then here he was, an assessor, by law, must look at the most recent land sales when he assesses property. So naturally his assessments on ranches for ranchers who didn't want to sell had to go up, and the Park Service then kept having to pay these escalated prices. That was one of the reasons that what was originally thought to be adequate wasn't adequate. So that's the background.

Lage: That's good background. Very succinct, also.

II THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE ORGANIZATION

Peter Behr's Fortuitous Position for Leading the Campaign

Lage: Now I'm asking you to go back more than twenty years to remember the Save Our Seashore organization.

Azevedo: Yes, I remember it.

Lage: Do you remember how it came about?

Azevedo: I can't tell you that. I don't know.

Lage: What was your understanding at the time?

Azevedo: I thought, and I'm sure I was right, that Peter--. Peter had been a Mill Valley city councilman, and then he'd been a county supervisor. In fact, he was elected as supervisor in a recall election, [with the support of] the Council for Civic Affairs. I was out of the country at the time; I had taken a sabbatical. But it was that group that persuaded Peter to run. Vera Schultz had been defeated on a bad issue, not her fault at all. The person who replaced her was not up to the job for a minute, and Peter was persuaded to go for it. He was an excellent supervisor. I just felt here was Peter, who was really such a fine public official and loved it, and was interested. I figured he was going for something higher and this was going to help him. And it did.

Lage: You had that sense at the time.

Azevedo: I had that sense of it. I thought, "Peter is very intelligent. This is exactly what he should do."

Lage: He was in between offices, sort of. He had not run again for supervisor in 1968.

Azevedo: Yes. Not that he didn't believe in it. Peter loved this issue, but it was in between, and I just mentally commended him for doing

something like this that was so good for the county and that would build him his constituency, and it did. And then he had that wonderful Bunny Lucheta.

Lage: You'll tell us more about her, I hope.

Did Peter come to you and ask you to serve on this--

Azevedo: I think probably Bunny did. I don't remember. He may have called me. I certainly would have said yes, whoever did.

Lage: How involved did you get? Was this a group where everyone pitched in?

Azevedo: I was on the steering committee. There were a lot of other people who weren't. I don't even remember how many were on the steering committee.

Lage: What do we have here? We have the executive committee. I thought this would help you remember. This is the letterhead for Save Our Seashore [see p. 151].

Azevedo: These were the people who basically steered the campaign. I called it the steering committee, but I see we were listed as an executive committee.

Lage: There was an advisory board also.

Azevedo: It could help, but mostly I think it could show a breadth, a cross-section of support for the idea. There was George Collins, and Daniel Collins. Dan was a black man. I don't know whether he's still alive or not. He lived in Mill Valley, but he was active in San Francisco with black circles.

Lage: The Sierra Club was represented; Phil Berry was president at that time.

Azevedo: Oh, yes. And of course Edgar Wayburn was well known, Sierra Club, and I think Will Siri too. Sylvia McLaughlin was Save San Francisco Bay.

Lage: Do they still list women by their husband's names in organizations now?

Azevedo: No.

Lage: I'm always struck when I see all these wonderful women, and they're always listed as Mrs. John So-and-so.

Azevedo: No, I don't think so. No, in State Coastal Conservancy communications I'm always just Margaret Azevedo, and the other woman is Penny Allen. No, using the husband's name is old fashioned. I don't care if they do. [laughter]

Lage: That's an aside, but I've always wondered, because these women are all such strong people.

Campaign Basics: Drawing on Past Experience

Azevedo: All right, so I served on the executive committee, and you tell me that I was in charge of getting petitions signed.

Lage: Well, this is what I saw in the newspaper. [see following page]

Azevedo: I'm going to accept that, and I think probably the reason I don't specifically remember it is that I've done this sort of thing so many times.

Lage: This kind of petition outreach?

Azevedo: Well, I've sat on executive committees and tried to provide leadership, but I was so used to doing these basics of a campaign that I probably--

Lage: --did it with your eyes shut.

Azevedo: --did it with my eyes shut, yes. The first rule is to find some good, hard workers, get them going.

Lage: And how do you do that? People who are successful like you don't take it all on themselves. They find others.

Azevedo: Oh, no. Heavens, no. Well, you see, by '69, I'd been active in the county since '51, almost twenty years, and you make a long list of friendships, contacts, and you trade. It's an axiom of politics that you do something for somebody else and that person is expected to do something for you. And generally, that's how it works. So I probably went and called in some chits and phoned some names from people I knew that I knew would care about this, and then I would ask them to think of somebody, because people like to work with friends on some of this type of yeoman work that in and of itself is a chore, but if you can do it with people you enjoy, it's all right.

But I cannot give you any memories of how that went, other than to say that I know by '69 the whole attitude had changed. People wanted to--

Lage: You weren't having to persuade people?

Azevedo: No, we weren't having to persuade. Sometimes we had to educate a little, but by that time, even if they hadn't been out there to Point Reyes, they were proud that we had the national seashore.

Lage: That's a good point to make.

Azevedo: That's my recollection.

Lage: Do you recall the three young people that Peter brought on to help with the petition campaign--Bill Kahrl, from Coro Foundation; Jim Williams; and Francia Welker?

Azevedo: No, I don't remember them.

Lage: It seems to me that by '69 the idea of a petition campaign had caught on. We'd just come out of the Save San Francisco Bay campaign.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, that's right, because we used that--

Lage: Is that something you modeled this campaign on?

Azevedo: Yes, now I'm remembering. We did this S.O.S. thing because it was the same as San Francisco Bay. I'm sure that's where some of the ideas came from there, yes. Peter might even have worked in that. That I don't recall. I was not actively involved; I was doing something else, I guess, by that time, but yes, sure, it was echoing what had been done there.

Lage: There was a sense of people power, it seems to me, by then, a sense that you could make a difference. Or did you always have that sense in Marin County?

Azevedo: I'm thinking now back to the Council of Civic Affairs, which really accomplished--was a very pragmatic organization, and it was not big. I think we felt our influence then. Our tools were to be very savvy about the issue. For instance, on transportation, we had to do some persuading of the Golden Gate Bridge District and also of our legislators, who had to pass the law that enabled the bridge district to conduct a transit system. But I don't remember that we had any big numbers on this. I can remember going before the Golden Gate Bridge District, which at that time was really a fiefdom. It isn't now; it's a good organization now, but you could sit there for

Neighborhood chairmen of S.O.S.

Neighborhood chairmen of a door-to-door petition and letter-writing campaign to save Pt. Reyes National Seashore have been announced by Margaret Azevedo of Tiburon, petition chairman of the "Save Our Seashore" executive committee.

Mrs. Azevedo, a Marin County planning commissioner, working with Peter H. Behr of Mill Valley, the former supervisor who is spearheading a crash drive for a million signatures asking President Richard M. Nixon to save the park, also announced the location of six depots in Marin county where petitions and information may be obtained.

The partial list of neighborhood chairmen includes: Mesdames Peter Arrigoni, 35 Oak Tree Lane, Fairfax; John R. Barnard, 1 Capitan, Mill Valley; Homer Dalbey, 33 Dominican Dr., San Rafael; Alan Jensen, 5 Upper Ardmere Road, La-kspur; Lawrence Keilman, 70 Via La Paz, Greenbrae; Troy Lewis, 586 Tamarack Drive, San Rafael; Eric Lund, 9 Avenida Olema, Stinson Beach; Frederic Manley, 4887 Paradise Drive, East Corte Madera; Russell Ridge, 22 Berens Drive, Kentfield; Kenyon Spalding, 660 Ridgewood, Homestead Valley; James Spencer, 18 Jordan Ave., San Anselmo; John

Walker, 431 Green Glen Way, Tamalpais Valley; Arthur Schallock, 416 Riviera Drive, Peacock Gap and Glenwood areas of San Rafael; Jack D. Williams, 52 Sir Francis Drake Blvd., Ross; P. Dunlap Smith, 10 Barner Lane, Tiburon; Raymond G. Gergus, 60 Woodward Avenue, Sausalito; Miss Ann Wooldridge, 45 Ridge Ave., Muir Woods Park; and two gentlemen: John M. Kahl, 409 East Strawberry Drive, Mill Valley; Arnold Baptiste, 1095 Calle Paseo, Ignacio.

Area petition depots will be Creative Arts, 22 El Portal, Sausalito; The Art Store, 11 E. Blithedale, Mill Valley; Capricorn Books, 335 Town and Country Village, Strawberry; Capricorn Books, Red Hill Shopping Center, San Anselmo; Walden Book Store, Northgate Shopping Center, San Rafael; Amber Griffin Books, 1769 Grant Ave., Novato; and the Save Our Seashore headquarters, 714 C Street, San Rafael.

hours and ask to speak and not be allowed to speak. That happened to me once because I hadn't written the proper letter beforehand.

Lage: So you were working then more behind the scenes?

Azevedo: Oh, no, we got publicity. We sought publicity, but I don't think we ever did any petition making. We also endorsed candidates and we would analyze. I remember we helped get a man named Byron Leydecker elected. Alas, he only stayed only a term, but he was awfully good, a banker.

Lage: To the Golden Gate Bridge District?

Azevedo: No, I'm talking about the supervisors now, just as an example, and what we did was sit down and analyze what had happened. In the primary, he ran off. As a matter of fact, he ran off against John McInnis, who later did get on the board and was very good, in fact, but we were supporting Byron.

We found that the canal area of San Rafael, which is even bigger now than it was then--it was an apartment area with a lot of transients with very low income--that the voting there had been very, very low, the percentage of voting. So we just organized. We'd go out a dozen at a time, maybe. We never were a big group, but we went out several weekends, and we hit every door. What we found was that the people there had never been electioneered. Nobody had ever paid any attention. Just the fact that we went there and said, "Hi, I'm So-and-so, and I live in Marin County, and we like this man; we hope you'll vote for him," that turned the election. That turned it for us. So we were a small group that found ways to be effective by using our heads.

Lage: Was that group partisan at all? The supervisors are not partisan?

Azevedo: No, they're not partisan, and we only acted on county affairs. We never extended beyond that. We only acted on county affairs. I don't think we even got into city affairs. It was all county. And there was a battle over whether--. They built the Frank Lloyd Wright Civic Center, then came the Hall of Justice, and there was a battle over how it should be paid for: pay as you go or a bond issue. We got into that. We were very interested in that. So we became very knowledgeable about county government, and we did our research.

But you may be right, that the Save San Francisco Bay campaign perhaps was an early evidence of people power. I don't remember if we ever went out and got petitions about transit. We went to the decision makers.

Challenging Behr's Determined and Persuasive Leadership Style

Lage: Did you have the sense in the Save Our Seashore campaign that the main focus was the petition, or was it also letters and other things?

Azevedo: I don't remember, but I do remember the episode about the film.

Lage: Okay, tell me about the film.

Azevedo: One technique we were using was going to any group that would have us and talking, and--

Lage: Did you do that yourself, or find people to do that?

Azevedo: I think most of us did it ourselves. We may have found others, but we had the people here, on this letterhead, that we felt would be regarded as leaders in the county and who could get the club, the property owners club or whatever it was, the Lions Club, could get them to agree. And of course Peter's name by that time was very well known, very much beloved in the county, so Peter's name as the head of it was very useful.

So two women whose names I can't remember had done a film. That must have come out in some of your other interviews.

Lage: I've heard about it.

Azevedo: This was one of our tools. I believe it was called An Island in Time, and it was a film with lovely shots of Point Reyes. I guess it was promotional. Now, there I'm not certain. Peter should remember whether it had promotion in its contents: "We need your help." But whether it did or not, the person who accompanied the film would say, "We're going to lose this if we don't get this money going."

So while the petition campaign was going on, we were using this film. I think we'd already taken it around, started with it. Then Peter met a man out in Inverness, through some mutual friends, who I guess was a filmmaker. Whatever he was, he saw himself as a filmmaker. He had been up in Canada somewhere camping, and he had been mauled by a bear, and he was in Inverness recovering. I don't know whether Peter's heart went out to this man or--. Whatever it was, this guy persuaded Peter that he should make a film about Point Reyes Seashore.

Lage: That this man should?

Azevedo: Yes. And Peter brought it to the executive committee. I opposed it. I don't remember whether I had any support or not. It was hard for people to oppose Peter. He was very persuasive, and he liked to get his way, but it didn't make good sense. We needed all the money we could get. We had a film that was perfectly adequate for the purpose, and I just didn't think we should jeopardize our campaign and deprive other aspects of the campaign.

Lage: You were thinking of the money to be spent on it?

Azevedo: That's right. It was the money to be spent on it, plus the fact that I thought it was kind of a dirty trick to these ladies who, as I recall, had done the thing free. Peter just wanted to help the guy out, I think that's what it was. I said, "Peter, I'm for Save Our Seashore, and I don't think Save Our Seashore should be used because this guy went up to Canada and got himself mauled by a bear." And Bunny, this wonderful Bunny, would kind of smooth things over. I think Peter thought better of it. I don't think that film was made. Now, I can't swear to that. Alas, Bunny's no longer with us. She would remember. So when Peter then, in '69--. When did he run for the state senate?

Lage: That's in '70.

Azevedo: All right, in '70, you see, so it came right on top of that. I said to Peter as soon as he announced, I said, "Peter, I'll certainly support you and I'll give you a contribution if I can, but you and I should never be on the same committee." And Peter didn't take offense at all. He knew exactly what I meant. We both were strong minded. We both had had a lot of experience; I probably had more in political campaigns. And we were going to clash. He said, "That's fine. I understand."

##

Azevedo: It takes somebody like Peter. It takes somebody with a strong sense of his own rightness, and a strong-willed person, and a confident person, to do something like this, and to be the kind of state senator he was.

Lage: I'm assuming that nobody crossed him very often in this group.

Azevedo: No, there wasn't much crossing of Peter. That's the only one I remember where he and I really did clash. I remember the feeling that I was standing alone. I still was sure I was right, and I felt--

Lage: So he was pretty determined, then.

- Azevedo: Oh, he was determined, and he was persuasive, yes. But it's odd that I can't remember whether the thing ever got done or not.
- Lage: I haven't heard it mentioned, and I know of that other film.
- Azevedo: I never met this poor man, or the bear [laughter], but I just thought, "Hey, this isn't our thing." Funny. But the campaign was very successful. We got the money [appropriated for the seashore]. Then later on, I guess Phil Burton brought in more money. I don't know whether you've picked up on that or not.
- Lage: To get the whole Golden Gate--
- Azevedo: Oh, then came the Golden Gate [National Recreation Area], yes, but there also--
- Lage: Do you think there was more required for Point Reyes?
- Azevedo: I don't know whether it was required or not, but I do remember, I have a dear friend out there, Jerry Friedman, who was on the planning commission with me, lives in Point Reyes, and he now serves on the Citizens Advisory Commission that advises on matters involving the two parks. He's very good at it. He was a prime founder of an environmental group out there and so on. He was very close to Phil Burton, the brother, of course, of John Burton, who was our congressman. Phil was very interested in adding properties. He used to go around Tomales Bay with Jerry and say, "Let's take that. Let's take that." I've lost track now, but I think there were some parts of Point Reyes that were added. I've lost track of that. But the interest continued there. Phil was very interested.

Marin Stalwarts on the S.O.S. Executive Committee

- Lage: Could you tell me about some of the other people on the executive committee, just to get a sense of what type of people got involved, and if you remember anything in particular that they contributed? Here again, we're going back in time. [see letterhead of Save Our Seashore, p. 151]
- Azevedo: Jean Barnard has lived in the county for years and had, it was either a grandmother or an aunt, who was an early Mill Valley resident. So she had a historic background here. She served for quite a few years on the Marin Municipal Water District Board, and she's a very bright, energetic, decided kind of person, and just a hell of a worker. So I know that Jean brought in lots of support by her activities.

Hasse Bunnelle. Well, Hasse was just an old-time environmentalist and I think an active Sierra Club person. Peter Doyle I don't remember. Isn't that awful?

Mrs. Albert Gatov was the former Libby Smith who was treasurer of the United States under John Kennedy. A very distinguished Democratic leader in the state. She'd served on the Democratic national committee and she had helped organize John Kennedy's campaign. She's a graduate of the Coro Foundation in San Francisco; she attended there. And Libby was U.S. treasurer. At that time her name was Smith. I imagine that Libby did a lot of work amongst other Democrats.

Lage: Mrs. P. K. Gilman.

Azevedo: Yes. Emme Gilman. Emme, I think it was, or Emma. She was older than I, but another of these--. She was closely associated with environmental matters.

Harold Gregg. Harold and his wife ran a camp. I think it was called Forest Hills Camp. My children went there. It was a lovely coeducational camp out in San Geronimo Valley. Our kids went there one summer, and it was just one of those nice, relaxed experiences for children.

Lage: And he was head of Marin Conservation League.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, he was very active in the conservation league, you're right. He provided a lot of leadership there.

Bunny Lucheta: Astute and Charming, with Consummate Political Skills

Lage: Tell me about Bunny Lucheta, because Peter Behr kind of chokes up when he mentions her name.

Azevedo: Oh, we all choke up.

Lage: What was she like?

Azevedo: We all choke up about Bunny. She was just an incomparable person. She was such a combination of this marvelous political sense. She's the kind of person, if you had a political problem, if you had a personal problem, whatever it was, you'd called Bunny and you'd say, "Bunny, I've got this problem. I'm wondering if I should do this." There would be some sounds, and then Bunny would say, "Well, Margaret, I don't think I would."

She accepted everybody. She was the kind of person who walked into a room, and the whole room lightened and brightened. She was so vibrant.

She acted as our board of supervisors observer during that--. The Council for Civic Affairs only lasted ten years. It's one of the few organizations that knew when it was time to dissolve itself, one of the few I've known that said, "It's time to commit suicide." The time was past: "We've done our work, and times have changed." Bunny was our observer for the board of supervisors. People would come to our meetings just to hear Bunny's report because they were so funny.

Lage: Funny and astute, or just funny?

Azevedo: They were so funny and astute, and her sense of what was going on, her perception of what was going on, was never mean, but it was just so funny and witty, and that was Bunny. And then when Peter became a senator--. I guess he may have gotten to know her through this committee, because I don't know that he would have otherwise since she was active in Democratic affairs and local affairs. I can't even name all the boards she served on. She just was so generous with her time. Anyway, she became Peter's aide in the county.

Lage: Did she have to go up to Sacramento for that?

Azevedo: No, no, this was local. It was Marin County in those times. I don't think it even--. I think it was only Marin County. Am I right?

Lage: No, I think he had Marin, Napa, and some of Sonoma County [as senator for District 4 in 1971-1974.] And then the districts were redrawn in his second term. [Behr represented Marin, most of Sonoma, Lake, Mendocino and Humboldt, and Del Norte counties in District 2, 1975-1978].

Azevedo: But I think Marin was his main constituency, and I think that's where his political strength was. So Bunny then, you see, really discovered--or maybe she didn't discover it. We discovered that that was really her vocation--this astute, charming person. I'd hear her on the phone with some crank, and sit there in the utmost admiration to see how Bunny would handle this person without getting the person mad, without upsetting the campaign or whatever it was, without having Peter imposed on. Her skills with people and in the political realm were just consummate.

Then, you see, Peter finished his term. I guess he had two terms. And then Barry Keene came in. Now, here was Barry, a

totally different type, a Democrat, not a Republican, and she did the same job for Barry.

Lage: Oh, she did? I didn't realize that.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, she was aide to Barry when she died. That was in Vallejo because he no longer had Marin, but she would travel to Vallejo. She was so good. And Joan--I've forgotten Joan's last name. There were two of them there. They worked together. They ran that office, and when I'd be--. At that time I was writing.

Lage: Was this Barry Keene's office?

Azevedo: Yes, Barry Keene's field office in Vallejo. Of course, she wouldn't go to Sacramento. I mean, Harry [Lucheta] worked down on the peninsula, and their kids were still in school. When I wanted information I'd phone there, even though Barry wasn't my state senator anymore. I'd get my information there if there was something I wanted to know about, something going on behind the scenes.

Lage: When you said she had a great political sense, what does that entail?

Azevedo: What that would involve was, with someone like Peter, who is a man with a great deal of imagination, a very creative man, a very creative brain, people like that will have marvelous ideas but they will also have terrible ideas, and they don't always have the judgment they need to discern. I mean, the guy-and-the-bear man was one example, I felt, of poor judgment. A great idea if we hadn't already had a film, but not appropriate.

Well, Bunny kept Peter from making mistakes. Whether she did with Barry or not, I don't know. Barry made some mistakes but I suppose Peter did, too, though I can't think of many. They came to rely on her sense of what was appropriate for the time or wise at the time, in the way of political action.

Lage: I wonder what her abilities grew from. Did she have a lot of ties in the community?

Azevedo: Yes, she had lots of ties in the community. As I say, she served on a number of nonprofit boards. She just was one of those people that had perceptions of what was going on and what would work, and Peter relied on her.

Lage: She also kept wonderful records. I interviewed him for the State Archives. We're doing a lot of different former assemblymen, state senators, and others. He has these marvelously organized records of

his time there--all the bills he put in. She organized it all for him when he left the state senate.

Azevedo: Well, yes, she would. She had a great mastery of detail. And thinking about where did she get this, because she didn't have any particular schooling or training: UC [University of California, Berkeley] graduate, as I am; married, I think, soon after that, married young. But one aspect of it certainly was that she talked to a lot of people. All kinds of people. They all wanted to talk to Bunny and would talk to Bunny, and she knew how to keep her mouth shut.

Lage: Gather in and not--

Azevedo: That's right. So I'm sure that people told her things that they wouldn't have told other people, because they knew how discreet she was.

And Peter wouldn't have been that discreet. I'm sure that she never told Peter half of what she knew. He may have sensed this, you see. Based on what she knew was going on, she would say to him, "This isn't the time," or "I don't think you should." However she did it, she was always tactful. But I know that he relied on her. I picked this up from others. Bunny was there, and Peter was about to go off on a wild hare, and she's just reaching out pulling him back.

I imagine she did the same thing with Barry, though the difference there, you see, was that Peter really relied on her as his head person. Barry had people in Sacramento that he may have relied on more and that weren't as good as Bunny. My impression is that Barry didn't always choose well. He got Bunny because he kind of inherited her and came to appreciate her. He's doing all right. He's got a very hard district.

Lage: It's a very diverse district.

Azevedo: Oh, I mean Mendocino and Humboldt and Del Norte voted 7 to 1 against the Coastal Act. They feared it. You've got the lumbering interests, you have the fishing interests. Peter didn't have any of that.

Lage: He did have it for his second term, after it was redistricted. He told me a story about all the hard hats coming down on the forestry issue and meeting in the capital, and he had to, or he felt he wanted to, go and speak to them, and he didn't have much to say except he acknowledged them and that they had different views.

Azevedo: No. Peter's philosophy always was stick with your friends and forget your enemies. And I always had the impression, but I could

be wrong, that that worked for him, as ardent an environmentalist as he was, because a majority of his constituency tended that way.

Lage: Right. So he could afford to do that.

Azevedo: That's right.

Other S.O.S. Leaders, a Nonpartisan Group

Lage: What about the nonpartisan nature of Save Our Seashore? I noticed in this campaign outline [see p. 155] that's one of the first things mentioned: the policy is strictly nonpartisan. Did that stick?

Azevedo: Oh, yes. Marin County-- Well, California, let's take California, with the old, now gone, crossfiling and all. California's never been party minded in the way some of the eastern states are, and people always crossed over, and still do. Peter got a big Democratic vote. Marin County, last time I looked--could have changed, but I doubt it--has a majority of Republicans, but they voted for Walter Mondale, for heaven's sake.

Lage: [laughs] It's a funny thing.

Azevedo: Yes. So Marin County is different that way. They don't go by party, and I don't even-- You know, I look at this now, again, and I can't even understand why such an issue was made of nonpartisanship in the campaign outline, except, of course, it was Congress that had to act.

Lage: Congress, and then the Republican president. We had Nixon, and [Senator] George Murphy was being pressured a great deal. Do you remember anything regarding George Murphy? His campaign for reelection was coming up so apparently a lot of pressure was put on him to put pressure on Nixon.

Azevedo: And looking at this list here [the executive committee], the only person I see here whose name was very obviously identified with Democrats is Gatov. I was, to some extent, but I wasn't treasurer of the United States. Becky, Mrs. Harold Watkin--that's Becky Watkin--she was a very active leading Democrat, and maybe there was concern about that. None of these others strike me as people who would be identified with a party at all.

Lage: Let's look some more at this executive committee.

Azevedo: Yes, all right. Harold Gregg, Bunny Lucheta, Aline McClain. The McClains still are around; they live in Mill Valley. She was one of those who had gotten very, very active at the time of the recall when Peter went in [as supervisor]. She goes back. She was apparently a stalwart in that campaign and became very loyal to Peter and was really a worker. You know, you could count on her. She could go out and cover ten precincts in a day, or more.

Lage: Wonderfully energetic women.

Azevedo: Yes. Oh, yes. Joan Polsdorfer. That's just vaguely familiar. Ed Ryken, of course, is--whether he was then, I don't remember--he is the executive for the Senior Coordinating Council, a countywide organization that's very active, which Vera Schultz used to be very active in. He, too, is an effective man. His connections were with the elderly. Very well known. Yes, I'm pretty sure he must have had that same job then. That's why he was on it.

Lothar Salin--what did Lothar do? I think he was a newspaper guy. Bill Upton was a dentist who served on the planning commission with me, a wonderful guy. He and I were the two votes for the Point Reyes Seashore. These two votes they got mustered to support. We dropped it; we didn't want Congress to see this vote. [This was prior to the creation of the seashore in 1962]

Lage: You didn't want the negative vote registered.

Azevedo: No, we didn't want the vote to be told or sent to Congress. That didn't look good. And Bill was an environmentalist long before his time, just in his personal interest. I think he was active in the Conservation League too. Lovely man.

Grace Wellman, Katy Johnson, Becky Watkins

Azevedo: And of course Mrs. Wellman. Both are gone now. Grace Wellman, and Theodore, too. Ted, her husband. But Grace was one of an older group of women who became active, gosh, maybe it was right after the war. I'm not sure. She may have been active before, but they were interested not only in environment but in planning, and they were instrumental in getting--

Lage: Was this the Caroline Livermore contingent?

Azevedo: No, she knew Caroline, of course, but I think she was a little bit later. She wasn't one of those four famous women--Sepha Evers, Caroline Livermore, Helen van Pelt, and there's a fourth one [Portia

Forbes, all founders of the Marin Conservation League]. But she was that ilk. And I can still see Grace. She was a very outspoken woman, she'd been raised in the county, and I can still see her going before the board of supervisors on some issue or another, and just giving them a lecture. Just telling them, giving them what-for because they'd done something she thought wasn't sensible, and they took it from Grace because she was another tireless worker in causes. Energetic is the word for these ladies. She died just last year, I think. Ted the year before. Grace was marvelous.

So these are people, you see, with broad connections. We could spread out. As I say, we could spread our fingers out and touch people.

Lage: And you weren't working against the tide. You were organizing the tide.

Azevedo: No, we weren't working against the tide, no.

Lage: Did you have any tie at all with Katy Johnson at that time? I know Peter had dealt with her, but were you aware of her working at the other end in Congress?

Azevedo: Oh, yes. Yes, when she would come out, she would always phone some of us and we'd try to get together. But she was living in Washington, wasn't she?

Lage: Right.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, she was in touch. I can't give you any details. I should have had her there when the bear-man was involved, because Peter would certainly--we all loved Katy and listened to her. I mean, she was there. She was the horse's mouth for us.

Yes, now, some of these others are just, I think, put on as names. Well, yes, Becky is--

Lage: Becky is Mrs. Harold Watkin?

Azevedo: Yes. She's a widow now, too. She still lives there in Kentfield. Well, of course, she was on the finance committee. Becky is just a whale of a--. When Becky phones you, you give. And she's still at it.

Lage: A fundraiser?

Azevedo: Oh, yes. She's a whale of a fundraiser.

Lage: Now, what does that take?

Azevedo: What does it take? Again, with Becky, it takes determination. I think the reason why we give to Becky is, one, we know she's giving, always, and not just money. She has given years to good causes, mainly Democratic, but she was also active in some international things, World Federalists, that sort of thing. But always one of the targets for the Democrats. Or housing. She'd also, she put in, oh, it added up to years of pro bono work for the Ecumenical Association for Housing. She's an architect, and she's done free work for them.

I think that's it. You just don't say no to Becky because she's never said no, and you feel like a cheapskate. You feel like some kind of a bum because you know that if Becky's phoned you, she's probably already phoned a hundred people that day.

Lage: Right. And you must respect her causes.

Azevedo: Oh, yes, once in a while I don't, but no, she phones people. She knows where people stand. And as I say, because she's been active in so many groups and causes, since she'd done so much, you do it back. That's how things work.

III REFLECTIONS ON PLANNING IN MARIN AND THE SEASHORE CAMPAIGN

Early Leaders in Protecting Marin's Natural Beauty

Lage: Do you have some sense of why Marin seems to have such a strong environmental flavor and commitment over the years? I'm just thinking of how this land has developed or not developed, as opposed to, say, Santa Clara County.

Azevedo: Part of it is just its natural beauty. If you take out some ill-advised development, there isn't a part of this county that isn't beautiful, that isn't interesting, with its outer Coast Ranges, with these smaller ranges of mountains, of hills that go east to west, and then the valleys and all that. And the bay. The bay and ocean.

But I guess you have to say it has to do with the people who were here and took leadership early on. You see, it was one of the first counties to set up a planning department. I'm trying to remember the guy who was brought out from New York. It was the four women [Livermore, Evers, van Pelt, and Forbes] who brought him out.

Lage: Pomeroy?

Azevedo: Hugh Pomeroy was brought out from the East. There wasn't much planning going on. The West hadn't awakened to the fact that this was something that had to be protected and saved. Hugh came out and I guess developed some policies and a plan. Was that the thirties? I think we're talking about the thirties.

Lage: The mid-thirties.

Azevedo: Yes. That's early for planning in the West. So Hugh was an idealist, and Hugh saw what was here. And then Mary Summers came on as planning director [1941-1962]. The planning concepts have changed, of course, but Mary's idea was that everything should be big lots. Everything should be big lots with houses and yards, and that that was one of the ways you would save---. We were not into

buying open space in those days. The open space was going to be between the houses. Of course, you can see how much that's changed, because now we've realized that probably, in most instances, that's not the way to go. But we didn't know that then. And Mary was a strong-minded woman, and she and Vera worked well together. She and Vera Schultz.

Lage: And Mary was an employee of the county?

Azevedo: Yes, Mary was trained--. Gosh, in those days, there weren't the highly professional courses. You know, there are the schools of planning--the School of Environmental Design, for instance, over at UC Berkeley, now. I think she was trained as a landscape architect or some such thing. That was her background. So Mary was a fighter, and the whole theme was single-family houses, but she knew we had to have some apartments; we on the planning commission knew it. That's what people came and fought, was apartment houses.

Parks. Caroline Livermore and Mrs. Evers--I remember Caroline talking about this--one of their first forays into saving the environment and parks was to save those beautiful old state parks out in Tomales Bay.

Lage: Heart's Desire Beach?

Azevedo: Heart's Desire and Shell Beach and Indian Beach and so on. She remembered going up to the legislature to get the legislature to appropriate money to make them state parks. They weren't well treated up there at all. I think it was Bill Evers who told me this; his mother had told him. The legislators, who were not necessarily at that time the most cultured group in the world, thought these were just a bunch of rich old ladies who were trying to save it for themselves.

I remember asking Bill--I guess I was writing about it--asking Bill, "Was that your mother's idea? Was it her idea to save those beautiful places in Marin County for other rich people?" He said, "Absolutely not." [laughter] He said, "My mother was one of the most democratic people in the world."

So you have these people who had leadership, who were highly respected, who had money. I don't know about Mrs. Evers, but certainly Caroline Livermore had money and believed in using it, and had all these rich friends in San Francisco that she'd put the bee on when she wanted, when we were saving Richardson Bay out here. She raised a lot of money for that.

Lage: So this goes way back--

Azevedo: Yes.

##

Azevedo: Those women had influence and they set the tone, I think you would say. They set the tone, and Mary set the tone, and Grace Wellman, she was in there pretty early. Beyond that, I can't tell you why we've done so well here.

Lage: You've pointed to Marin's combination of natural beauty and energetic people.

Azevedo: The natural beauty and leadership. You will never get me to believe that any leader can be easily replaced by another. I haven't seen that. I've seen someone like Vera Schultz, who brought Frank Lloyd Wright into the Civic Center, who got them to hire a county administrator. None of that was going to happen if Vera hadn't been there at that time and place.

Lage: So the time may have had to be right, but you had to have that individual as well.

Azevedo: Yes, that leader had to be there. Caroline Livermore was not anti-development, or I wouldn't even say she was anti-growth. She was a very strong Republican. She would never, though often asked to, endorse Clem Miller.

Lage: Oh, she wouldn't?

Azevedo: No. He was a Democrat. She had these four boys, all Republicans, and--

Lage: --and active in the party.

Azevedo: Yes, and active in the party, and she'd say, "Oh, the boys would not let me do that. I couldn't do that because the boys wouldn't stand for it." [laughs]

Lage: I'm sure she liked what Clem Miller was doing.

Azevedo: She loved Clem, but there was no way she was going to put her name there. So she was not anti-development. She just had a sense of what this--what do I say? She had a sense of what was appropriate in a county like Marin. And even though our planning ideas have changed, the basic feeling about it was the same, that we must save the natural beauties of the county, and the development must be to high standards. So that was the tone set by Pomeroy, by these women, by Mary Summers, and kept going.

The 1972 Marin County General Plan

Azevedo: And then it changed, but now I think that same appreciation and ideal for Marin is expressed in the county general plan that we adopted in '72. I was still on the commission then.

Lage: And that's still in effect?

Azevedo: It's still in effect. I feel it's being challenged now in a way it shouldn't be, but yes, what we did--Mary was out by then. Mary had retired. We had [as planning director] a young man named Paul Zucker, a very bright, effective man. I don't know just where the concept came from, but that's when we saw Marin as divided into these three corridors: the coastal recreational, the inland agricultural-rural, and the urban eastern. That's when we put in agricultural zoning. Our county counsel, the same one as we have now, said we couldn't be any stricter than sixty-acre zoning.

Sixty-acre zoning means that you can build. Because we didn't have the constitutional right, he felt, to tell a rancher he couldn't build or sell for building, but he could only do it at the ratio of one house to every sixty acres.

Lage: I see. And he could cluster them.

Azevedo: And usually that would be clustered, yes. The county plan gives the power to cluster, so that you could conceivably--. It hasn't happened much because ranching has stayed. So he said you can't go more than sixty acres in a county like this. Now, where there's prime soil and so on, they do one hundred and fifty, two hundred acres. He said you can't, so we thought it was the best we could do, but it has held. It has held for a whole lot of reasons, aside from that zoning.

And then the inland rural, already people have been moving out and buying fifteen-, twenty-acre plots when they could and having little ranchettes and whatever, so there we accommodated what was already going around Nicasio and San Geronimo Valley and so on, but that has held.

Then here [in the urban eastern corridor] was where our building was going to take place. Now there's a movement amongst environmentalists to take the few remaining large acreages which you see as you drive the highway--Silveira Ranch, Saint Vincent's Boys School. Hamilton Field, of course, is already built on. (As you're going up 101 these are on the east side, just north of San Rafael,

between San Rafael and Novato.) And then there are also some remaining open spaces in Novato.

Now, under this corridor plan, those should develop. That's where our remaining housing should go. And that same plan was very emphatic about trying to keep affordable housing, a mix of housing. That's where some of it should go, in my view. So I find myself differing with some of my environmental friends who say, "Oh, Silveira is so nice and green, thank goodness," and so on; "Let's keep it that way." Eighty-three percent of Marin County is in open space.

Lage: That's amazing. Really amazing.

Azevedo: It's either in agricultural, parks, or water district. But what I'm saying to you is looking back on the early days in Marin, the early zoning, that plan to me was innovative and very pragmatic--we recognized what we had--and it was carrying through this same will to keep Marin a beautiful and livable county.

More Recollections of S.O.S. Leaders and Campaign Techniques

Lage: Let me look to see if there are any more questions I want to ask you about Save Our Seashore. Do you remember anything about Don Clausen's role? He was Clem Miller's successor and was a Republican. Do you have any recollection of whether your committee worked with him?

Azevedo: Oh, yes. Don was with us. I don't think Don was ever a problem. I'm sure Don was with us on that. I can't remember how effective he may have been or not have been, but yes, I'm--

Lage: He wasn't stuffing envelopes with you, but?

Azevedo: No, you know, and I'm thinking about that. Why wasn't he on here? But you see, it's obvious we had no elected officials on here. So that was by design. There were no elected officials.

Lage: Do you remember any cooperation with other organizations? Like, for instance, the Sierra Club, or Marin Conservation League?

Azevedo: No, but they must have, I'm sure, because that's what we would have done. We must have gone after their membership, we must have gotten resolutions from them.

- Lage: You are not necessarily remembering the Save Our Seashore organization, but you know what must have happened just because you know how these campaigns work.
- Azevedo: Because I know what we would have done.
- Lage: I like this phrase in the campaign outline. I guess Peter wrote this campaign outline. He talks about not wanting "the faithful martyrs"---. [looking through papers] Let me see if I can find it. I thought it was very funny.
- Azevedo: Peter can be very funny. Sometimes at other people's expense. [laughter] Oh, yes, I've had my tiffs with Peter about that. He would say it before he thought because it was so clever.
- Lage: I had quite a long interview with him about his state service, and I had more laughs.
- Azevedo: Oh, yes, he's very--
- Lage: Okay, here he says, "You can't get off the ground if you depend on the few faithful martyrs, and I mean that literally." Does that get to be a problem in these campaigns, if the same people are kind of recycled or overworked?
- Azevedo: Of course. It's a problem always. There are always the few faithful. And a campaign of this sort does depend on your outreach, how far you can reach out and pull in others. Yes, he was perceptive about that.
- Lage: Would you remember Charlotte Riznik for me, since I don't think I am going to interview her?
- Azevedo: I just remember Charlotte as a bright, effective person, good writer, knew the newspaper game, got us stories--
- Lage: Which was another key thing.
- Azevedo: Yes. Oh, yes. And again, you see, the newspapers would want stories about Peter because he was still fresh enough from being a supervisor.
- Lage: So did the stories get focused on Peter?
- Azevedo: Sure. Why wouldn't they have been? He was the chairman, he was a good interview, he was somebody you could absolutely count on, if you were a reporter and you were getting the story, to give you some witticisms and some lively statements. Yes, I would say it revolved around Peter. No question. And Bunny would see that it did

herself. You knew it might be revolving around Bunny, and a lot of things were revolving around Bunny, but she didn't--. That was just the kind of person she was. She put it all on Peter.

That part I don't remember, but I imagine that, looking at some of these names here, you see, like Gatov and some of the others, so well known--[Dr. William F.] Upton was well known also--I'm sure Riznik saw that those names came in. That's what you do in a campaign. Somebody looks at the names on the advisory board and says, "Oh, well, yes." Now, Albert Bianchi [S.O.S. advisory board] was a well-known attorney, still is, was an attorney for several cities, he was very well known. Phillip Berry I don't remember.

Lage: He was advisory board also, and Sierra Club president.

Azevedo: And the finance committee. [B.A.] Farlatti was very well known, very active in chambers of commerce, businessmen's groups, and so on, a very generous man with his time. I don't remember those others so well. Becky Watkin was a good name for Democrats.

Lage: Do you remember any other controversy besides the man mauled by the bear? One thing that Katy Johnson mentioned was an attack on Congressman Aspinall that they were very concerned about back East. They didn't want Aspinall attacked. They wanted his support and were getting his support, and Save Our Seashore--

Azevedo: Some people out here were--

Lage: There were some critical letters about him generated. [A critical article in the October 1, 1969, Pacific Sun apparently prompted the concern.]

Azevedo: I don't remember that. Why would there have been that, I wonder?

Lage: He was sort of on the fence. He wasn't pushing the bill through Congress, but he was playing a waiting game of his own with Nixon.

Azevedo: I don't remember that.

Lage: That may have never come up on the executive committee. I think it was a rather minor thing, but it was quickly turned around.

Azevedo: I can't imagine. Here I am, I'm just going on instinct here. I can't imagine that Peter himself or any of us on there would possibly have condoned--. I mean, we would have had better political sense than that. I don't care what Aspinall was doing, you wouldn't attack him. So that must have come from outside.

Lage: It might have come from outside.

Azevedo: But we would have been concerned, certainly would have been concerned. But I can't imagine something like that being done in our name, but then you can't stop people from using your name in a campaign like this, either. No, I don't remember.

Lage: I guess your goal was a million signatures, and you never had to get that many. You ended up with 450,000 or something. Do you remember anything about delivering them to Washington?

Azevedo: I know I didn't. [laughter]

Lage: Peter talks about getting them sent back there, and then we can't find if they ever got beyond Don Clausen's office or--

Azevedo: Really?

Lage: Everyone knew they were there, but they can't quite track down whether they physically got to the president.

Azevedo: No. That's odd that I don't, but as I say, it was such an obvious thing to do that we just did it. Four hundred and fifty thousand, boy, that's not bad.

Lage: No. That's wonderful.

Azevedo: If I was in charge of it, I must have done a good job.

Lage: You must have. [laughter]

Azevedo: I must have called in a lot of chits.

The Democratic Process on Committees and Boards

Azevedo: You never got to interview Bunny?

Lage: No. By the time this project got underway, she had died.

Azevedo: Because Bunny would remember most of these things, partly because she had that kind of memory, but also because she was keeping track of those things.

Lage: So she was really an organizer.

Azevedo: She really acted as Peter's sidekick on this. She acted as his main stem to hold it together and just move things over and to tell me not to make too big an issue of the bear. [laughter] I think Bunny

was able to convince me it probably wasn't going to happen anyway, and I don't think it did. But no one else mentioned it?

Lage: No. Peter certainly didn't mention it.

Azevedo: Peter wouldn't! [laughter] Isn't that funny? See, it was probably bigger in my mind than anyone else's.

Lage: It might have been. It seems like kind of a clash of the wills. Was that an unusual clash for you? I mean, you've been on so many committees and commissions.

Azevedo: Yes, it was unusual for me. I've been on practically every board and commission you can name, and I don't clash with people. I will take a strong position, but no, I don't have trouble getting along, and I know how to accommodate and compromise and make the concessions necessary.

And I don't think it was typical of that committee. But as I recall, the reason I was upset about it was that we were supposed to be the planning committee, and I take a responsibility like that seriously, and if I'm a chairman of something, I take seriously my responsibility to pull everybody along. My interest in the process by which things are decided in a democracy, even in microcosm, goes back a long way, and I do have some definite ideas about it, and Peter had violated those.

Peter was off acting on his own. He had not consulted us. He made this agreement or whatever it was--deal--with the guy without asking us. That is not only because it was, I felt, very bad judgment under the circumstances, but because it insulted his committee. It said we were all right as long as we agreed with him, or we were useful, okay, but--.

Lage: Well, he put together a real powerhouse committee, and then he had to deal with that committee.

Azevedo: Yes, and I don't like that. And that's what I meant when I said later, "Peter, I won't be on your committee."

Lage: But did you support him as state senator?

Azevedo: Oh, yes. Yes, I did. I told him I would. I just wouldn't be on his committee. [laughter]

Lage: Well, I think you've given us a good picture. You may not remember the details but you have the big picture.

Impressions of Clem Miller

Lage: On another subject, if Clem Miller hadn't died in that plane crash, do you think he had a future in politics?

Azevedo: Yes, I do.

Lage: Did people think so at the time?

Azevedo: I don't know. Clem was not a spellbinder. He was just so solid, and as I say, he had this shining integrity. I think that was appreciated, and I think would be, and I think Clem--. I don't suppose he was really in office long enough to judge his effectiveness, but yes, I think Clem was cut out for that. He found his vocation, which he had not found before.

Lage: There are so many people devoted to his memory.

Azevedo: Well, yes. That's not by accident. That's the kind of guy he was. The staff used to have to dress him up and clean him up. They always had an extra shirt and a necktie. Whether it was just a childhood habit, but our impression out here was that he came in his gardening clothes so we wouldn't think he was rich.

From Political Action to Political Analysis

Lage: You've mentioned your writing several times and I don't have a sense of what you're doing; it might be nice to have that on the tape.

Azevedo: I'd always loved writing and published in college magazines and that sort of thing, but never devoted myself to it, wasn't motivated enough, and then I got into political things. But I never lost that interest.

I ran for supervisor twice, and lost. The second time I came pretty close, but I'm really not Marin's cup of tea. I wasn't bitter or anything; I appreciated that. So that was '76, and after that I got an idea for a column about politics, and I persuaded the managing editor then of the Independent Journal, and I wrote a column for them for three and a half years, and it was pretty good, too. I would take political issues that were going on, usually controversial, and then I'd do, you might call it news analysis, but it was a personalized column.

And then, at the same time, I was freelancing. I was publishing in California Journal and California Living, which was the Sunday mag then, replaced by Image, so I thought I was really hot, freelancing, and a column was interfering with my freelancing, and I quit the column for the Independent Journal. Alice Yarish was a close friend of Charlotte's, and Alice was a stringer for the Examiner. She's retired now. Alice was saying, "Margaret, you never do that."

Lage: You never give up a column?

Azevedo: No, you don't give up until you've got something to take its place. Meanwhile, I knew Katherine Mills. She and her husband ran the Mill Valley Record, and Katherine had always wanted me to write for them, but the IJ wouldn't let you. If the other paper's subscriptions overlapped, they wouldn't let you. So the editor of California Living changed and the editor of California Journal changed. I wasn't doing as well anymore, so then I said to Katie, "I'd like to write for you." I've been writing for them for five, six years now. I do news analysis, they call it, so it's not a personalized column. It's more straight reporting because I get behind the news and they give me usually a couple of weeks. So I've been doing that, and I love it. Once in a while I land a freelance. And I write for the Coastal Conservancy; I've done some articles for them. We have a magazine, Coast and Ocean; it's a solid magazine. I've done several things in that. That is my vocation now. I do practically nothing in politics except the Coastal Conservancy.

Lage: You've had enough of politics?

Azevedo: Oh, I started doing it in college.

Lage: I thought once you got into that, that was--

Azevedo: Some people do. I admire Becky, who's never quit. I admire Erwin Farley, a former mayor of Belvedere, and I knew him back in housing days because he worked for the housing authority. And Erwin is still doing it. He's still putting on campaigns to get some low-cost housing done, and I admire that immensely. But I just have had my fill and I wanted to do this other thing. Now that's all I do.

I was asked to do something not long after I lost that election. Of course, people who are phoning you, they think, "Well, Margaret's got all this time now." Stuart Strong, who published several local weeklies, asked me to do something, and it involved night meetings, and I said, "I just don't go out at night anymore unless it's a party." There was a pause, and he said, "Margaret, I think that's very selfish of you." I said, "Yes, you're right. It is." [laughter]

TAPE GUIDE--Magaret Azevedo

Date of Interview: April 10, 1991

tape 1, side A

167

tape 1, side B

179

tape 2, side A

191

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

William L. Kahrl

CORO INTERN FOR THE SAVE OUR SEASHORE CAMPAIGN

An Interview Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1991



William Kahrl
circa 1990

TABLE OF CONTENTS--William Kahrl

INTERVIEW HISTORY	203
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	204
I FROM NEW HAVEN TO SAN FRANCISCO	205
Work in New Haven Police Department Reform	205
Coro Foundation Fellowship	207
II SAVE OUR SEASHORE INTERN	209
The Campaign as Political Theater	209
The Political Context: Republicans and the Environment under Governor Reagan	210
John Ehrlichman at the Governor's Environmental Conference	212
Crediting George Murphy for Seashore Success, After the Fact	213
III THE HOW AND WHY OF THE PETITION CAMPAIGN'S SUCCESS	216
Jim Williams and Francia Welker	216
The Aesthetic Appeal of Point Reyes	217
Riding the Wave of the Corte Madera Creek Battle	218
Taking Advantage of Media Interest in the Drake's Plate Controversy	219
IV POLITICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT	221
Legislative Action to Remove Private Cabins from Mount Tamalpais State Park, 1972	221
Nonpartisan Nature of Save Our Seashore	224
Subsequent Career in Environmental Issues, Politics, and Writing	225
TAPE GUIDE	227

INTERVIEW HISTORY--William Kahrl

Peter Behr recommended that we interview Bill Kahrl for the Point Reyes project in order to get the point of view of one who, as a young campaign worker in the 1969 Save Our Seashore organization, brought tremendous energy and political savvy to the petition drive. Kahrl had recently arrived in the Bay Area and was serving as a Coro Foundation fellow when Behr drafted him to assist Save Our Seashore.

Following his stint on the Point Reyes campaign, Kahrl worked with Alfred Heller on the California Tomorrow plan, served on Behr's legislative staff in Sacramento and the staff of Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti. Under Governor Jerry Brown, he served in the Office of Planning and Research, producing the California Water Atlas. At the time of this interview, Kahrl was an associate editor of the Sacramento Bee. His expertise as a political analyst is evident as he recalls the political context of the Save Our Seashore campaign in this oral history.

The interview was conducted in Bill Kahrl's office at the Bee on May 15, 1991. He reviewed the transcript without substantive changes.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name William Kahrl

Date of birth 30 May 1946 Birthplace Mount Vernon Ohio

Father's full name F. William Kahrl

Occupation _____ Birthplace Mount Vernon Ohio

Mother's full name Muriel B. Kahrl

Occupation _____ Birthplace United Kingdom

Your spouse Kathleen

Your children Christopher, Benjamin, Justin

Where did you grow up? Mount Vernon Ohio

Present community Carmichael California

Education _____

Occupation(s) _____

Areas of expertise _____

Other interests or activities _____

Organizations in which you are active _____

I FROM NEW HAVEN TO SAN FRANCISCO

[Interview 1: May 15, 1991]##¹

Work in New Haven Police Department Reform

Lage: We like to start with a little bit of personal background to get a sense of who you were when you got involved with the Save Our Seashore campaign. Where you were born, education, that kind of thing. Do you want to start with that?

Kahrl: Sure, I can't imagine how old I was at that point, but you can figure it out. I was born in 1946. I had gone to Yale College and the Yale Graduate School in American Studies and then had spent a year with the New Haven Police Department, which was at that point really on the cutting edge of what was, in those days, thought of as a great opening of possibilities for reform in the whole administration of police forces. It was an area of great interest to me.

Lage: How did you develop that interest?

Kahrl: As an undergraduate at Yale, I was what's called a Scholar of the House, which meant that I was relieved of all course requirements to do my own research. For my research I had access to the personal papers of Allan Pinkerton, who had been the founder of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, which in turn had served as the model for the organization of police forces in the United States. So, I had been working in that area for some time. This is really ancient history but the interesting thing--. This was the beginning of the LEAA Program. Ramsey Clark was the attorney general. This was in the days before John Mitchell--

Lage: You're going to have to tell me what LEAA is.

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 227.

- Kahrl: The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was the first of the big congressional acts to reform police systems from the federal level. We had been through a series of police riots both on campuses--Columbia being the most infamous, but Harvard as well--and then, of course, at the Democratic National Convention [in Chicago, 1968]. There was a tremendous amount of interest in how to upgrade police. James Q. Wilson at Harvard was just publishing then. It was a new field.
- Lage: Did some of your interest come out of the campus experience with police during those turbulent times?
- Kahrl: One of the things that I did for the New Haven Police Department was develop their contingency plan for the handling of mass demonstrations. That was successfully deployed in what was a big deal in 1970, the Bobby Seale demonstrations. Do you remember Bobby Seale?
- Lage: Sure. [former Black Panther leader, a militant Black group headquartered in Oakland, California, and one of the Chicago Seven, the seven individuals accused of conspiracy in connection with the riots at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.]
- Kahrl: That's because you're from Berkeley. Nobody else remembers. Anyway, New Haven, Connecticut, at that point had been the place where the whole urban renewal program had originated and was still very much kind of cutting-edge stuff, under the mayor, Richard Lee, who had led that city into its golden age. He was at that point nearing the end of his career but had brought in a very dynamic chief who was devising all sorts of new approaches to these problems, and that was a very exciting place to work. His name was James Ahearn. And so I worked with Ahearn until the end of the Lee administration. Lee had run as a virtual independent in city administration; he was his own party, election after election. When he became too old to continue, it was apparent that control of the city administration would return to the Democratic machine, which was Italian, not Irish. It was charming; they waited until St. Patrick's Day following the election to fire all of the Irish police administrators, replacing them with Italians, and this was the St. Patrick's Day massacre. There was a lot of style to the whole thing.

Coro Foundation Fellowship

- Kahrl: In any event, I had managed by that time to secure a Coro Foundation Fellowship and so came out to San Francisco in the fall of 1969 to spend that year with the Coro program in a variety of assignments.
- Lage: Go back one step. Where were you born? Are you from the East?
- Kahrl: I'm from Mount Vernon, Ohio.
- Lage: When did you graduate from Yale?
- Kahrl: '68.
- Lage: Okay. Now we have you at Coro, with an interest in public administration, it sounds like.
- Kahrl: Oh, yes, very much so. The Coro program is a very good way to land running in a new location, and my wife and I were very interested in coming to the Bay Area and to California.
- Lage: Why the Bay Area and California?
- Kahrl: A very exciting place--moving out of places that had large machine political activities--a place with a much more open political process, a place in which anything was possible. Also, Earth Day was just aborning at that point. I had an active interest in environmental issues, and San Francisco still had the cache; it had not yet moved on to Boston as the place to be.
- Lage: So now we have you out here and with Coro. How did you get hooked up with the Save Our Seashore organization? You must have gotten involved just after you came.
- Kahrl: Pretty much. I've been searching my memory. I cannot remember the specific touch to Peter [Behr]. I suspect that what was going on was that the Save Our Seashore campaign was very much a hip-pocket operation. There had been very little advanced planning, there was virtually no funding, and there was no time span to it. It was not a sustained campaign; it was one great flurry of activity with a specific time limit. For that reason I'm sure that Peter was wise enough to know that one place to shop for clever assistants--for free--would be through the Coro Foundation.
- Lage: He says he sent Jim Williams over to look over the crop.

Kahrl: There were three of us who were actually working with Peter. Only I came from the Coro group. Jim was there, and then there was a woman by the name of Francia Welker.

Lage: So you don't remember being recruited or how you came to work with Save Our Seashore?

Kahrl: No, I was working with a variety of projects. That year I spent most of my time both with Peter and with the Nature Conservancy, which was then being run by Huey Johnson, on something called the Bay Project. Then subsequently I worked with a man by the name of Alfred Heller, who was running an organization called California Tomorrow. So that although the Coro program is supposed to give you an opportunity for exposure to a diversity of activities and programs, I spent an unconscionable amount of time in environmentally related activities. And that was only one collection of people; it was only one continuous group. I can't remember whether I had started with Huey and then he passed me to Peter or vice versa. I suspect it was the versa.

Lage: The way Peter tells it is that he sent Jim Williams over to Coro to look over the crop, and he came back and said, "We have to get Bill Kahrl," and then he asked you.

Kahrl: I believe it. [laughter]

II SAVE OUR SEASHORE INTERN

The Campaign as Political Theater

- Lage: Now, do you remember what kind of marching orders you were given, or how much you had to devise this campaign yourself? Were you asked to help run the petition campaign, am I right about that?
- Kahrl: Oh, yes, the whole focus of our effort was on the petition campaign.
- Lage: How did Peter exercise his leadership of that? Do you recall that?
- Kahrl: Well, most of the work that we were doing was all fetch-and-carry work, strictly advance work for particular meetings. By the time I joined, as I recall, we had a specific objective in terms of an event in mind that all of this was pointed toward. This was theater after all, in part, a large part, a very active political theater. The question was, "All right, where do we stage the last act?" That was always the heart of the question.
- Lage: You thought of it at that time as theater, or is this looking back?
- Kahrl: Well this is, of course, the benefit of hindsight. There was certainly the case that you needed a point at which to either make a delivery, but more importantly, make the pitch. And that was at the California's Changing Environment Conference [November 17-18, 1969] that then Governor Ronald Reagan was organizing in Los Angeles. That was the turning point in terms of the success of the campaign. My guess would be that I came on within four to six weeks in advance of that, and certainly, in terms of what I was responsible for, there was preparing for that conference.
- Lage: Rather than going out and collecting signatures?
- Kahrl: No, certainly, no, I did not spend any time sitting in shopping centers collecting signatures.

Lage: Did you spend time getting people to circulate petitions?

Kahrl: Well, that we spent a lot of time with, with that kind of thing, but I was not truly physically gathering signatures.

The Political Context: Republicans and the Environment under Governor Reagan

Lage: How did the governor's environmental conference relate to this campaign?

Kahrl: Two things. I'm a political analyst; can I begin to rattle on a little bit for the context of this thing? Couple of things to keep in mind. First, with regard to Peter's position in all this. Peter at that point was a Republican but not much of one in the view of the party as it had become under Ronald Reagan. This was not the historic California party; it was the very new kind of new-right party that Ronald Reagan was fashioning. And Peter was not a loyalist in that camp.

He was, however, a very important regional figure, but a purely regional figure. He had notoriety within Marin County because he was the first person to have won a supervisorial recall election in a major fight in that county. And he was an environmentalist, and there was no question, I think, in anyone's mind, although it was certainly not public at that time, that he was preparing--he had just stepped down from the board of supervisors, he was doing the Point Reyes National Seashore effort, and this was to be in turn the springboard into a race for the state senate, which he subsequently succeeded in [1970].

Lage: Was this something that he discussed with you?

Kahrl: Well, it was certainly a given; it was a given going into this. All right. So, he is not only a slightly suspect Republican within his own party, but he was a very avid red-assed environmentalist. That was even more ambiguous in terms of the response of his own party. One of the things I am surprised to realize that I have to remind people is that even in 1970 there was such a thing as environmentalism. I mean, there's a real sense in talking to a lot of journalists these days that somehow it was all invented in the last ten years. We had not only a very active environmental movement, but a very successful one.

This effort was very much a direct outgrowth of the success in the creation of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission.

San Francisco was the center of that kind of concern. California Tomorrow and Cry California was the journal and the conscience of that whole campaign. It was also the headquarters of the Sierra Club. It was where a movement that was only just beginning to rear its head had a lot of its roots.

It's also the case that environmentalism has a very long tradition in California, and a lot of it is Republican, so that Peter was tapping into and was the latest exponent of a very old-line Republican tradition. Probably they were not necessarily politically liberal on other issues, or what we think of now as being politically liberal on other issues. But certainly the old money, to the extent that there is such a thing as old money in California, was represented in Marin County, and that was where Peter was coming from. So the Kents and a lot of the families that were the founding families of Marin County themselves had a long tradition of involvement in these issues.

Lage: The Livermores, certainly.

Kahrl: Yes. Now another piece of this is that Ronald Reagan, whom we think of now as the "Prince of Environmental Darkness," was not at all that kind of monster during his governorship. He had come into office, after all, and done a number of good things, one of them involved in the appointment of [Norman B. "Ike"] Livermore as his resources secretary, but then most importantly, probably, was the rejection of the [Dos Rios] dam project in defense of Indian interests, which was considered a major environmental victory.

Even when he left Sacramento after finishing his second term as governor, you could make a very strong case on the basis of his record, that he was, and still is, the best environmental governor the state of California has ever had. You would make that claim on the basis of the legislation and the programs that were enacted and launched during his administration. Now, he may have been uncomfortable with a lot of those; the programs originated in the legislature and so forth; all of those are the important qualifications when you attempt any such designation. But for the level of truthfulness that one expects for political brochures, which is not a very demanding standard, you could make that claim. And it would be absolutely rock-solid.

John Ehrlichman at the Governor's Environmental Conference

Kahrl: So that it was not as absurd as it would be today to think that Ronald Reagan would sponsor something called the Governor's Conference on California's Changing Environment, and lend his name to it. I don't remember what the conference was about. I remember the logos. I don't think it had any real focus; it was just an opportunity for that administration to establish itself as being interested and involved in these issues. It was held in Los Angeles. It was held at the very glamorous hotel that had grounds and bungalows that was recently shut down and is being perhaps demolished, where Bobby Kennedy died [the Ambassador Hotel].

It was a big deal; it was certainly one place where this relatively obscure and probably dangerous Republican petition gatherer, Peter Behr, could legitimately expect to waylay Ronald Reagan, and get his attention and appear in a picture with him, and so forth and so on. So that was why it was important to be there, to have more than a booth represented. But also, as it turned out, this was also where John Ehrlichman [newly appointed assistant to the president for domestic affairs] showed up. Ehrlichman appeared at the conference--and this is neat, very neat, actually, I thought. This is what, this is the fall of '69, it must be, isn't it?

Lage: Right. The whole campaign happened between September and November. [The conference was November 17-18, 1969.]

Kahrl: So Ehrlichman at this point is not a figure that anyone knows very much about. He is simply this guy who's running domestic policy for the president, whose picture you recognize but whose outlook and so forth hadn't been terribly well defined. Erlichman was on the program for the conference as the president's domestic policy adviser. He came a day early, unannounced, and was very quietly making his way through the conference and just listening to people, which I thought was a very cool thing to be doing. He was really quite a charming fellow in every respect. Surprisingly, he was able to move in and out of the crowds there without being recognized immediately.

Lage: He wasn't that familiar a face.

Kahrl: No, he was not a familiar face. We kind of latched on to him, and I like to think that, of course, turned out to be a significant connection in terms of not just Point Reyes but in the politics of getting Nixon to agree to the petition. The rest, as they say, was history. You had at that point Peter in touch with Reagan and with Ehrlichman, and I'm convinced it was at that conference, during the

course of those meetings which were occurring in the hotel room, which I was not at, that the final scenario was fixed in terms of how this was going to play.¹

Lage: Now, it's funny that Peter has never brought up John Ehrlichman--

Kahrl: [laughter] Isn't that always true of these oral histories? Everybody has a different version of what happened.

Lage: Right. Exactly. Well, the papers show that Ehrlichman's office was very crucial but the clue we got to Ehrlichman's office was through Pete McCloskey, who was a longtime friend of Ehrlichman, and who had pleaded for Point Reyes to Ehrlichman. We hope at some point to be interviewing John Ehrlichman. But this is totally new, so I'm really interested to hear about it.

Crediting George Murphy for Seashore Success, After the Fact

Kahrl: Well, what does Peter say was how they got the president--

Lage: He thought it was through George Murphy.

Kahrl: No, but how did the President--? Yes, but how through George Murphy, that's the question.

Lage: Well, just George Murphy feeling the pressure from the petitions.

Kahrl: No!

Lage: --and then Murphy pleading with Nixon to please change your mind.

Kahrl: No. Peter is telling you the story that was written after the fact.

Lage: [laughter] Tell me more so I can go back to him. [See pp. 147-149]

¹The White House announced support for full funding of Point Reyes on the afternoon of November 18, 1969 (which was the last day of the Governor's Conference in California). The announcement followed a meeting in Washington with President Nixon, Senator Murphy, and Congressmen Wayne Aspinall and Don Clausen. The Sacramento Bee news story on November 19, 1969, credited Murphy with helping to set up the White House meeting. See interviews with Peter Behr, John Ehrlichman, and others in this series for varying perspectives. --Ed.

Kahrl: Okay, that was the deal. No, the deal that was hatched, and as I say, I suspect, but wasn't there, so I don't know that it was hatched at the conference, was, "All right, we will honor the petitions," and the question then was releasing the funds that Congress had appropriated--it wasn't anything else. The president would release the funds and in exchange, the reason for doing so, is so that we can give the credit for this success to George Murphy. In other words, Peter kind of eats it and has to go into the shadows, and that's all right with Peter because his interest is in the outcome, and his success will still be recognized in Marin, which is the base from which he's going to be running anyway.

But the more important thing, particularly from Ronald Reagan's point of view, is that his friend George Murphy--who was doing nothing on anything at this point--was going to get credit for some significant success because they were desperate to find something to point to that they could claim was a George Murphy achievement, that might justify his re-election. Because this was a guy who had done absolutely nothing during his tenure in office. God knows George Murphy did absolutely nothing on Point Reyes, either.

Lage: [He was a cosponsor of the legislation in the Senate.] He wrote a couple of letters.

Kahrl: I'm sure they were written by Peter. So Murphy was handed the credit, and I'm sure if you go back into the records you'll find Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan thanking George Murphy for his wonderful efforts on behalf of this great public involvement. I think if you go back to your records you will also find no other trace of George Murphy's involvement with this campaign. [laughter] Absolutely none.

Lage: Were you at the governor's conference on the environment?

Kahrl: Oh, yes.

Lage: But not present at these meetings.

Kahrl: No, no, I was not invited into the higher councils.

Lage: But Peter was meeting with John Ehrlichman?

Kahrl: Oh, of course, yes, right. That was the great success, and the opportunity that was created there, having Ehrlichman present.

Lage: Now, when you say that everything was being directed towards that conference, do you mean--

- Kahrl: Because that was the place where you could get to Reagan, if nothing else, and a chance of getting to Ehrlichman--actually, it turned out to be a better chance than anyone expected.
- Lage: Just how much influence did Reagan have on Nixon, after all?
- Kahrl: Quite a lot. You betcha, it's his state. And nobody knew which way Reagan was going to go on environmental stuff. Yes, Reagan was very important; it was extremely important to get Reagan's endorsement at the very least. Certainly if he was opposed to this, we would have been in serious trouble.
- Lage: Well, I guess why I asked that, I had again come across comments that by the time he did endorse it, it really probably didn't matter. It was a little late in the game by the time he actually came out publicly in favor of the seashore [on November 14, 1969].
- Kahrl: I guarantee you, it was before George Murphy. [laughter] And George Murphy, as the history books say, well, did it. It was his personal victory.
- Lage: So Peter reported these things to you at the time, so if he doesn't remember, I can jog his memory back?
- Kahrl: Perhaps.
- Lage: [laughter] When you say that you were keying your efforts towards the environment conference, did you mean getting a lot of petitions signed?
- Kahrl: Sure, it was a major gathering of environmentalists; it was an opportunity, it was a stage where you could trot your stuff out and where most of the key players, or many of them, would be present. What were you working with there, something like a three-month window? There aren't that many major gatherings of environmental interests where you are going to have a lot of news media present. Of course, it was the thing that you were reaching towards.

III THE HOW AND WHY OF THE PETITION CAMPAIGN'S SUCCESS

Jim Williams and Francía Welker

- Lage: What do you remember about engineering that petition campaign? Did you three young people kind of run the show? I read that Margaret Azevedo was the petition chairman. Do you remember working with her?
- Kahrl: Oh, sure. But I'm not good on that because that's one of a blur of many such activities I've been involved in over the years.
- Lage: Okay, so you can't tell me the the actual details of how you got a petition campaign underway and who you recruited--?
- Kahrl: I have very little detail. The only thing I can remember with any great clarity is that it involved traveling around a lot to get to these various sessions and whatnot, and since Jim Williams and I were both at that time married, as we still are, and had children, the only thing I can remember with any great clarity is the elaborate--since we were short on funds--the elaborate mechanisms we had to go through as to how in the hell all three of us were going to sleep in the same room with Francía and not get in trouble. That was about it. [laughter] She, fortunately, was cool.
- Lage: Tell me a little about Jim and Francía. What were their backgrounds? What have they gone on to?
- Kahrl: Jim, as far as I know, and I haven't talked to him in more than three years, has been working all the way along with the University of California at Santa Cruz Extension. That's an entrepreneurial business, so that they offer whatever programs people are willing to pay money for. For a long time he was involved in international programs, then he was involved with alcoholism programs, and then he was involved in international programs on alcoholism. [laughter] Francía is an attorney.

Lage: Was she at the time?

Kahrl: No. She went to the Golden Gate University, subsequently.

Lage: She came out of Huey Johnson's operation, Peter Behr indicated.

Kahrl: Well, if she did, she came out of it as a secretary.

Lage: Yes, something like that.

Kahrl: She was much more capable--she was just an extraordinary woman. She still is. Anyway, Francia is an attorney. She worked for me for a while, when I was director of research in Jerry Brown's office, on reclamation law enforcement, became very actively involved, and was the staff to the state-federal task force on enforcement of reclamation law, which was a very big deal at the time, and then went into private practice in the north coast, and now is back in San Francisco and as far as I know, does most of her work in criminal appeals. Death penalty stuff.

The Aesthetic Appeal of Point Reyes

Lage: A lot of questions I had to ask you have to do with running the petition campaign, which you don't remember.

Kahrl: Well, try me, what the heck, you may jog all kinds of things.

Lage: I wondered why you thought the issue was so attractive. Why were you able to get 450,000 people signing the petitions?

Kahrl: The environmental movement in California at this point, as a political effort, was still visually driven. Today we drive it on the basis of fear. If you don't do this, all life will be extinguished, we will be poisoned by our water. Cancer is a big selling point.

In those days it was still driven very much on a visual level, on an aesthetic level, and had this gorgeous territory. And we had a nice book at a time when Sierra Club books were still--for most people the environmental movement was Sierra Club books--so you had this nice book called An Island in Time, which was a strong selling point. You know, "Save this thing, it looks good." That was a big part of the pitch.

Riding the Wave of the Corte Madera Creek Battle

Kahrl: And you had in Marin County a recent experience with a similar citizens' movement, and people were still flushed with it.

Lage: Is this Save San Francisco Bay?

Kahrl: No. Not Save the Bay, one much more important, but completely forgettable, which were the battles against the Army Corps of Engineers. The Army Corps office in northern California, a couple of years previously, went bananas on riprapping creeks. And there were huge citizens' battles fought over the destruction of Walnut Creek--believe me, there used to be a creek over there. In Marin, I forget the name of the creek there, a whole string of these things.

Lage: Corte Madera Creek, I remember it.

Kahrl: And these were wealthy people who were getting roused out of their houses and going out and saying, "Oh, boy, I'm going to go march in the creek and rub shoulders with the common people," and they thought they were really the bees' knees at that point.

##

Kahrl: And Peter was the drum major for a lot of that stuff. So it was quite natural.

Lage: How were you aware of these creek battles? Was that going on at the same time?

Kahrl: Just previous. So that there was this, "Oh, boy! That was fun! Now what will we do?" kind of attitude.

Lage: Well, I know some fairly prominent citizens blocked the bulldozers.

Kahrl: Yes, they thought this was terrific stuff. And a lot of those fights were in Kentfield; it's just a riot to think of some of those guys doing all of that stuff. So there was a lot of "Okay, we've got all this unexpended energy, let's find something else to march on."

Lage: The timing was right.

Kahrl: Right, you bet. So that was a big influence, I think.

Taking Advantage of Media Interest in the Drake's Plate Controversy

Kahrl: What else was going on? I mean, really, the land itself was such a major selling point, and then there was Drake's Plate and the controversy over whether Drake landed in Drakes Bay at Point Reyes or in San Francisco Bay. I'm pretty sure that was also when Bob Power was also doing his pitch on that, but this is really an obscure connection.

Lage: Bob Power. Who was that?

Kahrl: He just died. He was the owner of the Nut Tree [restaurant in Fairfield]. And he was one of the great exponents of Drake's Plate. Well, Peter worked that one for everything it was worth. You know, "We can't lose this site. This was where Drake landed in 1579," and we spent hours marching around out there and showing people, "Oh, yes, this is where the Golden Hind sailed in," and all that stuff. You rode whatever p.r. stuff there was on the Drake's Plate controversy, which was one of those Bay Area controversies that the local newspapers just love. They can run those--I think it's still going on.

Lage: It still hasn't been resolved.

Kahrl: Yes, they love that. Millions of miles of ink that they run on those things. And they adore it, and everybody seems to enjoy it. And so that was another thing that you worked and rode and enhanced.

Lage: Had you done these kinds of media promotional things before? This wasn't part of your background, was it?

Kahrl: No, no. I hadn't done very much politically.

Lage: Peter mentioned a film that was shown at the Cannes Film Festival.

Kahrl: Goodness gracious, I'm amazed that he would remember this.

Lage: He also mentioned your being a Yale Scholar of the House.

Kahrl: Peter would do that because he was from Yale. No, this is true. I had done a film with--boy, I must have spent two years on that damn thing. Yes, I did a film with two other people, undergraduates at college, and yes, it did get into Cannes, and it was fun. It was also one of those experiences, like pouring concrete, that my wife says, "See, now you learned another profession you never want to pursue." [laughter]

Lage: That was your media experience.

Kahrl: Certainly. That was my media experience. No, and the only political activity in which I had been engaged prior to that was the campaign for--no, that's not true, of course that's not true. I had been involved with New Haven politics, which was nothing but politics. But in terms of electoral stuff, the only activity I had had was involved with the Abe [Abraham] Ribicoff campaign. You may remember at the Chicago convention during the police riot, that Senator Ribicoff from Connecticut got up on the podium and announced that, "They're killing our children in the streets." Mayor [Richard J.] Daley had shouted him down with a lot of racial epithets, calling him "a dirty kike" and whatnot. And at that point the party abandoned his reelection campaign in Connecticut. And so all right-thinking people at that point went out and spent a lot of time working for Abe Ribicoff to make sure he got elected. It was just what one did. So that was what I had done in electoral politics.

IV POLITICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Legislative Action to Remove Private Cabins from Mount Tamalpais State Park, 1972

Lage: Do you have anything else to say about why that campaign took hold, or any memories of the leadership of the Save Our Seashore--the group of women, mainly, who were on the board, and of Peter himself.

Kahrl: Well, Peter worked with the board. I did not. We were strictly fetch-and-carry people. There's one other element that I recall. Has anyone told you about the Cap [Caspar] Weinberger cabins?

Lage: No.

Kahrl: [laughter]

Lage: I like the insinuating laugh that you have, though.

Kahrl: This is one of the goofier aspects of the whole thing. At the point that we were talking about this, Point Reyes was not yet the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. And as far as I know, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area wasn't even a glimmer in anybody's mind at that point.

Lage: No, I don't think it was, until later.

Kahrl: In the course of doing the Point Reyes National Seashore we discovered--this will give you a good indication of just how far outside the establishment of the Bay Area Peter was at that point --we discovered the well-kept secret of the Mount Tamalpais cabins. And this is a very funny story.

Lage: You young people discovered it?

Kahrl: Well, we found about it because it was an ugly secret among the old-line environmentalists. Above Stinson Beach, to the south of Stinson Beach, as you may remember, you come in on a big hill which winds down into the town. Over to the left, as you came around the bend, just before the first view you have of Stinson Beach, there were, and as far as I know still are, about a dozen cabins. Do you know about the these cabins?

Lage: Yes, the cabins at Steep Ravine.

Kahrl: Okay. Now how do you know about those cabins?

Lage: When I interviewed Peter about his state senate career, he told me about the cabins.

Kahrl: All right, then you know the story.

Lage: I don't know how it relates to this, though. I know that Dorothea Lange had a cabin there, and there's this wonderful book called To a Cabin that tells about her experiences there. And then I have had friends who, now that they're public, have gone and stayed there.

Kahrl: So Peter tells you the story of how they got to be public.

Lage: But he never mentioned how it had anything to do with this Save Our Seashore experience.

Kahrl: Well, I don't know that the connection is direct except that there was a concern, all the way through, that if you made this land public, that it might interfere with the cabins. Now we can't have anybody interfering with the cabins. And everybody would say, "What cabins?" and they'd say, "Never mind. Never mind. You don't want to know about the cabins."

Lage: And what does Cap Weinberger have to do with it?

Kahrl: Well, this is part of the glory of the whole thing. Now the deal was--I don't know how much Peter told you of this story.

Lage: He didn't mention Cap Weinberger.

Kahrl: I wrote the bill [S.B. 682, passed in 1972 when Kahrl was on Peter Behr's state Senate staff]. Originally the cabins were built by William Kent or Roger Kent, I'm pretty sure. And were just out there for his pals, you know, a few friends would come out in the summertime. And they were very primitive. I don't know what they're like now, but they were very primitive.

Lage: They still are.

Kahrl: They were not a big deal. In any event, when the family donated the land that became Tamalpais State Park, there was a dirty deal struck. Not a malicious deal, but a secret, dirty deal struck, to keep the cabins going and to keep them for the family's friends, and not to let people in.

Lage: But they still became part of the park.

Kahrl: They were part of the park. And what was involved here as we subsequently discovered in doing the legislation, was that the damn Department of Parks and Recreation, at taxpayer expense, had put up a gate across this public land, to keep the public out, and guarded the damn thing. I mean, there was money being spent to protect these privileged cabins. And access to the cabins was denied to anyone who was not a member of the family, or one of the families to whom the original family had passed the privilege along.

So we said, "This stinks." And they said, "Well, we can't touch it." The people involved here are so influential that no one would touch it. Subsequently, being young and crazy we said "Okay, we got to do away with this terrible thing." And so we put in the legislation to say this stops, this is over, and immediately got a letter back from the Legislative Counsel, which is the agency which prepares bill language for the legislature, which said, "This is unconstitutional. You cannot revoke the leases on those cabins."

We said, "What do you mean, you can't revoke them?" Well, they produced a statute that had been written by a well-connected San Francisco attorney by the name of Caspar Weinberger, who had written this for the people who held the cabins. What it provided was an eternal right of renewal. Literally eternal. It was the most incredible piece of statutory writing you've ever seen. It could not be repealed, ever. Because basically what it said--it was like an Indian treaty--it said, "You shall have the right of annual renewal of this lease" or biennial or whatever it was, "until such time as" an impossible thing happens. You know, in the Indian treaties, "and for as long as the sun shines and the rain falls." This was, as I recall, something impossible. "Until such time as the state installs an amusement park on the bluff over Stinson Beach." I mean, that's eternal. [laughter] And we had that damn letter dogging us at every turn.

Lage: And that was written into the law.

Kahrl: Right. That was written into the California statutes. And the only response to that is "Fine, let them sue." But there was tremendous pressure brought on Peter, quietly, saying, "Don't do this thing. Don't take away our cabins." And Peter to his credit, kept at it. Now, as I recall, even after the bill passed, and there were many, many, many stories written about this because I remember there was a reporter for the Sacramento Bee named John Berthelson, who loved the stories about the cabins. And so he wrote a lot about this evil thing.

Even after the legislation was passed, the Department of Parks and Recreation found other ways--it took down the gate, I'm sure they took down the gate--but I'm sure they found other ways to keep those people in there, and not let the public in. And that went on for quite some time. And Peter did not press that point. Legislation had passed, that was enough as far as Peter was concerned. He had done enough.

Lage: He probably made a few enemies on that one.

Kahrl: Yes, and not only enemies but enemies among his otherwise fellow travelers. And one of those fellow travelers and the beneficiaries of this secret and obnoxious leasing arrangement is the author of Island in Time, that stalwart environmentalist, Harold Gilliam.

Lage: So he was one of the ones with the cabins.

Kahrl: Yes. And I think it was intensely embarrassing to him.

Lage: Oh, yes. It puts you in that position of being an elitist.

Kahrl: You bet it did. And that was exactly the position he was in. Anyway, I enjoyed it. Between George Murphy and Harold Gilliam, I would say this was my first real experience with the political special interests, the elitism of the environmental movement. It was still a positive experience though, in every way.

Nonpartisan Nature of Save Our Seashore

Lage: How partisan did the Save Our Seashore campaign seem?. Was there a partisan element?

Kahrl: No. You see, that's the thing that I wanted to emphasize at the beginning, was that Reaganism as the predominant force spilling through the Republican party at that point, didn't know, hadn't made up its mind, didn't know what it thought about, environmentalism. And certainly the Democratic party was not identified to the extent that it has been--certainly in the Big Green campaign [a broad-spectrum environmental initiative measure, Proposition 128, on California's November 1990 ballot]--as the exclusive green party. On the contrary, the Democratic party, because of its traditional, and then still very active, relationship to the union movement, was considered actively hostile to environmental issues.

Lage: And the environmental movement hadn't gotten into electoral politics either.

Kahrl: Not at all. With the exception of Sam Farr's father, Fred Farr [state senator, 1955-1966], Peter was one of the first legislators who arrived in Sacramento with the imprimatur of being an environmentalist, an environmentalist legislator. It was still a very new and odd thing to be. There were certainly other people there who were interested in environmental issues long before Peter arrived, and who later became very active in them. Charlie [Charles] Warren would be an obvious example. But Charlie had not run as an environmentalist. Peter very clearly was an environmentalist. And that was his claim to fame.

Lage: Was there an effort made to identify this campaign with Peter Behr among you people?

Kahrl: No. Peter has too much style and class for that. Of course, it was an activity that would be beneficial in terms of his subsequent ambitions. However, that was not the only reason for doing it. That wasn't even the primary reason. He would have done it regardless, I'm sure.

Subsequent Career in Environmental Issues, Politics, and Writing

Lage: Okay, can you tell me, just briefly, what you've done since Save Our Seashore. I know you've had a really interesting career.

Kahrl: After the Coro Foundation year, I spent a year with Alfred Heller at California Tomorrow, writing the California Tomorrow plan, which was a model of comprehensive planning, which we thought was then an interesting and desirable notion for California. Now, twenty years later, Pete Wilson is beginning to say the time might be right to talk about these issues. But, I mean, I had been in the state at that point for twelve months, hell, I could figure out what needed to happen, I mean, that was perfectly natural. [Laughter]

Having done that, and having determined that no, indeed, there was no constituency for comprehensive planning in the state of California, and for the best of reasons, then I got a call from Peter and came up [to Sacramento] to work with him on the second year of his campaign on the wild and scenic rivers, and generally on his whole legislative program. Following the success of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act in '72, I was then picked up by the staff of the assembly speaker and "soon-to-be governor" Bob Moretti.

Lage: Soon-to-be governor?

Kahrl: Right, well, that was the plan. I ran the legislative program for the speaker's office, and when that didn't work out I joined the staff of Jerry Brown.

Lage: In the Office of Planning and Research?

Kahrl: Yes.

Lage: Now, is that where you did the California Water Atlas?¹

Kahrl: The atlas was based there, physically based there. It was created organizationally as a free-standing entity that didn't have to answer to anybody. And that was very important in terms of its success.

And then after the publication of the atlas, I spent a year as a Rockefeller Fellow doing another book on the Owens Valley--the battle over Los Angeles' water supply.² And then I've been writing ever since, in one capacity or another.

Lage: And when did you come to the Sacramento Bee?

Kahrl: '86.

Lage: And what is your position with the Bee now?

Kahrl: I'm an associate editor, which means that I'm part of the editorial board.

Lage: Unless you have more--.

Kahrl: No. That's all, that's all.

Lage: Thank you. You've done a great service here.

Kahrl: Neither of us will be the judge of that.

Transcriber: Rita Bashaw
Final Typist: Kian Sandjideh

¹California Water Atlas, William L. Kahrl, project director and editor (Sacramento: Governor's Office of Planning and Research, 1979).

²William L. Kahrl, Water and Power: The Conflict Over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

TAPE GUIDE--William Kahrl

Date of Interview: May 15, 1991
tape 1, side a
tape 1, side b

205
218

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

Boyd Stewart

POINT REYES RANCHER AND SEASHORE SUPPORTER

An Interview Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1990



Boyd Stewart on the porch of his 1864 ranch house, May 1991.

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Boyd Stewart

INTERVIEW HISTORY	230
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	230a
I EARLY ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEASHORE	231
Preserving Marin's Environment, 1930s-1950s	231
Stability of West Marin Parklands	233
Clem Miller's Campaign to Establish the Seashore, 1958-1962	235
The Status of Ranchers and Ranchlands within the Seashore	237
Authorization of Point Reyes National Seashore and Subsequent Increase in Land Values	238
II THE RANCHERS AND THE 1969 EFFORT TO COMPLETE THE SEASHORE	243
The Save Our Seashore Campaign in 1969	243
The Rancher's Changing Attitudes Toward the Park	244
Getting Accurate Figures on Land Values	245
Getting Ranchers' Acceptance of Right of Condemnation	247
Testimony at Congressional Hearings	248
Showing Alan Bible the Seashore	250
III THE PARK SERVICE, THE RANCHERS, AND CARE OF THE LAND	251
Park Superintendent John Sansing's Rapport with Ranchers	251
Marin Ranchers' Attitudes Toward the Land	253
Park Service Success in Caring for the Land	254
Stewart's Stanford Education and Other Influences	257
The Ranchers, the Land Developers, and the Economics of Ranching and Dairying	259
Bill Sweet, Logging, and the Lake Ranch	262
Ranchers and the Park Service	265
IV QUIET SUPPORT FOR THE SEASHORE	268
Alan Bible, Don Clausen	268
Working Quietly, through Personal Contacts	269
TAPE GUIDE	271
APPENDIX A -- Testimony before House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, May 13, 1969	272
APPENDIX B -- Testimony before Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, February 26, 1970	281

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Boyd Stewart

Boyd Stewart brings to this series of interviews the perspective of a lifelong rancher in Point Reyes with a deep appreciation for its beauty and a strong land ethic. His ties to Marin County environmentalists dating back to the 1930s helped him appreciate early on the value of the park idea at Point Reyes and to eventually become a spokesman for the national seashore in the halls of Congress and to his fellow ranchers.

Stewart was a somewhat reluctant interviewee, preferring not to draw attention to his behind-the-scenes role in the campaign for Point Reyes National Seashore. Because his views have sometimes conflicted with other ranchers among whom he works, he has usually expressed them privately, often to public officials with whom he has built personal relationships. Nonetheless, he took a leading role in 1969 in bringing ranchers together to agree to legislation giving the government the right to condemn ranch lands within the seashore area; their agreement helped remove a stumbling block to completing land acquisition for the seashore. Stewart was a key witness at hearings before the House and Senate Interior Committees in May 1969 and February 1970. His testimony at these hearings is appended to the interview.

Boyd Stewart was interviewed on July 12, 1990, at his ranch house in Olema. I returned several months later to go over the transcript with him and assist him in making a few changes in his original words. During both visits, others from the ranch and Park Service communities dropped by his welcoming round table to join him for lunch or coffee. At age eighty-eight, he is an informal advisor to a wide-ranging group of people interested in the well-being of the ranches and landscape of Point Reyes National Seashore.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Boyd Stewart

Date of birth 3-16-03 Birthplace San Rafael, California

Father's full name Samuel James Stewart

Occupation rancher Birthplace Scotland

Mother's full name Margaret Nissan Stewart

Occupation housewife/rancher Birthplace Livermore, California

Your spouse Joseffa Conrad Stewart

Your children JoAnn Stewart

Where did you grow up? Nicasio, California

Present community Olema, California

Education Stanford University, B.A. 1927

Occupation(s) rancher

Areas of expertise _____

Other interests or activities _____

Organizations in which you are active _____

I MARIN'S EARLY ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE SEASHORE

[Interview 1: July, 12 1990]##¹

Preserving Marin's Environment, 1930s-1950s

Lage: Today is July 12, 1990, and I am talking to Boyd Stewart about the Point Reyes Seashore. We're particularly interested in the 1969 effort to get further appropriations. But, I don't think we can just start there; we have to get some background. For the record, tell about how long you've been here, and when your interest in seeing this as a national seashore was first aroused.

Stewart: My first interest in the seashore started back in the early thirties.

Lage: And how did you become aware of it?

Stewart: There were two or three women in Marin County, lived down in Ross, who were interested in the county. They lived there and liked the kind of county it was--a rural county, a dairy and beef area. And the urban part of it were people who had businesses in San Francisco. There were no large towns. San Rafael wasn't very big. Really Sepha Evers and Caroline Livermore were the motivating people behind this thing. They started out, originally, with the odd idea that they should not have roadside signs all along the roads. They didn't have an organization really at the time. They just met together and talked to people. My wife was a young woman that had lived down in Kentfield and knew them because she taught some of their children music lessons.

Lage: Oh, I see. What was your wife's name?

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 271.

Stewart: Joseffa Conrad was her name. We were on the ranch here, and she was still teaching. We needed some source of income. That was the only cash income at that time that was sure.

Lage: More so than ranching?

Stewart: Well, ranching wasn't very profitable. The Depression had started in '29, and along in 1930 things weren't very good. And they weren't very good for quite a number of years.

But these women decided that it would be nice if they didn't have roadside signs. The country was full of them every place. They went before the board of supervisors. Really, chiefly a rural board. Most of the supervisors came from unincorporated areas, and they were interested in rural things. And they persuaded them to pass an ordinance eliminating signs, and that worked. They abated the signs that were up, in spite of the opposition of the companies that did the advertising.

And then they got interested in parks. They successfully maneuvered to the end that they got Stinson Beach, old Willow Camp, park. They got one up on Mount Tamalpais. They got the big one over at Camp Taylor. They got one up at Inverness, or actually two pieces of land up at Inverness, made into county parks. And they were the ones that were responsible for Angel Island not being sold for development. They persuaded the federal government to let them take care of it until eventually the state took it over.

Lage: Now, were you aware of this and watching it happen at the time?

Stewart: Well, my wife was interested in it, and I was interested in it because these bloody roadside signs were a nuisance and aggravation. You know, they have them all over. There was a need, it was obvious that there was a need for the parks, and then there was an additional reason. I had had some dealings with the woman, [Mrs. Roger] who owned Camp Taylor. I guess it was in 1923, I went to see her because our ranch here, where I am now, adjoins her property, which is Camp Taylor.

Lage: Oh, it does? And hers goes over the hill?

Stewart: Right over the hill, and there is an area up there that doesn't have a fence. Never had a fence, because the man that had originally bought this land from the Olds had sold Camp Taylor, or the Taylor property, to the people who built the paper mill. They had never surveyed one line and had never built a fence. Right on top of the ridge.

I went to see this Mrs. Roger, who owned a lot of property, an elderly widow. This was back in 1923 or '24, could have been 1924, when I was in college. We had bought the ranch in 1923, and my father wanted to find out what to do about the area on top of ridge where there was no fence. And I went to see her. After she located the piece of property, she informed me that she wasn't interested in it at all. That her husband had acquired it on a mortgage, that someone had not paid, they foreclosed on it, and she wanted to give it to the county.

She asked me, because I was just a young kid in school, if I'd go to the board of supervisors. Did I know them? And I knew some of them, of course, as everyone did. I brought it up before the board of supervisors a week or so later, back from college. Told them that Mrs. Rogers wanted them to take over Camp Taylor. She didn't want to pay taxes on it any more, and she'd give it to them. Give it to the county. All 2600 acres. And they laughed at the idea and said, "Heavens, no." They didn't want to take it over, all they wanted was the taxes from it. She never again paid taxes on it, and it became delinquent, and was eventually sold for taxes. That's why the group of women that became the Marin Conservation League were able to acquire it as a state park [Samuel P. Taylor State Park].

Lage: So they acquired it when it was sold for taxes?

Stewart: Yes. Later on. This group had organized. They called themselves the Marin Conservation League, after a while. They had a very active membership. On their board of directors were a couple of men who had worked for the Park Service. One of them [Aubrey Neasham] had been a park historian. Another one, a man who had worked in the National Park Service administration offices concerned with acquiring parks and filling in where they didn't own all of the land and so on, was George Collins.

Stability of West Marin Parklands

Stewart: They talked about the fact that there was a question about the title of a lot of the land out around Limantour Bay, Aubrey Neasham in particular. But these men who were on the Marin Conservation League board of directors talked about the desirability of the parks. And, of course, these women didn't want to see the county change. They were probably farseeing enough to realize that when the Depression was over, there would be some movement of land.

And there was a peculiar circumstance about the ranches in West Marin, in all of Marin really. The people that were on ranches here had always been moderately successful. They never became very wealthy; it wasn't that kind of a dairy or beef business. But it was a country that didn't have bad droughts; and it was a desirable place to live, and land had not ever moved here. There was very, very little movement of land from the time it was first acquired on until the park came in.

Lage: You mean it stayed in the same families?

Stewart: It stayed in the same families, or if it was sold it was sold to a friend, or to a neighbor, or to the son of someone, or to someone you knew. It wasn't an area where real estate men were dealing in ranch property. Most of the ranches were sold without real estate people.

Lage: Did your father [Samuel James Stewart]--was he in ranching before?

Stewart: That's how we acquired this ranch. The man who owned it had moved away and rented it out. Had moved down to Los Gatos and was living down there. He had two grown daughters that were teachers. He wasn't well. He had a physical handicap, I guess polio; he didn't know what it was, but he limped badly. And so he had moved down in the Santa Clara Valley where it was warm and pleasant. Rented the place out. Wasn't happy about renting it out to someone just on a cash basis. Drove over to see my father, whom he knew quite well, one day in 1923; and came in and said, "You know Sam, you always liked that ranch and said it was a pretty place." He said, "I came over to sell it to you." And that's how land changed. It changed in the county. It hadn't been listed with real estate people.

Lage: Was your father in the ranching business?

Stewart: Oh, yes. We lived on the ranch with the school house--rented the ranch where the school house is at Nicasio.

The circumstances were such at the time, of course, that land wasn't worth much. And the Conservation League thought it would be a wonderful idea if we could get some government money and buy up a lot of this land, some of it. People who had been on ranches for years weren't making money. They were just getting along. There wasn't any great distress. It wasn't like the Midwest where banks were going broke, but there wasn't any value in land. Well, they talked about a park. They talked from about, I don't know, really seriously, maybe from 1933 on. Mrs. Livermore, I think before that. They were getting these little

parks, but what they were dreaming about--aided and abetted by Aubrey Neasham and George Collins--they were dreaming about a big park. [A Park Service report, prepared by Collins, proposed a Point Reyes National Seashore in 1959.--Ed.]

Lage: And I think the Park Service even looked at it in the thirties.

Stewart: Well, these two men came from the Park Service. The Park Service had not done anything about it at that time, other than what these two men were doing. I think, both of them were no longer working for the Park Service at that time.

Clem Miller's Campaign to Establish the Seashore, 1958-1962

Stewart: They talked about it and discussed it long enough and finally got the Sierra Club and other people interested in it. The thing just grew. And finally, Clem Miller--.

Lage: So now we're clear up to the fifties.

Stewart: Now we're up to the fifties.

Lage: So it took awhile.

Stewart: I mean, time had gone by.

In the meantime, they had gotten these small parks. Took a long time, you know, they didn't come all at once. The league had built up some membership. It was the right county. Most peculiar county. I don't know what you would call them. Some people would say they were conservative, but, of course, they weren't; they were very radical. But they were people who liked the kind of county that they had and didn't want to see it change, and they recognized that there was great beauty in this county, and they wanted to preserve it.

There was a thing going on at that time, over in the East Bay around Walnut Creek and down the peninsula, where they were developing a lot of farm land, beautiful country, into home sites.

So, they, eventually, had a quite reservoir of popular support in a part of the county, not among the ranchers, for a park. Clem Miller--. Really, I'm sure that it was because Roger Kent told him, "Why don't you campaign for Congress in this district on the basis that you favor the establishment of a

park?" The Park Service was, of course, very interested by this time. A lot of time had gone by, ten or twelve years, fifteen years, then twenty years since it was talked of. And Clem Miller did.

Lage: How do you know of this suggestion from Roger Kent?

Stewart: I knew Roger from high school.

Lage: Did you know Clem Miller very well?

Stewart: Yes. I knew Clem Miller. I know his widow very well. Everybody knew him. Marin County was a little bit of a county before the war. I don't know whether we had 30,000 or 35,000 people in the county. World War II brought a lot of people in to work in the shipyards at Marin City. And, of course, at the end of the war, it brought in all of those people who had gone through here and wanted to move here. So, we grew rapidly in a short time.

Lage: But even out here in West Marin you had ties to San Rafael and Mill Valley people?

Stewart: Well, you see, it was such a small county. San Rafael was the county seat, right in the town at that time. The courthouse was right where the big office building is now, the Bank of America. Any rancher or any man that lived around the county any length of time, born and raised here, if you walked down Fourth Street in San Rafael, lot of people would know you. You didn't have a mobile population. You had a very, very static population. You had those business people that worked in San Francisco. They didn't know us personally, but they knew who all of the ranchers were; you never had that many ranchers. You never had two or three thousand ranchers. I don't know whether we've ever had over five or six hundred total in the county. It was small.

Clem Miller had a pretty popular project on hand. Ranchers didn't catch on in time to oppose it much. They weren't interested. They were going along. They were doing well. They had done well during the war, and they didn't think anything would come of it. Of course, Clem got elected [1958].

By this time, people were interested in parks. There was that surge of feeling about the environment that had grown from the thirties on. They held hearings. They got involved with legislation and they held hearings. Things really moved along. They put up the legislation which set up the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore.

The Status of Ranchers and Ranchlands within the Seashore

Stewart: And because the people that promoted it came from here, at that time they didn't start out by saying, "We will move all of the ranchers off." When they started talking about it, there were areas that were not suitable, that had not been ranched, they were just used for dry cattle, they weren't good ranches. A number of them along the coast here.

But nobody paid much attention to the fact that you were talking about something that ordinarily wasn't talked of. You were talking about making a park out of land that was in commercial production. And when they began to think about it, they talked about, well, they would have a park there. They didn't want to disrupt the county. There was a lot of talk that went on back and forth about whether or not, and how, you would continue ranching.

Lage: Did you get involved in this sort of, we could call it negotiation, maybe? Or is that too strong a word?

Stewart: Well, it wasn't negotiation. It was just everybody running around kind of wildly.

But in back of the running around, by this time, you had the Marin Conservation League, which was pretty well organized now (a long time has gone by), had an old membership with good directors, and you had the Sierra Club deeply involved in it, and a strong organization, a vigorous president and executive officer. So you had some people who would plan as they talked.

Now, they didn't plan too well. They wanted the park. Everybody they talked to was in favor of the park. They didn't talk to the ranchers because they didn't have much contact with them, these city people didn't. The Marin County people just left the ranchers alone. They had always stood in well with them. The ranchers, belatedly, found out that they were being taken on. They opposed it. They immediately organized to oppose, but this is a little bit like the elephant and the mouse, you know. They did spend money. They sent a lawyer to Washington to oppose the taking over of the ranches.

At the time that that first happened, that they opposed it, the park had been outlined. The area had been designated for a national recreation area, but the legislation wasn't closed. It wasn't complete, and it didn't carry the right of condemnation on the land that was being operated on. It was separated. The

ranchers on the point here, the legislation provided they were to be in the park and that the park would acquire them. But it didn't say the park had the right to condemn, but the other land it did. Yes, the rest of the land.

Lage: As I understand it, the ranchers in the pastoral zone that kept their ranches in agricultural use couldn't be condemned.

Stewart: They couldn't be condemned.

Lage: Now, was that something that the ranchers through their organization got put in to the legislation?

Stewart: No, no. Because nobody had thought anything through, because no one had really gotten everybody together and sat down and said, "Well, now, how can you make a park out of it if you buy just pieces of it and leave other pieces out?" Nobody had ever gone into it far enough. The way these things work [is that] there was great, great interest in getting a park; so, we pass a law outlining the park.

Authorization of Point Reyes National Seashore and Subsequent Increase in Land Values

Stewart: We had accomplished a lot. We hadn't the slightest idea how we were going to do the rest of it. And they didn't. They began to run into problems. They appropriated some money [\$14 million], and that was part of this not thinking things through, because they never appropriated enough to do any good at any one time, for a long time. They bought the Bear Valley ranch, five thousand acres, where the headquarters is now.

And then they bought the south end ranch that was owned by a church group, Mankind United. The church wanted to sell, and the Park Service bought that. Then out on Point Reyes there was a man by the name of [Edward] Heims who wanted to sell, and he persuaded the Park to buy it. He saw there was an opportunity to get his money out of the land.

Lage: Was he an old-timer too?

Stewart: No. He was a man who had come here just prior to World War II. Interesting man in his own right. There's a rather interesting story about it, but it had nothing to do with the park, other than the fact that he was one of the early ones that sold. And

he sold out on the point, in the area they didn't have the right to condemn.

In 1961, they had held hearings. The House held hearings back there. The Senate came out and held hearings out here. If I remember right, they were held in Marin Community College. [Senator] Alan Bible came out. At this point, some men who were very serious about the park got really deeply involved in it. In particular, the senate Subcommittee [on Parks and Recreation, a subcommittee] of the Interior [and Insular Affairs] Committee.

Lage: That was Alan Bible's committee?

Stewart: That was Alan Bible.

Lage: Now, you had a friendship with Alan Bible. Where does that date from?

Stewart: We met Bible when they were talking about this, because of something that had happened long before. I had met him during World War II. My wife was a young woman who had gone to college down at Dominican, a music student. She was teaching music. She thought that it would be suitable to marry a rancher along the line, and did. So, I got involved with it, because she was involved with these people around there. I was active in the Marin Conservation League we were trying to start.

Lage: So you were actually a member and active in the Marin Conservation League. Now, how did that sit with the ranchers? Did you have a good relationship with the ranchers out here?

Stewart: There's a movie, I think it was an English movie, called The Gods Must Be Crazy, and there's a guy in there [who said] whenever he had trouble, "I-yi-yi, I don't want to talk about it."
[laughter] That was my relationship with the ranchers.

Lage: It set you apart, I would guess from what you say?

Stewart: Yes, it set us apart. Because of a personal background about land, and the care of land and so on, we were interested in the land and liked it and felt that if it was in a park it wouldn't be subdivided.

Lage: Now, was your ranch a part of the proposed park area?

Stewart: Yes, yes. The interesting thing about it, of course to me, is that I found that--it isn't a personal feeling, you understand; I'm a rancher like all of the rest of them--but you are a traitor if you join the enemy that wants to take over their ranches.

Now, there were several things that happened at the time that made this pertinent. There were some very wise, farseeing speculators came along and said, "Oh, Oh! This is going to happen."

Lage: This was after the park was authorized?

Stewart: And they bought some pieces of land on the point, some land that eventually ended up in court. They saw that there were opportunities to subdivide out here. You see, subdividers had never come here. As I said, the land was held; nobody wanted to sell it, and there hadn't been any great pressure here. The war came along and Marin County was growing rapidly. They were all around Tiburon. That area that had been big dairies, was all being built up. Mill Valley, in back of Mill Valley over by the coast where you go over the Corte Madera Hill, Tunnel Ranch, all of those places were being subdivided. And speculators realized this was going to grow the way it had down in Santa Clara County.

As an aside, when I went to college, the fruit basket of California was the Santa Clara Valley. Right on the university grounds, there was a close to a hundred-acre field of strawberries, and there was a dairy on the campus. There were fourteen canneries between San Francisco and San Jose when I was in college. And packaging and processing operations were located in San Jose. That was the proper place for them. Well, now it's houses. And, of course, they all moved away. All of the orchards were plowed up.

It's a long time since the Southern Pacific ran tourist trains into the Santa Clara Valley from the East during blossom time. Just like people, now, go east to see the fall colors, well, they had special tour trains to the Santa Clara Valley.

Lage: To see the blossoms?

Stewart: In blossom time. It was just a fruit bowl.

Lage: Did seeing what happened down there effect your view of what should be done here?

Stewart: The depression stopped everything. Things began to pick up; the war came along. Population came in, and suddenly there were people that saw there were possibilities of making investments out here that would enable them to make a lot of money, that, eventually, it would be subdivided. They bought the ranches around San Rafael.

Lage: Did this happen as early as the fifties then?

Stewart: Yes. It began happening as the war ended, in '45. By '50, it was buzzing along.

Lage: And what about out here? When did the speculators come?

Stewart: Out here the land hadn't been for sale. A couple of places were bought. A promoter, Douglas Hertz, who at one time owned the New York Giants football team, had a place over on the Wildcat. Bought it from Willie Tevis. He was developing one of these exclusive hunting clubs where you come out and shoot pheasants that are released and shoot ducks on the coast. Oiled the road from Highway 1, eight miles over to the ocean. Now it's wilderness.

Well, Alan Bible held the hearings down in Kentfield. And he realized what you had here, as well as anybody. Old Wayne Aspinall was a good friend of his from Colorado [chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs], and a fellow by the name of [Roy] Taylor was chairman of the House Interior Subcommittee on Parks. And they had all been holding hearings on it. They had gotten along.

The park was delineated, the lines were drawn. And it wasn't clear about what they could or couldn't do. The Park Service considered that they could not condemn the operating dairies on the point, the pastoral area they called it, but they could the rest.

They had gotten several piecemeal appropriations, \$7 million, \$5 million, \$3 million, \$2 million, until they had gotten finally up to maybe \$26 or \$27 million. [The original \$14 million appropriation was supplemented in 1966 with a \$5 million appropriation. --ed.] And they didn't have any of the point bought. Didn't have all of this area bought. There was a question: "Would they raise the money and buy the seashore? Or, would they dilly-dally around and lose it?"

Lage: And let the prices go up.

Stewart: And let the prices go up. There was even a proposal made at one time, by the Park Service, that they would buy the land and then lease it over long periods of time for partial development. This came out of the Park Service itself, in an effort to try to save the park. They didn't think that they could get the money.

Lage: Did the ranchers react to that proposal?

Stewart: Well, the ranchers, all of this time, were paying a very competent lawyer to go to Washington every time there was a hearing of any kind about the park, and oppose them taking it over.

Lage: So they had an association, a formal association?

Stewart: They didn't have a formal association. They were never formally organized, but Bryan McCarthy was their attorney. And he was doing a very good job of representing them. The park had to deal with him in hearings, and the committees. The senate and the house committee would meet, you know, and talk, and they--.

Remember the procedure that they had to go through: You've got the park delineated. You've got some pieces of land bought, not together, just separate pieces of land. And you want to get some more money. So first, you go to the Interior Committee and they recommend that you get some more money. Then you go to the appropriations committee in each house to get the money appropriated and hope that the budget bureau won't knock it down and that it will go through in an appropriations bill. It was working, slowly, that way, but in the meantime, the speculators were around. They were here. They pointed out to us that we could divide this ranch into three pieces. We could get a lot of money for it.

Lage: They came to you?

Stewart: Yes, they came to us. They came to everybody. If you're a real estate man, and you know what's going on, and you've got a park here, and if there is anyway you can get a piece of land within the park, either you'll get well paid for it, but more than that, you could subdivide it, because there was a demand for housing out in the country. And this is beautiful country.

Lage: Were these local real estate people?

Stewart: Yes. Most local people, that is local Bay Area people. They had been doing a lot of developing. Now, remember Marin County had started out back in the thirties with thirty thousand or something, maybe 35,000 people. Then there was a tremendous influx of people beginning in the late thirties, with the shipbuilding industries and all.

II THE RANCHERS AND THE 1969 EFFORT TO COMPLETE THE SEASHORE

The Save Our Seashore Campaign in 1969##

Stewart: The county people who were in favor of the park got greatly concerned over the fact that the Park Service didn't have the money. They weren't buying the land; things weren't going. They organized, quite thoroughly, through the Marin Conservation League. I wasn't active in this at all. They set up a program, writing to Congress and doing everything they could.

Lage: The Save Our Seashore group, with Peter Behr?

Stewart: With Save Our Seashore. Well, that part of it was a good political ploy. Clem Miller got elected. He died when he was running for his second term, but he got elected on it [the Point Reyes Seashore issue].

Peter Behr [who chaired Save Our Seashore] had been a county supervisor and later became a state senator. And it was a very, very good program, and people rallied to it. People that you wouldn't think have been involved. Friends that ran across friends would tell me that they had Save Our Seashore buttons on and did I want one?

Up to this time, the county supervisors didn't want to see their agriculture destroyed, because it was the major industry in the county. They were perfectly happy to have a park, but they were not going out after the park. Finally, they realized that something had to be done. It wasn't the Save Our Seashores or anything else, just the realization of some reasonable men. Something had to be done about the park, and really, time enough had gone by so that they realized that you ought have that park.

So they had become very much in favor of resolving this thing. Here you've got a cloud on all the titles. Yet, the government can't tell you, "You have to sell." And if they

bought from two or three and the others said, "No. I'll sell to a subdivider." Then you're involved in the planning commission. Should they approve it, or should they not? You had quite a stirring going on among the populace about the park. In general, it was favorable: "Well, we ought to have that park. We should have it."

The Rancher's Changing Attitudes Toward the Park

Stewart: The ranchers were still not particularly in favor of it, but they began to realize something after a while: With all of the money they had spent, and they spent quite a little to oppose the park, the park was still here. And a cloud was on the title to their land. Then, they began to realize: If the park bought their land and paid for it, bought the title to it, that then they could stay on the land as a tenant. You could make a firm contract at the time you sold it and have a reservation of possession for a number of years. Or not, if you didn't wish to. But if you didn't do that, then you would have a five-year renewal permit or lease and you'd have the money. This began to soak in some.

There were some people that got old, and they realized that to pass this land and business on, with inheritance taxes and all, is difficult. And there was a gradual realization, first, that there was going to be a park; second, that there were problems unless they got paid for it, with selling the land and so on. And the two things together were bothering them.

Lage: And the inheritance tax must have had an influence on their thinking.

Stewart: The inheritance tax would, of course. You see, if you don't have the money, and you inherit a ranch, you go borrow, and interest rates were high.

Lage: Did most of them have children that wanted to carry on?

Stewart: Pretty much so. As I said before, people didn't want to move away. They would retire and go to town sometimes. But a lot of them, just their sons or daughters and sons-in-law, or a friend or neighbor took over the ranch.

Lage: So even in the time of the fifties and into the sixties the young people still wanted to stay here?

Stewart: Oh, yes, and this is true today.

Lage: You mentioned to me that your daughter and granddaughter are running your ranch.

Stewart: Yes. My granddaughter is outside, my daughter is over at Bridgeport fishing. This is a pretty desirable country to live in. It has some aspects that really set it aside from other places. It's not hot and not cold. Close to San Francisco and everything. And people did pretty well here.

Well, here you are at an impasse. The park needs a lot of money to buy it. The national director of the Park Service didn't think he could get enough money to buy it. He was thinking of ways that he could get the land and sew it up and let it out for commercial use so that they would still own it.

Lage: Well, this must have made the ranchers mad when they couldn't develop it, but--.

Stewart: They didn't get much involved with that end of it. They were disturbed. They weren't very active during the Save Our Seashore thing. See, they had begun to realize they had a cloud on the title. They were being worn down, really.

Lage: They were getting ready to accept the fact of the park.

Stewart: They were getting ready to think about something. Really getting very ready to think about it, because their efforts to have the park go away had failed. Really, it's there. I mean, it's there. You don't see it, but your land is in a park, in Point Reyes National Seashore.

Getting Accurate Figures on Land Values

Stewart: The county board of supervisors formally said that they were in favor of the park being purchased. Now, I said that they never had enough money. One of the things that the proponents of the park completely failed to do, they never went to the proper sources and found out exactly how much the land they wanted was worth.

I was a personal friend of the county assessor, Bert Broemmell, and had talked with him about it many times. Now, the county assessor has to know what land is worth because every time

he taxes it, he is subject to court interpretation of his findings.

Lage: Didn't they go on his figures?

Stewart: They must have gotten some old tax record figures, but the values they had were certainly not like those he gave me.

The supervisors decided that they would send a supervisor and the county counsel and me back [to testify at the congressional hearing in May 1969 and February 1970]. The Sierra Club took a bunch of very expensive large color photos of the Lake Ranch, and of the coast, the Wildcat, and various areas that were over on the ocean that you can't get to very readily. They gave the photos to me to take back to Washington. Alan Bible suggested I take them over to show Wayne Aspinall. He thought that they were beautiful and told me we ought to have this land. Then the photos were displayed at the House hearing and then at the Senate hearing. They were left in Washington with committee members.

And I had gone to Bert Broemmel. Bert had agreed to do this; he went through the tax list of every piece of land that was in the boundaries of the park. He updated the current value of each piece, with its numbers and a figure that he would contend was its current market value.

Lage: Considering the land speculation?

Stewart: Yes. He knew about land speculation. He knew what its current value was. He put all of those figures together, for ranches within the park boundaries. One of the supervisors, [Louis H.] Bud Baar, on the county board and I went back to Washington with those figures. He gave them to me personally.

Lage: Were these figures, do you think, that the ranchers in question would have agreed with?

Stewart: Oh, yes. When they bought the land, those figures came out almost to a dime. They were real figures. They were outside appraisers' figures. They were not some government official's idea of the value of your home. They were actual commercial appraisers' figures, and they were very accurate.

So we went back to Washington. We appeared before the House committee and the Senate committee, and they appropriated the \$37 million that the Park Service said that they did not need. The Park Service was asking for \$18 or \$20 million. The House committee said, "No, you need \$37 million."

Getting Ranchers' Acceptance of Right of Condemnation

Stewart: But before we went back, I talked to Bryan McCarthy, to some of the ranchers, and the sticker in this money was, "Would they have the right to condemn?" The government had no intention of appropriating this money and then have somebody sit in the middle of it with a big piece of highly desirable, subdividable land.

Lage: So the government insisted on the right to condemn?

Stewart: No. They hadn't insisted on it. They just weren't going to appropriate money, because the legislation didn't provide for condemnation, and they didn't know there wouldn't be opposition to it. So, we had a meeting here in this room at the ranch shortly before I went back to Washington.

Lage: Now, who had the meeting?

Stewart: I did, with Bryan McCarthy and all of the ranchers. They came in and sat down.

Lage: Were these all the owners in question?

Stewart: All the ones out on the Point in question; I think seventeen or eighteen actually came. And they agreed, with Bryan, that if the park would put up the money so that they could actually buy the ranch at a fair price, that they were willing to let the law be changed so that it would give the government the right to condemn. That was a stumbling block.

Lage: Was that something Alan Bible had suggested to you would be necessary?

Stewart: No. Well, I knew because Bible had said, Taylor had said, "We put up that money and all we will do is make multimillionaires out of a few speculators."

Lage: Because the ranchers who didn't want to sell could hang on to it, and then sell later.

Stewart: They were going to hang on, that's right. And, eventually, either greatly raise their price if they did sell to the government. Triple it. Quadruple it. A highly desirable piece of land in the middle of a big park.

Lage: The longer it's held, the more it's worth.

Stewart: That's right.

So, the fellows agreed to that. It was not in writing, and the figures that I took back were not official figures. You've got to understand this. And I hope when you write this thing, you've got to be careful about that. There was nothing official about this. It just happened to be the circumstances were right. I had the figures. The actual value that they needed.

Lage: Did you share those figures with the ranchers in this room at that meeting?

Stewart: No, I didn't. I only said that I would go back, and if they would say that they were willing to change the law to give the park the right to condemn, that the park would probably put up the money to buy their land at a fair price.

Lage: Still with the right to lease.

Stewart: That's right.

And I did not give anybody those figures of Bert Broemmel's. I'm not quite sure what right I had to them. It never came up. The county could have asked him to do this, but the county hadn't asked him. We had talked about it and he did it. The supervisors knew that I had the figures.

Testimony at Congressional Hearings

Stewart: When I took those figures---. When I got back there, I had the photos. They were too big to carry on the plane, so the captain carried them back in the cabin for me. I took those photos to Taylor and Aspinall, to Aspinall first, and then to Taylor. And I told Wayne Aspinall what the figures were, and he said to give them to Taylor. And I gave them to Taylor. He took them down. Taylor said, "Afterwards, when we get through with the hearing here, you've got to take them over to Alan Bible." I had planned on that.

Lage: Did they respond to the photos in a way that you might remember?

Stewart: Oh, yes. They responded. You would too. They were the most beautiful things, showing that gorgeous coastline.

At the day of the hearing they---. It's odd how government runs. I did not have a prepared statement. You're supposed to

have one to appear before a hearing; the supervisor did, Bud Baar, and Doug [Douglas J.] Maloney [the county counsel]. There were some Sierra Club people there, and they had prepared statements.

Lage: Do you remember who they were?

Stewart: No, I don't. I think Ed Wayburn was one if I remember right. I forget who else.

We had a congressman who was very much in favor of it.

Lage: Don Clausen?

Stewart: Yes. And I had known him from the time he was a boy.

Don Clausen was on the parks subcommittee, and he had handed in a statement that said, "Boyd Stewart will have some information." And that's how we handled it. So, I told them. The director of the Park Service was there, and so on. They had all talked. Taylor set this up this way. He said, "You have some things that you want to tell us about?" "Yes."

And I got up and said that I had met with ranchers, just the night before we came, day before yesterday, in our house with their attorney, Bryan McCarthy, who had testified before them in the past. Some of them remembered his name. He wasn't there. And that the ranchers were agreeable to change the law so that you had the right to condemn.

The director of the Park Service had testified that they didn't need a lot of money, and said that he wanted enough to finish. Nobody had come up with a figure. I said that the ranchers thought that condemnation would be proper. And that I had the figures, that I had given Mr. Taylor, that were the actual, current, market value, price of all of the land. And Don Clausen said, "It comes out to \$37 million."

They talked about it. While I was still talking, they were talking. One of them said, "Well, let's do it and get rid of it. Get it over with, because if the ranchers are willing to do it, fine."

The director of the Park Service, of course, could only approve. He had never had the authority before to have any condemnation, and it went through.

Then we went over to Alan Bible. I had seen him before, and I talked with him. They had a meeting of the committee, and I

told them the same thing. But he knew about it before; we had talked about it. That was how it happened. There must be a corrected copy of the minutes of that meeting. It was all recorded.¹

Showing Alan Bible the Seashore

Lage: Had Alan Bible been out here to take a good look at the seashore?

Stewart: Yes. He had been out here. He personally--

Lage: Did you take him around?

Stewart: Yes. He personally had seen every piece of land that they bought. We drove him around. Either I, or my wife, or my daughter drove him around.

Lage: I hope you got him on a nice sunny day.

Stewart: Listen, we went out to the lighthouse with Loucille, his wife, about this time of the year, but the weather had been miserable. We went out there on a day when there wasn't a breath of air moving. You could see for miles. You could see all the way to China. And Alan Bible said, "Boy, you said the weather was vile out here." He said, "This is gorgeous." He said, "Have you been misrepresenting to--." No matter what you did, you couldn't get a day like it.

¹Mr. Stewart testified on May 13, 1969, to the House Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation and on February 26, 1970, to the corresponding Senate subcommittee. See appendices, p. 272 and p. 281 for the texts of his testimony.

III THE PARK SERVICE, THE RANCHERS, AND CARE OF THE LAND

Park Superintendent John Sansing's Rapport with Ranchers

Stewart: Now, there was another factor in all of this. I think, maybe, you got to be careful what you do with this. We had gone through five superintendents in this park, in a hurry. One, two, three, four, five.

Lage: Right there. From '62 through '69?

Stewart: Yes. Then we had Sansing.

Lage: Had he come in by '69?

Stewart: No. But we had Ed Kurtz and then Sansing [who came in June 1970]. And Ed Kurtz and Sansing really were very, very active in all of this. Sansing was most active, very active, and has done a whale of a good job of promoting the park.

Lage: Among the ranchers?

Stewart: Yes, among the ranchers and every place else. If I ask you what you think of the Internal Revenue Service and if you had ever had any problems with them or dealt with them much, you would think that, you know, government agencies have a reputation of being inefficient, bureaucratic outfits that you hardly can deal with. Now, the Park Service is one of them, only they provide you a park to walk around in; so you like them. They have nature walks and so on. But here you've got ranchers, a big business, still going.

We are fortunate that we've got a superintendent who, first, wasn't a bureaucrat. He did not train to be a Park Service man. He did not study forestry. He studied accounting. He is a boy that grew up in Arizona. His father had a business there. He mowed lawns around the town and did various things and went to college there. And after he got out of college (he took

accounting), he ran a oil delivery truck, delivering oil to the copper mines in the mountains of Arizona. Then, went off to war. Came back from the war, and the copper mines had all shut down because the price of copper dropped; he didn't have a business.

And about that time the Park Service was expanding, after the war. They were looking for accountants. So, he got a job as an accountant going in directly, a thing that's very difficult to do in a government service. You've got to apply, and so on. Worked back in--I don't know whether it was Denver, or somewhere. Then, eventually came out here, because he was a very capable, competent man and was able to handle people and business. Of course, he grew up around parks. In Arizona, half of it belongs to the Park Service. He became the assistant regional director in San Francisco.

Point Reyes came up and he got the job of being superintendent out in Point Reyes. Because of his background, he came from a different part of the world, he did not go to college with the idea that he was going to be a forester and manage the public lands or be in the Park Service and police the public the public lands. He was a man who grew up thinking he's going to run a business and have to pay the bills. He had no trouble dealing with people.

Lage: So he understands the point of view of the ranchers?

Stewart: Yes. He gets along with them fine. Understands county people. Understands the political people. If he has a problem he phones [Congresswoman] Barbara Boxer, or phones [Senator] Pete Wilson, or phones [Senator] Alan Cranston, and they'll talk to him. They know him. They know him as John. You see, you've got a situation that--. A lot of things broke right in this county.

Lage: I see. It all came together.

Stewart: Circumstances fell together. So when you had all of this hullabaloo about saving our park and so on, you had a superintendent that could fit in with the people, in spite of the fact that the ranchers didn't know whether they liked it or not. But they knew him and could deal with him. It made a lot of difference.

Lage: How did he do, or has he done, with the conservationists? Has he done as well with them?

Stewart: Oh, they love him. As a matter of fact, there is more to it than that. We've got the park. The legislation went through. They got the money. Then they got Golden Gate [National Recreation

Area], and he was involved in that. While he doesn't run Golden Gate, he does run the rural area, Marin County property from Bolinas Bay north. This house sits in Golden Gate.

Lage: In the Golden Gate National Recreation Area?

Stewart: Yes. Point Reyes is across the creek.

I wonder how often in history things happen because things fell together. You got the two parks--

Lage: It's not one thing you can point to, but a number of things falling together.

Stewart: Everything, everything fell together. That's right.

Now, you probably should say that a couple of women that lived down in Ross, right near the town hall of Ross, thought that they shouldn't have disfigured the county with a lot of signs. That there ought to be some picnic areas someplace. You can probably say it all goes back to that.

Lage: If you want to put your finger on why Marin is the way it is and why Santa Clara has gone a different way, would you point to these women?

Stewart: That's right. That's where you go. You put your thumb right on it. They didn't want anything out of it, you understand. They wanted to preserve something that was here, and that's a whale of a difference. There was no promotion. No real estate. No gain. No profit. Just to keep the place the way it is where they live.

Marin Ranchers' Attitudes toward the Land

Lage: How do the ranchers feel, sort of aesthetically? You seem to have a real feel for the beauty of the place. Do the other ranchers also, do you think?

Stewart: Some. I have a friend who frequently says that people in agriculture do the worst thing that they can do to their children. They send them off to an agriculture school, where they continue to mix with their own kind, their close peers, and don't mix with the rest of the world.

There is something very important to the United States, or to any country, and that is the care of their land. We haven't

cared very well for our land. We really haven't. We pushed a great portion of it right down into the Gulf of Mexico. And we've put an awful lot of it out in the Pacific.

I remember going up Mount Tamalpais one time with a farm advisor named Boissevain, who was here before they had built all the dams up in the country; this was back in the early thirties. You know in spring of the year when the snow melts, the Sacramento River rises. The Yuba Bypass floods over and all of that. We went up the mountain. We could see the fan of brown soil out in the ocean as far as the Farallons.

Lage: From washing down the Sacramento Valley?

Stewart: That's right. And we've been doing that. Just before you drive into the town of Tomales, you go around a turn and then you go up a little hill. There's one road that goes off to Petaluma. On the other side, there is kind of a rocky place. My father loaded ships there with potatoes and grain that were going down to the Hawaiian Islands in the 1880s. That's where the boats came up. All the way up there, where those cows are grazing out there now.

Tomales was a famous potato growing area. It raised wheat and potatoes and dairy. You plowed those hills; I can take you up there and show you fences where the fence line is up here and the ground is down here.

Lage: So much soil has been lost.

Stewart: Yes, that's right.

My father, I guess, I don't know why---. He didn't have anything. He starved in Ireland where he grew up. Half orphan, his family didn't eat until he got to this country and sent some money home. He was always hipped on protecting your pastures and not overgrazing.

Lage: Was that unusual among his fellows?

Stewart: Yes, that's unusual.

Park Service Success in Caring for the Land

Stewart: If you're interested in the park, because this is part of the park story now---. I'm jumping around. You don't mind?

Lage: I don't mind a bit.

Stewart: The best-cared-for land in Marin County, maybe in Marin and Sonoma counties, is now in the park.

Lage: Cared for by the park, you mean?

Stewart: No. The best-cared-for land is land within the park where people like us are on it.

Lage: Now, why is that?

Stewart: The Soil Conservation Service has been the advisor. They have used the Soil Conservation Service as their advisor in their care of the land. The Park Service owns this land, owns this ranch. This is your land across the road, not mine. It's ours. The park is properly carrying out its duty, not exercising authority, carrying out its duty (let's get it right) in seeing to it that the land is not overgrazed. Historically, when the Spanish first came here, when this land grant was made, all of the land in this country really was perennial grass, not annual. They've eaten the perennials out.

Lage: The native grasses.

Stewart: The native grasses.

The Park Service land is the best-cared-for land, the land within the park, is the best cared for because of the efforts of the park to control the grazing on it.

Lage: I see. Now, is that accepted by others as readily as it is yourself?

Stewart: Yes, it's accepted by them. There's an interesting thing. Why do you drive reasonably on the highway? You accept the rules?

Lage: Yes.

Stewart: Because you got a cop out there. The Park Service is the cop, not in a bad sense. Really, you'd hate to get on the highway if you didn't have patrol officers on it. Well, they look at the land every year. They will tell you, "You need to reduce the number of cattle on it" if it is too high. The thing that is happening nationally about pushing cattle off of land, isn't going to happen here. Not for those reasons. Maybe, someday they will need it for people to hike on and then it will happen. It isn't because of what's happening to the land.

Lage: So they are preserving the land.

Stewart: The land is in better shape now than when the park got it. Visually. You don't even have to get out and clip the grass and measure how much is left on the ground. You do that to begin with, but now you can know by looking at it.

The ranchers. It's a funny thing that people that will come here from Switzerland, Italy, Portugal (you know, the Azore Islands, not many from the mainland), from Germany and France and England, and Scotland and Ireland, that's where they all come from.

##

Stewart: Those people had been on the land for generations and generations on the same land and had preserved its fertility. They grow grapes where they terrace hillsides so steep you can hardly walk up them. There are lots of records in Europe of families farming the same land for four hundred years; the same family had been there for five hundred years, and the ground is productive and has been cared for. Those people came here where land was free. It was easy to get. Really, it's a pretty nice place to come to. My father thought it was heaven when he got here. At least you could eat. Why don't they treat their land the same way?

Lage: Is it because it was cheap, do you think?

Stewart: I don't know. Because you can get whole tracts of land? I don't know. I really don't know.

Lage: But there's not that same land ethic or sense of caring?

Stewart: I don't know why. Really, you think about it a little bit. You say, "Where did the man come from? What did they do there?" Well, they preserved every foot of soil, because they had to. They grew on everything. They carefully put all their animal fertilizer back on the land. They didn't have money to buy chemicals and so on. They kept the land productive. And then, a lot of them, not all of them by any manner or means, but an awful lot of them have overgrazed. There are some reasons for it. If you milk cows, if you run cattle, you like to run more. I guess, if you grew up where no way you could have more than three cows, and then if you get here and could get three hundred, maybe you could get five hundred.

Lage: Yes. That's probably it.

Stewart: I suppose.

Stewart's Stanford Education and Other Influences

Lage: What did you study in college? You mentioned so many others went on to agriculture studies.

Stewart: I went to a nice liberal arts college. That's where I sent my daughter and my granddaughter too.

Lage: You sent them all to Stanford also?

Stewart: No. Both of them went to Dominican right here in Marin County.

Lage: Oh, where your wife had gone. And what was your major?

Stewart: My major was chemistry and botany, a dual major. But, of course, it was a liberal arts college. You took English, and math, and logic, and philosophy, and history, and then more math, and chemistry and physics.

Lage: And botany.

Stewart: And botany. Oh yes, botany, a lot.

Lage: Did you know at the time that you were going to come back and continue on the ranch?

Stewart: Yes.

Lage: That was what you wanted?

Stewart: Everyone is a product of their local environment. I grew up knowing that I was going to college. Nobody was quite sure how, but I was going--

Lage: Why do you think that was in your mind?

Stewart: Well, I don't know. Why did my mother--? My grandmother and grandfather on one side came from Denmark. My father came from Ireland. My mother went to state normal school. Two uncles went to Stanford.

Lage: So you had college-educated people in the family?

Stewart: Yes, and they didn't have any money. My old aunt was an

English/Latin teacher, died two years ago, went to the University of California.

A lot of the Europeans that came here were hepped on the subject. My father--it was unthinkable to him that I wouldn't go to school and "be somebody, Stewart, learn something." I guess they grew up in very class-conscious countries, where the only way--. If you got an education, you moved up in the world. I guess there was some of that.

Lage: So that was always in your plan, but still to come back to the ranch?

Stewart: Oh, yes. I had played around, personally. I liked math and physics. I wasn't particularly good. I wasn't the bright student at all. I had to work hard. I worked while I was in college. In those days you could get jobs milking cows as a hand milker. In Palo Alto, you know, there were dairies all around Palo Alto.

As a relief milker you could make more money that way than any other way because there weren't many hand milkers. I had played around with the idea, you know, growing up, the various things, all the way from being a doctor to being a chemist. You didn't think about being a botanist, because that means you'd be a teacher. Hadn't thought of that, but chemists had jobs, and engineers. But I wasn't interested in engineering as such. I liked math all right. I had to work awfully hard; I wasn't good. And I liked chemistry, but if you worked hard at that you could do well. Botany, of course, you've just got to do a lot of studying.

It's a mistake to stay with one group, in particular in agriculture, because agriculture is getting shunted off. For a long time we were the most numerous people. Then, we became smaller and smaller. Now, we're a micro-, you know a speck.

Lage: So you have to know how the rest of the world thinks?

Stewart: Well, you better.

Lage: Your wife seems to have also enlarged your--.

Stewart: My wife was a city girl, a musician.

Lage: Did she used work on you to mold your points of view at all?

Stewart: I liked the outdoors. And, of course there is one thing now, if you take many biological sciences and botany in a liberal arts

college, of course you're talking about the outdoors and about the world you live in.

Lage: It's a different way of looking at it.

Stewart: That's right. And there's another thing: the things that we studied, if you take any courses in philosophy, you begin by reading these darned old Greeks who seem to have a great ability to think and reason. I think there's something about that, that makes you like the land and nature. I think there really is, seriously.

Lage: Maybe look at it differently.

Stewart: You look at it differently. Yes. It's a pretty nice world to live in. The wind blows softly, and it's beautiful. I liked it. I would not have thrived in an office job, I think.

Lage: No. I couldn't see you there.

The Ranchers, the Land Developers, and the Economics of Ranching and Dairying

Lage: Let me see if there are some things that you didn't cover that I had in mind and pick some of these up before I wear you out. When the seashore was first being formed and the ranchers were not persuaded that it was what they wanted, were they looking for potential development?

Stewart: No.

Lage: Did they see that they could make money on their land?

Stewart: No. No. No.

Lage: It was that they wanted to stay in farming?

Stewart: "It's my ranch, and by God, it's mine, and I'll do as I damn well please with it."

Lage: There wasn't a sense that the land was going up in price?

Stewart: No, it wasn't--. No. Now, when you talked with them and said, "We're going to buy it," the man might say, "Maybe I want to sell someday." No. No, but they weren't thinking--.

That came later when people started talking to them. When real estate developers were talking to them and the land had been designated as parkland, then, of course, they were thinking about, "Well, if I subdivide this someday--." They were being told that. They had been educated.

Lage: I see, but that came later.

Between '62, when the park was first authorized, and '69 when they were trying to get the money for it, did the economics of the ranching and dairy business change at all? It was still a business where you could get by?

Stewart: It was the same low-key business where you made a good living if you worked. Remember this now, these ranches were not typical San Joaquin or Sacramento Valley farms where a man had an office, had a staff of people, and so on. Ranching in Marin County, the only place I really know anything about it, was always a business where the rancher and his family and men that he hired worked together. I didn't know any rancher who didn't work, physically. I didn't know any.

Lage: So they all worked and may have hired a few people to help?

Stewart: Oh, you hired help. In the days of hand milking, for every twenty-five to thirty cows you hired a milker. And the other part of it is, that in those days (now, with Mexican labor, this has changed) but in those days, you ate with them. Now, with the advent of Mexican labor in the last twenty years, they've been coming in, that has changed, but you're with them.

Lage: What type of laborers were there before you had the Mexicans?

Stewart: Oh, all-American. Just typical American labor: the boys, the neighbors of ranchers, men who you wouldn't know them from anybody else.

Lage: Local people?

Stewart: Local people. A lot of immigrants. Remember, they came in waves, the Irish and then the Portuguese were the last wave. Up into the twenties, the Portuguese were coming in from the Azores in large numbers. There were communities where they were mostly Danish. In this county, they were Irish, and then Swiss, and then Portuguese. We didn't have Mexican labor. And we never had migrant labor.

Lage: Do you now, though?

Stewart: Now, they don't have them. Now, they're all Mexican.

Lage: Do they live around here?

Stewart: They live around here and live on the ranches. Yes. They live in trailers and live in shacks. Sometimes it gets to be a problem. Some ranchers built nice houses for their help. When I was young, the milkers were young men. Not many men over forty years, thirty-five was old for milkers. And they were young men who would milk cows and get some money, and then go off and try to get a ranch of their own, dairy of their own someplace, or a beef ranch. That has changed.

The first change was you had all single hired help. Then, you began to hire married hired help. We have five houses on the ranch suitable for anybody. Good houses, as a matter of fact. (Currently, there are outsiders living in two of them because we have cut down the number of cows.) You provided that.

Then it became difficult to get that help, competitively, because Mexicans were coming in. That's when we quit dairying. My daughter did not want to hire illegal Mexicans. So, we quit dairying quite a number of years ago. But we went from single men that ate with us and lived in the bunk house where they had single rooms a piece, which was common on ranches, to married men in their houses. All our help lived on the ranch.

Lage: In the houses you provided?

Stewart: In houses that were built for them. That was a pattern that went on. A lot of the Mexicans are living in those houses now.

Lage: When did you stop the dairying?

Stewart: Stop dairying? Eighteen years ago, maybe twenty.

Lage: And the Morgan horses, has that always been an interest?

Stewart: We've always had Morgan horses. Morgan horses were the light work horses on the ranch. At one time, if you went to Point Reyes you got on a horse or in a cart and went to Point Reyes. You didn't jump in a car.

Lage: But you were actually raising the horses.

Stewart: Ranchers always raised horses. My daughter, Joanne, nothing would do but that she raise quite a few horses. And we did for a long time. We still have five or six brood mares, but we only

breed one or two a year. We have one mare out here. Your daughter saw her. That's a very valuable Morgan mare.

Bill Sweet, Logging, and the Lake Ranch

- Lage: I'm interested in the Lake Ranch. I've heard so much about all the controversy that went on with the Lake Ranch and Bill Sweet. Was that part of your property at one time?
- Stewart: Some people by the name of Sweet bought the Lake Ranch and came down here for logging. After the war, there was a tremendous demand for timber. There was a firm came down, bought timber rights on a lot of the land down here, and had a saw mill up at the Five Brooks where the stable is. A big saw mill, they ran two shifts a day.
- Lage: But they didn't own the land; they just bought the timber?
- Stewart: No, they didn't own the land, but they did buy the Lake Ranch because there was a lot of timber on it.
- Lage: And who owned that before?
- Stewart: He bought that from Will Tevis. Will Tevis bought it from the [O. L.] Shafter estate. It was owned by one of the original landowners here that owned a big bunch of ranches.
- Lage: So when did Bill Sweet buy it, do you remember?
- Stewart: Bill Sweet bought it--. Gosh, I can't remember. He bought it before they got the money to buy the park, quite a while before. They--.
- Lage: Did he buy it before the seashore was authorized in 1962?
- Stewart: No, no, no. It was here. The seashore was--. Now, wait a minute. I'm not sure. I shouldn't say that, but I think he did.
- Lage: Well, that can be checked out someday.
- Stewart: In order to stop the logging--at the time they had the Save Our Seashore program, that's when it was. A couple years before that he had bought it, several years.

In order to stop the logging, they went into court and issued a taking order. One day, they came out and served papers,

and they had taken over all that land, including some of ours here. They just blocked out all of this land so that there would be no danger of it being logged. It was not an agreed upon price, but it had to be agreed upon in court, because they had gone to court to get an order giving them immediate possession. That's how they take care of property when there's a war on.

Lage: Like a condemnation?

Stewart: But not a condemnation. A national emergency, or in the case of an emergency, to prevent harm to the economy or to the national interest, you go to court and the government tells the court this, and the court issues an order granting them immediate possession without the price being set or negotiated. Now, the price is set afterwards, but they take possession immediately, that day. That was the way you stop logging.

Lage: There was a lot of to-do about the Lake Ranch. And Sweet was trying to trade it for property in Oregon. Did you get involved in any of that?

Stewart: That is separate from the fact that they had stopped the logging. They shut the machine down in other words. You turned the switch off. Then, you got to negotiate how you going to get paid for it.

Lage: And that took a long time?

Stewart: Oh, yes. That took a long time.

Lage: Now, they took part of your land in that way?

Stewart: Yes. They took one piece of our land up here that was up to our springs.

Lage: Had that been logged at one time or another?

Stewart: No. That wasn't logged. No.

Lage: Did you get to know Bill Sweet?

Stewart: Oh, I bought calves from Bill Sweet in 1940. I've known Bill Sweet for forty years.

Lage: So was he a local?

Stewart: No, Bill Sweet and his father, A. W. Sweet, ran a little bank in the town of Bandon, Oregon. Bill ran a dairy up there. Raised the finest purebred Jerseys that you could ever lay your eyes on.

The nicest cattle in the world. He eventually took over the bank. It's the Western Bank in Oregon. It has maybe twenty branches or twenty-five branches in Oregon. And because at one time we bought Jersey calves up in Oregon--we'd stay at Bill's place when we'd go up to get them--we did business with them. We still have an account in that bank.

Lage: Then, was it through you that he got to know this land?

Stewart: Yes. Yes, that's how he got to know us down here. He would come down to visit us.

Lage: So that's how he got to Point Reyes?

Stewart: Well, there were several people in Oregon that found out that there was timber right close to San Francisco. It wasn't of a high quality. Not the quality they wanted.

Lage: Was that something that you had feelings about, logging on the ridge there?

Stewart: I can't describe to you Joseffa's feelings at the idea that somebody cut those trees. There are no words that I could use to describe it. [laughter]

Lage: She was pretty upset?

Stewart: Yes.

Lage: Were they clearcutting, or were they selective logging?

Stewart: No. There were some spots that they clearcut. No, they were doing a good job of logging. They were doing high-lead logging. They were doing a good job. It wasn't a bad job of logging at all. No, it was not reprehensible logging.

The first time I ever went up the Redwood Highway, it was in 1926, I guess. When you get up into Del Norte County, the road ran through huge stands of old trees. And it is kind of heartbreaking to watch them go out and try to get everyone cut down before they can be stopped. It bothered me. It always has bothered me to see them go into an old grove of redwoods that's been there two thousand years. A full grown redwood tree, so big, has to be about a thousand years old.

You think a little bit about it. The company that bought Pacific Lumber Company up there has set out to cut down every old tree there is that they can get to. Because they raise a lot of money that way.

Lage: Since that takeover of Pacific Lumber.

Stewart: They want to pay for a company. They bought it from the Murphy family. And they borrowed all the money to do it, and they want to pay it off [by cutting old-growth redwoods]. This is like a lot of other things.

I'm not sure that I approve of the way businesses are run where they come in and buy a company and then sell off all of the assets or destroy them in order to pay for it.

Lage: That doesn't seem right.

Stewart: No. Anyway, it's got nothing to do with this.

Ranchers and the Park Service

Lage: Would you have any more specific things to say about individual ranchers and their reaction to the park or their particular plight?

Stewart: No.

Lage: It sounded as if some of them were really in a hard place because of the tax situation.

Stewart: Well, yes. There were some people that had money that really didn't want to see their land bought. There were a couple of them, but not a lot. There are really only one or two. But the ranchers didn't want it bought. Now, remember this. At first, they didn't want it bought because it was their land and they wanted you to stay away and leave it alone and not bother them. That's the basic thing. That's why the land was here in big chunks. That's why you were able to buy a park. Otherwise, you would have never have had it.

Lage: Because of their feeling of--.

Stewart: That feeling: they were happy where they were. When you started talking about a park and all this hullabaloo started, then, of course, the people came in and pointed out to them how valuable their land was and what they could get for it if it was subdivided, as they did here. You divide it into three pieces. You got water for all of it, because you got water rights on this other side. They give you a long song and dance, and it sounds

very--. So, then they became interested in what they could make out of it.

Lage: So they began to look at the land differently.

Stewart: That's right. But in back of all of it, of course, was the fact that, while speculators were talking to them, they hadn't bought it yet. They wanted to buy it, but it was difficult to buy it with that cloud on the title. And then they began to realize that the few who sold to the park got paid for their land and they still had the use of the land. And it stays in the family. Your heirs don't have to go out and compete for it.

Lage: Does it pass to the heirs under the Park Service arrangement?

Stewart: My daughter was an owner. My granddaughter is not. She will have the right to negotiate a lease that you can not bid against on this ranch. The negotiated leases, and there are a number of them, are on a very, very fair basis. It's on a per head basis. They're negotiated on the basis where you're able to maintain the ranch, take care of the place, look out for it, and they demand that you keep it insured, and cared for, and protect the land. And the rents are nominal. They're reasonable. They have to set them reasonably, because you maintain it. If we hadn't had a drought this year, the park would have said, "Now look, Boyd, (or to Joanne they would have said, she runs it) paint that house." They would have said it just like that.

Lage: But because of the drought they consider the--?

Stewart: Ranching has been very unprofitable here for the last three years. First year wasn't bad. The last two are very bad.

Lage: I see. So, they take that into account?

Stewart: Yes.

Lage: Okay. Did any ranchers stand out to be mentioned individually as having a particular point of view? You tend to treat them as a group.

Stewart: They are as a group. No. Individually, no.

Lage: Pretty much the same point of view?

Stewart: They stuck pretty much together. They think pretty much alike. That's probably their trouble. Well, you know what I'm saying.

Lage: Is Bryan McCarthy still around?

Stewart: Oh, yes. Good friend of mine. Sits on the Marin Property Owners board with me. Lives in San Rafael.

IV QUIET SUPPORT FOR THE SEASHORE

Alan Bible, Don Clausen

- Lage: Anything else you recall about your testimony or conversations you had with Wayne Aspinall, or Roy Taylor, or Bible?
- Stewart: No. We were talking about the same thing.
- Lage: Were they fairly receptive when you gave your testimony?
- Stewart: Oh, yes. Listen. You wouldn't have had these parks if those men hadn't been receptive. You wouldn't have had any of them. These are the men who wanted parks.
- Lage: You've never really told me how you met Alan Bible. You've mentioned that your wife and you showed him around the seashore lands.
- Stewart: I had met him years before, in 1940, 1945. He was present with Senator Sheridan Downey at a meeting, but I didn't know him. Then he came out here [in 1961]. He held a hearing down here.
- Lage: Oh, I see. So, you just got to know him when he came out for the hearing?
- Stewart: Yes, I met him there.
- Lage: And then invited him out to see the land?
- Stewart: That's right. Yes. After we met in Washington, we talked about it. Later, we talked about land that ought to go in the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and so on. And I told him what land I thought, this side of the valley. Because we were interested in the same thing, it was natural that we got to know one another. He's been visiting us for years. Dead now.
- Lage: When did he die? How long ago?

Stewart: About a year and a half ago.

Lage: And Don Clausen, was he sensitive to--?

Stewart: Don Clausen was running for Congress against Clem Miller. And Clem Miller's plane went down flying up and down the coast. From Del Norte to Marin County was the district, number one. Don Clausen was campaigning and Clem Miller went down. I know Don had been a flyer in World War II. I don't know whether he was the one who found him or not. They knew one another. They were friends. I mean, they were political enemies; Clausen was a Republican and Clem Miller was a Democrat.

Lage: Did Don Clausen tend to take the ranchers' side?

Stewart: Oh, no.

Lage: Or did he push for the park?

Stewart: Yes. Don Clausen was a very, very great help, because he is a rancher. He was a rancher. Grew up on a ranch right at Fernbridge, across the river there. Was an insurance man. Did well. Could talk to ranchers. Could sit and talk to them, and felt at home with them when he talked to them.

Lage: So he could understand their points of view.

Stewart: Oh, yes. He understood their point of view. No trouble with Don. Don did a whale of a good job.

Working Quietly, through Personal Contacts

Lage: Okay. Now, let's see if I have any other things to follow up on. You were not involved much in that Save Our Seashore campaign, you said, the campaign and Peter Behr's work.

Stewart: No, I had some personal contacts and was using those.

##

Stewart: If you have interests in a community, you do better being very quiet about it. Running around boasting about who you know, or--

Lage: You're thinking of your relationship with your fellow ranchers?

Stewart: Fellow ranchers and with people in general. I would much rather be able to talk to a congressman, or a congresswoman, or a senator quietly, and go away, and have that be the end of it. I mean, if you're interested in what you want done, that's it. If you'd like some publicity, well then, that's something else.

Lage: So, if you'd been involved with Marin Conservation League and come back to report to them--.

Stewart: Yes. And I don't do that, you see. Now, I'm a member of the Conservation League again. But, I'm not active in it because I have some personal relationships with our congressman, congresswoman, and with two senators and some other people. And people will say, "Well, you know so-and-so, will you go talk to them?"

Lage: That's not what you want to do.

Stewart: Look, I'd a lot rather be able to sit down and talk to a legislative representative about a problem and have them realize that I'm not talking for myself, that it is some information that I have that they can use. You don't want--. You want someone to know that you are able to talk to them.

Lage: Privately. So you like to work more behind the scenes, it seems.

Stewart: It isn't quite that. If you want to be effective--. You have a personal relationship with someone, and you know they trust you and you trust them, and you can give them some information. If they want to really use that information, they don't want to run around and say, "Well, Boyd came and told me that." Why do I want someone to say, "Oh, but Boyd can go talk to him"? That's no one's business.

Lage: Were you in touch with Katy Johnson during the period of this effort to save the seashore?

Stewart: Not so much in 1969, but I was in touch with her and with Bill Duddleson, over the GGNRA advisory committee, later.

Transcriber: Sandy Tantalo

Final Typists: Elizabeth Kim/Kian Sandjideh

TAPE GUIDE--Boyd Stewart

Date of Interview: July 12, 1990

tape 1, side A	231
tape 1, side B	243
tape 2, side A	256
tape 2, side B	269

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE, CALIF.

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL PARKS AND RECREATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H.R. 3786 and Related Bills

**TO AUTHORIZE THE APPROPRIATION OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS
NECESSARY FOR ACQUISITION OF LAND AT THE POINT REYES
NATIONAL SEASHORE IN CALIFORNIA**

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, MAY 13, 1969

Serial No. 91-5

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1969

It is not so much the amount that you were able to provide as it was the idea that you and your friends were willing to make a tangible effort for an ideal which you espoused.

We thank you for this contribution.

Sincerely,

WAYNE N. ASPINALL, *Chairman.*

ROY A. TAYLOR,
Chairman, Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation.

HAROLD T. JOHNSON.

HUGH L. CAREY.

MORRIS K. UDALL.

ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER.

JAMES G. O'HARA.

WILLIAM F. RYAN.

PATSY T. MINK.

ABRAHAM KAZEN, JR.

BILL D. BURLISON.

JOHN P. SAYLOR,

Ranking Member.

JOS SKUBITZ.

Minority Counterpart, Chairman, Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation.

JOHN KYL.

HOWARD W. POLLOCK.

JAMES A. McCLURE.

DON H. CLAUSEN.

PHILIP E. RUPPE.

JOHN N. HAPPY CAMP.

MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

JORGE L. OSOROVA.

Mr. ASPINALL. Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. TAYLOR. I wonder if these speculators who bought this property knowing it was going to be made into a public park and cut it into subdivisions for the purpose of holding up the taxpayers share her sentiment.

Mr. McCLURE. Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. TAYLOR. Our next witness will be Mr. Louis Baar. He is county supervisor.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I am wondering if—

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from California.

Mr. CLAUSEN (continuing). If I might ask Mr. Baar, Mr. Boyd Stewart and Mr. Maloney, who is the county counsel to the Marin County Board of Supervisors, to come forward to testify together. This is done, frankly, in the interests of time. Should there be any questions on this it is conceivable you might want to direct questions to any one of the three because I have gone over their basic testimony and I believe that they tend to tie together and that would facilitate the committee's deliberations if they were together at the witness table. Mr. TAYLOR. In the absence of objection, they will proceed to be called.

Mr. Stewart and Mr. Maloney will come forward also.

Mr. BAAR. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared remarks which I would like to have inserted in the record after which I would briefly summarize.

Mr. TAYLOR. In the absence of objection, your complete statement will appear in the record as if read. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF LOUIS H. "BUD" BAAR, SUPERVISOR, FOURTH DISTRICT, MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Mr. BAAR. Chairman Taylor, Chairman Aspinall and distinguished members of the committee, my name is Louis H. Baar.

I am the county supervisor for the Fourth District of Marin which contains the Point Reyes National Seashore. I am a lifelong resident of Marin, and along with my fellow citizens and the other board members, I have been keenly interested in, and have supported the development and completion of the seashore.

Initially, on behalf of the citizens of the county of Marin, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to Chairman Aspinall and Chairman Taylor for their consideration, and the effort they have expended in scheduling an early hearing on these important measures, and providing us with an opportunity to convey our views to your committee.

In order to present Marin's views, I have requested Mr. Stewart and Mr. Maloney to appear with me. Mr. Stewart is also a native of Marin, a rancher all his life, and an owner of property within the national seashore. Mr. Maloney is our county's attorney, and has been involved with local matters pertaining to the seashore for some 9 years now.

You gentlemen, as expressed this morning, no doubt better than I, can certainly appreciate the enormous effort, the extensive discussions, and the perplexing difficulties which have characterized this project. Yet despite this history, I can, without reservation, assure you that the county of Marin, its citizens, and the board of supervisors do wholeheartedly and completely support and urge the swift completion of the Point Reyes National Seashore.

Marin is one of the last major open-space areas readily accessible to the entire San Francisco Bay area, but it is directly in the path of enormous population pressures and extensive urbanization. The Federal Government was indeed wise when it acted decisively and imaginatively to preserve a key portion of this priceless territory, and I am hopeful that we can now proceed to end the uncertainty about the future realization of this tremendously important goal.

The urgent need for completion of this great national seashore is clearly and impressively evidenced by the millions of citizens from the entire county who have already visited there to savor and enjoy the beauty and relaxation afforded by this area, despite the fact that the seashore is only partially completed and not fully developed.

Accordingly, I respectfully urge that this honorable committee act favorably upon the proposals presently before it. Your support today will be appreciated, not only by my board, the citizens of Marin County, the residents of the San Francisco Bay area, but more importantly, by future generations of Americans who will probably live in an entirely different environment which will afford them countless opportunities to be keenly thankful for the foresightedness and public concern you gentlemen have displayed.

At this time, I should like to introduce Mr. Maloney, county counsel of Marin, who will summarize the actions Marin County has taken to enhance the completion of the Point Reyes National Seashore and who can answer any technical or historical questions on this subject.

2. Instantaneous response and offers of unlimited assistance to all requests from the Federal Government.
3. Donation of valuable County property to the United States consisting of Drake's Beach (one of the most historic locations in North America) and McClure's Beach.
4. Formulation and adoption of an extensive Master Plan for outside land use, designed to enhance and augment the Seashore.
5. Adoption of a moratorium on all logging in West Marin, pending study of the recent changes in the timber market.

In addition, the State of California has, without charge, conveyed over 11,000 acres of tidelands to the United States for inclusion in the Seashore.

Some problems have arisen because of a misapprehension about the zoning authority reposed in the County. It has been suggested that the County should zone the land within the proposed Seashore for agricultural and open space use, thereby preventing its conversion pending public acquisition. Without believing details, the highest and best use of this land is essentially urban; and its fair market value reflects this fact. On the other hand, its agricultural value is minimal. Any zoning ordinance which restricts the value of private property to this severe degree would clearly violate the California and Federal Constitutions, both of which require that a property owner must be allowed some reasonable use of his land. Likewise, the law in California is quite explicit concerning the conditions which must exist before land use can be frozen pending public acquisition. (Copies of a legal analysis of these problems is attached for your consideration.)

Mr. Clausen can confirm that Marin County's zoning and land use requirements are more stringent than practically any other County in the entire State. We have been involved in almost endless litigation on land use cases, and are not reluctant to act if any reasonable legal authority can be found in support of our action.

I hope that this information will afford the Committee another dimension in evaluating the problems we faced, in support of our assurance that we have gone to the limit of our power to preserve this area, and enhance acquisition of the Seashore.

Whatever the past, however, we must face the future and realization of the grave danger that the Park will not be completed, to everyone's detriment, or that its future will continue to totter precariously in the winds of uncertainty. The need is pressing, and the time for action is at hand.

To this end, therefore, I would like to join Mr. Baar in respectfully urging your endorsement and support of these measures. If you have any questions, I will try to answer them.

Mr. MALONEY. Basically I am sure to some extent here in Congress and particularly back in Marin County there have been few matters that affected county government and the people of Marin more intensely and caused more furor and problems over the years than this whole matter of the Point Reyes Seashore.

As you all know, at one time there was a substantial division of opinion. Now, as Mr. Baar said, practically everyone is completely in support of the seashore and it is somewhat ironic in a sense that we have—now that we have resolved all these problems, we have the other problem of the funds and the necessity for them.

As Chairman Taylor indicated today earlier, it is important that the local agencies will try to contribute something to these things, and I thought I would mention very briefly some of the things that Marin County has done.

We have entered into numerous agreements with the Federal Government regarding the roads, the water, fire protection, law enforcement, and other types of miscellaneous services affecting the park. We have always in every instance responded to every request from the Park Service or the Congress for any type of assistance or support for resolution. The county, too has donated very valuable property which it

In addition to that, I would like to reiterate my appreciation to Chairman Aspinall and Chairman Taylor for this early hearing. Thank you very much.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Would the chairman yield just for a very brief comment.

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from California.

Mr. CLAUBEN. Mr. Baar, not only do we welcome your appearance before the committee, but I am more than pleased that you have seen fit to include references to Mr. Aspinall and Mr. Taylor for the scheduling of these hearings at an early date.

I want to impress upon you people that it was during the closing days of the Redwood National Park debates in the 90th Congress when I asked Mr. Aspinall on the floor of the House a question. When could we expect consideration of the Point Reyes National Seashore legislation which was of great importance to our area? And his response was that it will be one of the first pieces of legislation to be considered in the 91st Congress. And today we have proof positive of this.

This man is a man of his word and I think that I should include this in the record so that it will be known to all that he has kept his word and your appearance at the hearing today is the best proof of that.

We are grateful to both of you for following through as you said you would.

Mr. ASPINALL. Thank you very much.

Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Maloney?

Mr. MALONEY. Would you like me to proceed, sir?

Mr. TAYLOR. I take it each of you will make a statement and then we will ask questions.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, sir. My name is Douglas Maloney. I have also prepared a statement and with the permission of the Chair I would like to have it incorporated into the record and I will allude to it briefly in my oral presentation.

Mr. TAYLOR. In the absence of objection the statement will be placed in the record at this point.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF DOUGLAS J. MALONEY, COUNTY COUNSEL OF MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Chairman Taylor, Chairman Aspinall, and distinguished members of the committee, during the years I have worked for Marin County there have been few subjects which have engendered more furious activity and perhaps more misunderstanding than the Point Reyes National Seashore.

This is particularly ironic because everyone involved, the Congress, the Park Service, the Board of Supervisors, the conservationists, and the landowners all presently support the concept of the Seashore, acknowledge that its completion is essential, and understand its importance to the Nation. Ever since 1935, when the Honorable Conrad Worth, then Secretary of the Interior, recommended its acquisition, the Marin Board of Supervisors, within the limitation of its authority, has supported creation of the Seashore at every opportunity and in every way possible. The minutes of the Board are replete with such actions and responses to requests from our Congressmen ever since 1937.

This cooperation has, among other things, consisted of:

1. Numerous agreements with the Park Service regarding roads, water, fire protection, law enforcement, and miscellaneous services.

owned to the Federal Government consisting of the Drakes Beach which perhaps is the most historic location, the west coast of North America, and McClures Beach.

The county has also spent substantial funds formulating and adopting a master plan which would provide for land use outside the park compatible with the interior of the park and we presently have adopted a moratorium on all logging in the area which has now begun to occur because of the changes in the timber market.

In addition to what the county has done, I again, as I am sure you know, but I should like to remind you that the State of California has also donated in the Federal Government almost 11,000 acres of tide-lands to be appended and become a part of the park.

The other problems that have plagued the park to some extent have been attributed to zoning procedures by the county of Marin and I think that those that suggest that this is attributable to the rise in land values are mistaken because under California law, the board of supervisors went as far as they possibly could to prevent and restrain development at every time, but just as all States are, our constitution and the Federal Constitution require us to allow people to at least make some reasonable use of their lands, and in Marin County, this land has little value for farm uses as Mr. Hartzog said.

Its highest investor use is urban and if we tried to restrict it to open space or farm use, it would have been stricken down by the court. Marin County has perhaps the most stringent zoning in the entire State and possibly to some extent one of the most stringent in the United States and we certainly are not reluctant to act when we can, and we have, and we will continue to do so.

Finally I would like to join Mr. Baar and those who have testified before in assuring you of our wholehearted support and urge again the swift completion of this national park.

Thank you very much.

Mr. TAYLOR. Thank you, Mr. Maloney.

Mr. STEWART, do you have any comments?

Mr. STEWART. Chairman Taylor, Chairman Aspinall, members of the committee, I have a rather brief report that I would like to—a statement that I would like to submit. It is not necessary that I read it. I have a few remarks that I would like to make.

Mr. TAYLOR. Your statement will be placed in the record at this point.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY BOYD STEWART, LANDOWNER IN POINT REYES SEASHORE, MARIN COUNTY

Chairman Taylor, Chairman Aspinall, and distinguished members of the sub-committee, my name is Boyd Stewart. I am here representing Marin County, in order to explain the feelings and express the views of the ranchers who are land-owners within the Seashore Boundaries.

We are completely in accord with the efforts of Mr. Clausen and his colleagues to secure the authorization necessary to complete the Point Reyes National Seashore. Those of us who are property owners, who live there with our families, and operate the ranches, have endured the adverse effects of the uncertainty regarding completion of the Seashore for almost five years. During this time our land has been under a cloud and our future obscure.

As you know, ranchers and farmers all over the U.S., and Point Reyes is no exception, are getting older all the time. Few young men are entering this field. We have numerous difficulties just maintaining and operating our ranches with-

out the tremendous problems which beset us from unexpected deaths, estate tax problems, trespassers, rising property taxes, and lack of knowledge about our future. Almost all of our resources and earthly goods consist of this land, some of which is heavily encumbered. As deaths occur, they create acute estate tax problems which are further complicated by the restrictions on our land that have arisen because the Congress hasn't authorized completion of the Seashore.

Those of us who have loved this land for years and seen it through its many moods and seasons, recognize that this treasure can no longer remain ours to enjoy exclusively. Its beauty and grandeur must be shared with, and available to, all Americans. As they now exist, the Government lands comprising the park, form a crazy quilt pattern throughout the Seashore Boundaries without rhyme or reason.

Private lands are interspersed with public, access is confused and management impossible. When you earn your living from the land, you want to see it used efficiently and achieve its greatest potential. The only way that this can be done in the Seashore is through completion of land acquisition as quickly as is reasonable possible.

To some extent it is rare that any situation could develop which would create a consensus of opinion on the part of ranchers, but in this case, I and my fellow ranchers without exception, urge you to finish the work you have begun, not only for the benefit of the ranchers, which is obviously incidental to the national interest, but for the benefit of the citizens of the U.S. who should have the opportunity to know and appreciate this unique and magnificent area as we do.

Mr. STEWART. I am Boyd Stewart, a rancher in Marin County, who operates within and without the park area. I was asked to come here by the county board of supervisors so as to represent the landowners within the park.

There has been a lot of discussion of the problems that landowners have this morning, and I am not going to go over them. Our land has been under a cloud for quite a time because of the park boundaries encompassing it, and it is difficult to sell it.

We do have a very aggravated trespass problem. People will go over your land, break into your houses, and steal things. It is quite distressing at times to find cattle let loose from one field to another, and this is a rough hilly country, most of it, and you spend a lot of time bringing cattle back in which have been turned loose by people who are trespassing.

But more important than any of those things, as far as the ranchers are concerned, is the fact that we are a group of people who are getting older that live in Point Reyes National Seashore. There are not any young men taking over ranches there and there are estate problems that were mentioned before and that I won't belabor. But they are serious and when they do arise, there is a need to liquidate property generally because ranchers accumulate in our area, at least, ranchers accumulate their wealth in the form of land and it usually takes a lifetime to acquire and pay for a ranch and a herd of cows, either dairy or beef, and that is what we have. And few of us have the ready cash to pay—with which heirs can pay inheritance taxes and this becomes a very, very serious problem to us.

However, we have managed to live with it so far. It is getting more acute because taxes are going up. Heirs sometimes can't run property. Widows can't run it, can't run ranches, and in spite of that there have been very few changes in the park area.

I heard reference to the increase in number of ownerships within the park area and I just comment briefly on that. The number—the ranchers who were there are in the main there yet, and there has been very little speculation on land within the park. Prices, values have

nance with a very carefully laid out plan—a plan compatible with the overall purpose of the area.

What is your position with regard to use of some of these lands in that fashion?

Mr. BAAR. Well, I would hope that the committee here would recommend the full allocation of the money and that this did not take place.

Just a point on the remark that Mr. Stewart just made of the increase of properties within the area. I believe there were 70 or 80 lots developed in an area and I think that is your increase in the number of people. I would hope that the Park Service would develop the land as initially contemplated. There are surrounding areas, if need be, for single-family homes and I would hope that this area here would be left as a national park.

I think it would be poor judgment at this time to try to intermingle single family and commercial within this area.

Mr. TAYLOR. In other words, you are more interested in the park than you are in the tax base for the county.

Mr. BAAR. Well, I wouldn't say that but I think the park could help the tax base by the influx of tourism within the county. I don't believe that you can have both.

Mr. TAYLOR. You know, you and I are on the same side on this question, but most county commissioners are on the other side. Every time we create one of these areas, county commissioners come in and say they want compensation for tax loss. We, on the committee, say that the added tourist development compensates for it. And we seldom have permitted it.

Mr. BAAR. Well, Marin County is rather unique in its location in the bay area. Most of the general plans for the area show Marin as a recreational area and today we are in the hopes of creating Marin as a tourist area, and I think this would be a splendid addition to that.

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from Kansas, any questions?

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Stewart, I want to commend you on your statement. It was an excellent statement.

I would like to ask you this question. Am I correct in assuming that the speculation that we heard so much about applies to just a few areas that were bought up and then —

Mr. STEWART. That is right.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Then sold off? Is that correct?

Mr. STEWART. That is right.

Mr. SKUBITZ. I won't hold you to it but what percent of the land involved here still remains in the hands of the 24 or 25 original landholders?

Mr. STEWART. I would say 90 percent, 85 percent.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Eighty-five percent.

Mr. STEWART. And it is a guess.

Mr. SKUBITZ. So that 85 percent of the total acreage is still in the hands of the original owners?

Mr. STEWART. In the hands of the original owners, and the park, Mr. Skubitz. That is—the park has bought a lot of it, you understand.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Yes.

gone up, it is true, but there has been little movement of land, and in the couple of cases where land has moved, it was caused by deaths and there were needs to liquidate property, two cases that I know of personally, and we are talking—I am talking of a small number of people. So that there has not been any widespread speculation that we can see.

However, that is a personal problem that we ranchers have and I would like to impress upon you that I am not here primarily about our personal problems. As people who own land and have spent a lifetime acquiring it and who have enjoyed living where we live, we would like to see this land used efficiently, and the park is not an efficient unit. And you don't have to do anything but look at a map to see that the ownerships are spread all over.

You can't walk from one end of it to another. That is what causes the trespass problem.

We would urge you as ranchers in the area to raise the authorization to a level that would allow the park to purchase this land because that has become the best use for it, and we would heartily agree with that use of it.

We think that in order to do it, you have to find a means of taking the ownership of it.

So anything that we could do to aid in that we would do. But we are forced, of course, in the meantime to pay taxes and operate our business and contend with these hazards that normally go with ranching.

Thank you.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I certainly want to compliment these gentlemen on I think very excellent statements. It is a clear indication of their problems and told forthrightly and honestly and we are deeply grateful for your having come here to testify.

Mr. TAYLOR. I do compliment you on your statements.

Mr. Stewart, you heard Mr. Hartzog's testimony this morning.

Mr. STEWART. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. He said back in 1962, 25 individuals owned more than 99 percent of the land. He said today there are over 120 tracts.

Mr. STEWART. That is right. There was some subdivision of an area out on the coast, on the Limantour Bay and on the ocean, and it involved very little of the acreage in the national seashore.

Then there have been a few other places where some small amounts of land have been sold. But the record that I heard someone ask on would show that there has been very little transfer of land in that way.

Now, there were a number of large transfers where people had died and had to—and there were estates to settle and they were forced to sell.

Mr. TAYLOR. Would you say the majority of the ranches and farms are still in the hands of the same families?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, they are, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Baar, you referred to this area as priceless territory. We find that it is more priceless than we expected.

Mr. Baar, this morning you heard Mr. Hartzog testify concerning the development plan for some 9,000 acres of land. He indicated that they contemplated using the leaseback-sellback authority in accord-

The fault line runs north and south and the Point Reyes peninsula that has the seashore lies to the west of the fault line and is all this land that has been moving for many millions of years.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Thank you again for a good statement.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SKUBITZ. Yes.

Mr. CLAUSEN. First of all I want to compliment the gentleman from Kansas for asking a very perceptive question because it tends to get right at the heart of the problem.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I am aware of that, but in many ways the so-called lake lands, or the Sweet property that has been referred to, in many ways could be categorized as the heart of the watermelon because it is quality, and I would also like the record to show that I am showing to the committee members some of the pictures taken of the area by Mr. Perkle Jones on May 9, 1969, and I think that you will agree with me that these pictures tell a substantially better story than any one of us could as far as the value and the contribution to the overall conservation project that it will have.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. Chairman, could I ask our Congressman, Mr. Clausen, to point out that the two horses that are in one of the pictures belong to me and they are two registered Morgans.

Mr. TAYLOR. Very beautiful horses, too.

It is a beautiful area.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. McCURE. I would like to ask this question of perhaps Mr. Baar or Mr. Maloney.

In regard to the reference that has been made to the Agricultural Zoning Act, what effect does that act have upon the assessed valuation of lands that are subject to it?

Mr. MALONEY. Perhaps I can answer that, Mr. McCure. The act is called the Land Conservation Act of 1965. It is a situation in which the county and an owner of agricultural land or open-space land sign a contract which provides that the lands will only be used for agricultural purposes for a period of 10 years. And the contract in effect is in perpetuity with the 10 year no clause because each year it is automatically renewed for one other year.

Then under the law the property can only be assessed on the basis of its agricultural income value. In Marin County this is very low because the land does not even yield feed for the animals. It is only in very rough terms about \$160 per acre cash value. And under California law land is assessed at roughly 25 percent of its cash value, so the agricultural lands would then be assessed at \$40 per acre.

If it were valued for urban use, subdivision, et cetera, it would probably be anywhere from \$500 to perhaps \$2,500 an acre for particularly choice parcels. Most of the land in the seashore, though, I would think would be below a thousand dollars an acre even with the urban increment but there is a very substantial reduction.

Mr. McCURE. Who takes the initiative in such an agreement? Is

that the landowner or the

Mr. MALONEY. Yes.

Mr. McCURE (continuing). Or the county?

Mr. TAYLOR. Of course when we start to determine values for that 85 percent, they point to the lot sales in the other 15 percent using new artificial value as a base. Isn't that correct?

Mr. STEWART. Mr. Taylor, maybe I shouldn't be answering this, but the level of prices in the area was set by the Park's purchase, sir, not by the landowners. That is, the general level of purchase was set by the purchasers.

Mr. TAYLOR. Have there been any condemnation suits?

Mr. STEWART. Yes. There has been. There are a couple of small ones, Mr. Chairman, which have to do with rights of way, and so on, but you are speaking of large tracts. There was one and it involved—or two. Actually a total of four parcels, but two suits, and it involved land and timber in the area, a combination of them, and it was brought about by timber condemnation in order to prevent logging.

Mr. SKUBITZ. One other question, Mr. Stewart. Reference was made this morning to a piece of land—the wheat farm.

Mr. CLAUSEN. The Sweet property.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Can you tell me about this property, what is so valuable about it and why it is so necessary to buy it at this particular time?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, I can. The first answer I would make to you is it is necessary that the park have it because in fact, it divides a—it separates one large piece of the land that they do own from the rest of the land. It interposes, and they can't go from one area to another, and it causes a serious problem. They are not able to use one large tract of land, oh, I would guess about 3,000 acres that they can't make any efficient use of, because of where that ranch sits. This is a geographical fact, I mean a location fact.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Yes.

Mr. STEWART. The other thing is that it is a particularly beautiful piece of land. I think ranchers are not supposed to be lyrical about things and go off on flights of fancy. It has a number of lakes on it and it has a gorgeous view of Point Reyes and that whole country.

It is a striking, spectacular piece of land, and the way it lies on the west side of the San Andreas Fault on land that has had a lot of slides and slips in it, it is broken up so that the wind does not blow on all of it. Point Reyes as a whole is a rather windy country. Prevailing trade winds blow there a good portion of the year, in the summertime. Lot in the winter. It is rather quiet. And this ranch is protected from the wind, it has a lot of little valleys and has these beautiful lakes and it has a very famous seal beach that is rather inaccessible where seals come to have their pups by the hundreds or I should say thousands. I think they are sea lions actually but we call them seals. But it is a spectacular piece of land. It is a very beautiful place.

Mr. SKUBITZ. I am disturbed a little. This morning I said facetiously that we ought to wait—that this land might sink into the ocean. Now, you speak of the fault—

Mr. STEWART. The fault is located over to the west of the land but all of the land on Point Reyes in the main lies west of the fault line. I happen to live on it, on top of it, and my home is, literally, not figuratively, but literally on it.

prospective subdivision value of the property rather than as agricultural land.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes. This is correct. Yes.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCLOURE. I would be happy to.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Again in the exchanges that have taken place between the counsel and myself and the assessor's office, therefore would bear this out.

Mr. McCLOURE. Thank you.

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from California.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I don't know that I will have any further questions. I think they have stated their case very well. But when you refer to the number of property owners that are in fact faced with the potential estate tax problems, this includes the Murphy property, I recall. This has included the McClure property. It has the potential of the Sweet property. As a matter of fact, there have been those properties in this.

I am asking you because you in fact will be presenting a point of view as a third party. You are not involved in these properties. Could you respond to this as counsel to the—

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, sir. Mr. Stewart alluded to this to some extent and perhaps just to describe it in a little more detail, as he indicates, most of these people are technically wealthy in that they have always owned this land. Basically they are sort of wealthy against their own will because they would rather continue to ranch the land and have it at the low value and not have to pay the taxes, but there has been this enormous acceleration of value and instead of taking this money and living in Paris, they want to stay on the land and work it.

However, as Mr. Stewart indicated, just as all farmers in the United States each year get older as a group, so do these ranchers, and as members of their families die, the Government assesses this land for estate tax purposes at these very, very high values and these people have little or no liquid assets at all. And so what they have to do is either break off a piece or sell their property and they sell it on a market as a forced sale under very adverse circumstances, so it is an extreme hardship. Even though at first blush people might say that it is difficult to feel sorry for somebody who has enough money to pay estate taxes, really all they have is this land which as Mr. Stewart indicated they have accumulated over a whole lifetime of work. It is not something like someone inherited a million dollars out of a clear blue sky.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, it is common practice that people in this situation, for instance, in order to protect themselves and maintain some semblance of liquidity for their heirs, they would quite naturally turn to the best kind of land management or for that matter land sale program in order to resolve not only the dilemma but to improve their own fiscal situation.

Would you agree with this?

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I think that this states it very clearly, the problem, and I want to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, that the responses have come from people who represent the country. It is not these immediate landowners and certainly do you agree, Mr. Maloney, with all of the comments that have been made about the so-called Lake ranch or the

Mr. MALONEY. The county has to set up a series of areas that they call preserves where they feel the land would be eligible for this program. Once they have done that, then any landowner in the preserve has a legal right to ask for and receive a contract of this type if he wishes to do so. It is an entirely voluntary program.

Mr. McCLOURE. The value to him in doing so is the lower taxes which he would pay.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes. The biggest stumbling block in the implementation of this program to date has been the apprehension about Federal estate taxes because the Internal Revenue Service at least up to now has indicated that they will not recognize that this agreement reduces the value of the land. Therefore, if someone dies, and there have been recent deaths, as Mr. Stewart indicates to you, the Internal Revenue Service will nonetheless tax or levy estate taxes on the basis of the fair-market value, and if a person has a contract, he is in the strange position of not being able to sell his land for fair market because of this restriction.

Yet on the other hand, the Revenue Service does not recognize the restriction.

So this factor has prevented a great many people, particularly some of those in the Seashore, from actually signing an agreement.

Mr. McCLOURE. Is this revocable annually? Or do they have to wait until the end of the 10-year period?

Mr. MALONEY. Well, each year they have the option to terminate and they have to give 10 years' notice.

Mr. McCLOURE. So that even if they revoke now, it would only operate at the end of the 10-year period.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes. There is, however, a provision of cancellation at the option of the county and in that case the landowner is required to pay a penalty which is equal to roughly 12 percent of the unrestricted cash value of his property.

Mr. McCLOURE. Has the county designated the land within the seashore as being in an area subject to this provision?

Mr. MALONEY. Yes; they have.

Mr. McCLOURE. Have any of the landowners in the area availed themselves of this procedure?

Mr. MALONEY. Yes. We have about 11,000 acres under this provision.

Mr. McCLOURE. Has the Sweet Ranch been placed under this provision?

Mr. MALONEY. No, sir; it is not.

I might add one other point also. The contract provides that if the land is to be condemned or acquired by any Government agency, then the contract is immediately terminated so that the people can receive the regular market value for this property.

Mr. McCLOURE. The reason I asked the question, I know in one of the clips that accompanied the letter from the girls who had the bake sale, the statement was made by Mr. Sweet or reported to have been made by him that they were not able any longer to continue to own the property because one of the reasons was they had paid \$22,000 in taxes last year, and I would assume that the taxes were largely a reflection of the

Sweet property or to the park itself and the needs for us to direct the Secretary and the Director of the Park Service to move with dispatch to acquire this as early as possible?

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, and I might add; sir, if I may, one of the problems involved in dividing the Sweet Ranch, and I am sure you are all aware of the history of the owner and the many efforts he has made to swap land with the Government and try to sell it in the long time he has held it, but even aside from that it is being divided into parcels of more than 40 acres and under California law a local agency such as county has no legal subdivision control over subdivisions that contain 40 acres or larger parcels. So in effect if this property is subdivided it will be done so without any type of regulation at all.

Mr. CLAUSEN. So all of these problems that we are discussing here in effect describe what has earlier been referred to as a cloud over the property and the property owner. Is this correct.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. CAMP. Let me also say to you that I think you three gentlemen have presented your case very well.

Mr. Stewart, do I kind of read into your remarks that possibly the price of the land itself has been set because of the purchases made by the United States?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, Mr. Camp. The first purchases of land that were made in the national seashore, so we understand, were made at a level above \$600 an acre. Negotiated purchases.

Mr. CAMP. And do I understand also, Mr. Maloney, that the price of the lands average would be about \$160?

Mr. MALONEY. No, sir. I was answering a question by the other gentleman to the effect that how would this land be appraised under a land conservation program, and that would be an artificial restricted value based on agricultural income. But the fair market value of the property would be much higher because it would reflect its potential urban use.

Mr. CAMP. Do I also read into your statements that you would rather see this land be acquired by the Federal Government than by possibly somebody that might develop it and take away the beauty?

Mr. STEWART. Yes. Are you addressing that to me, sir?

Mr. CAMP. Yes.

Mr. STEWART. Yes. For some 35 years I have hoped that they would make a national park out of the seashore area. That would be a thing that I have been interested in for many years personally.

The people in the area have lived there and have changed ownership—the land has changed ownership very seldom because it is such a desirable place to live. That land has never been for sale in the Point Reyes Peninsula. It has been very seldom that a ranch was ever put on the market. Usually the sales were made between friends, neighbors, some may be going out of business. Some person who was getting old would sell to another. And the people that are there enjoying living there and they recognized that times have changed or numbers of people have changed and the pressure has increased on our county, Mr. Camp, to the point where we aren't going to continue for ever running livestock in Marin County. Oh, there will be small areas

that will, but it will be people that will cover that county or make use of it one way or another.

And we would rather see it as a park, all of us, than we would see it as a subdivision. And I think that I can say honestly that I speak generally for the ranchers of the county. They would prefer to stay there themselves, to be left alone, but that isn't possible very long. Oh, maybe a lifetime, maybe the rest of my life.

Mr. CAMP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. TAYLOR. The gentleman from California.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I think this will be the final comment that they will make, but I do want to have the record show how much I personally appreciated the cooperation I have received from you, Mr. Baar, the balance of your board members, and your testimony has been excellent, and I think that the committee would agree with me that Mr. Maloney's testimony is very articulate, states the case very well, and finally with Mr. Stewart, certainly as a witness before a committee, his presentation is the kind that we like to see. He is honest, he is forthright. He has no major ax to grind.

He is just trying to present this case and I think as representatives of their area, I am very proud to have this kind of testimony before our committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. May I say to Mr. Stewart, in spite of my questions, I feel very sympathetic toward the problem of the property owners—not the speculators but the original property owners. It has been 7 years since this area was authorized as a natural seashore and certainly, it is in the interests of the property owners and in the interest of the Government to finish the acquisition program and make this a viable unit of the park system.

Mr. Maloney, on page 2 of your statement where you are discussing the legal problems connected with the zoning, you say in parenthesis "a copy of a legal analysis of these problems is attached for your consideration." I don't believe we found that.

Mr. MALONEY. Yes, sir. Congressman Clausen said instead of attaching it we should put a copy in the record or the file and I think he has done so.

If he has not, I will be sure that it will be entered.

Mr. TAYLOR. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. MALONEY. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR. Just a minute. Counsel has a question.

Mr. McELVAIN. The departmental report recommends an amendment to section 8 of the original act, which deals with the 26,000 acres of pastoral and ranch lands. Does the county board of supervisors have any objections to that amendment?

Mr. BAAR. I don't think it has been discussed with the Board, not to my knowledge. Has it to yours, Doug?

Mr. MALONEY. No. Are you talking about the amendment now that says this will be used for ranching?

Mr. McELVAIN. Yes. This is the provision which would permit the Department of the Interior to acquire all of the pastoral and ranching zone and then lease it back or sell it back with restrictions.

Mr. MALONEY. Well, the county's position, we have always been in favor of leasing back the land for agricultural use and agricultural

In some families, such as my own, death has not only brought personal loss, but has created the added burden of a large inheritance tax, for which there is no money available to pay, and no way to raise it from the ranch.

The dairy ranchers believe that either one of two things should be done. Either the national seashore should be made smaller so that we have complete freedom of operation of our land, like any other landowner, or you should pass this legislation and purchase the ranches. I believe you should pass this legislation.

I believe that most of the ranchers will want to lease back the property from the Government. This will be to the advantage of both the ranchers and the Government. The advantage to the Government will be that the land will be well taken care of, the rolling green lands kept green and the property fully supervised, all at a cost far cheaper than the Government could do it. We understand that the park service has operated very satisfactorily in lease arrangements with those made of the properties so far acquired.

In conclusion, gentlemen, the dairy ranchers strongly urge that you pass this legislation and buy the remainder of the seashore. We believe that it is the only thing economically feasible for both the Government and the dairy ranchers. We cannot operate under the present system. We have tried and it has failed. There is no other solution but for the Government to complete the park, and now.

We have heard several comments of what has happened to the area in the last 7 years, that subdividers have come in and taken it over and developed a great portion of it, but, gentlemen, the danger is still the same out there. There are very few of those dairy ranches that have changed hands. In fact, a small subdivision, we have nothing against beef ranchers, they are fine people but it was on one of those in a small portion of it.

The others, the Mendozas and the McClures and the Kehoes and the Grossis and the whole bunch are still there.

But the one thing that has happened, the biggest thing that has created such a problem, is that people—time goes on and people pass away. In fact, such a large percentage have passed away that I am kind of nervous thinking I was one of the original ones here before your committee 7 years ago trying to fight this thing. We were against it at the inception. Now we have to make a turnaround and we think that this is the only way to go now, is to complete it.

But regardless if we have the agricultural preserves or not, the Federal Government has not recognized them. We do have large inheritance taxes to pay. My mother just died within the last 6 months and really, gentlemen, if the Government doesn't take part or all of the property off our hands, we don't know how we are going to pay our taxes. Really it is just that simple. It hasn't struck everybody yet but every rancher there realizes that their turn is coming, so they just are all desirous of selling, leasing back if the Government so sees fit, and they can work out a program with the Park Service, but it is unbearable to continue with the present situation.

And I want to —

Mr. TAYLOR. Counsel reminded me that your statement reiterates the two sure things in life—death and taxes.

production because that use is indigenous to the area. The county in the past has reviewed this plan that Mr. Hartzog presented this morning and the last official position the supervisors took, because we did not know they were going to bring it up again, was opposing this plan because we feel that in effect it is a diminution of the park, it is reducing the park by 9,000 acres insofar as the involved residential use, but we have no objection and, in fact, would encourage and support lease-back for agricultural use and purposes and I think the ranchers also would be anxious to do this once the park is built and coordinated so that they don't suffer these trespass problems and things.

Does that answer your question?

Mr. McELVAIN. I believe so. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAYLOR. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mr. Joseph Mendoza, landowner.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to welcome Mr. Mendoza before the committee. The Mendoza family is a pioneer family in the area, well known, very well respected in the county of Marin. He is not only known in his own county but throughout the north coast and the entire State of California.

Mr. Mendoza, it is a pleasure to see you before the committee.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH MENDOZA, LANDOWNER, POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Mr. MENDOZA. Thank you, Congressman Clausen.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I have a statement that I want to leave with the committee and I would like to read my statement and then make a few comments to the committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. Proceed.

Mr. MENDOZA. My name is Joseph Mendoza. I am a dairyman whose ranch is within the National Seashore on the Point Reyes Peninsula. I live on the western part of the peninsula as you see up here in this map. My mother and father settled in this area soon after their marriage, and after many years of hard work acquired the dairy ranches that my sister and I now own on the Point Reyes Peninsula, which total approximately 5,000 acres. I have spent my life running the dairy ranches with my family.

I am here to tell you of the problems faced by myself and the other dairy ranchers who have their property within the boundaries of the National Seashore.

I am here to urge you to pass the legislation presently before you so that the Federal Government can take over these ranches and put an end to the impossible position that dairy ranchers have been in since the Point Reyes National Seashore has been created.

The problems are taxes and the cloud on our property. The market for any part or all of our land has been destroyed. With the U.S. Government having no funds to purchase, there is almost nothing we can do with the land. This has created a real hardship for some.

The real property taxes have so increased in this area that it is economically unsound to run a dairy even for those dairy ranchers who have enough money to do it. For those who don't, it means that they have to borrow money and live on it in order to hold on to their ranches. You can't lease a ranch for nearly the amount of the real property taxes.

Boyd Stewart Testimony
before the
Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation
Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee
February 26, 1970

I would like, at this time, to introduce Boyd Stewart, who accompanied the two of us to the meetings here. Mr. Stewart is a rancher. He appears, also, at the House committee, and I think Mr. Stewart, if you have any questions of either myself or him, will give you a little bit of the flavor that is existing in the area for the present-day ranchers.

Senator BIBLE. I will be very happy to hear from you, Mr. Stewart.

STATEMENT OF BOYD STEWART, LANDOWNER, POINT REYES,
CALIF.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. Chairman, my statement is a very short statement and it's in the record, and I will just make a few comments.

One of the first things I would want to do would be to answer a question that was asked of Director Hartzog.

There are 10 operating dairies in the pastoral area. There are 12 operating dairies in the seashore at the present time.

Senator BIBLE. How large are those dairies? I assume they all vary in size.

Mr. STEWART. The smallest dairy, this is an estimate, but a reasonably accurate one, Senator, the smallest dairy milks approximately 100 cows.

Senator BIBLE. Is the smallest 100?

Mr. STEWART. Senator, in our county, very small dairies can't be operated efficiently. It is an area that imports all of its hay and grain, and has to operate sizable dairies in order to operate efficiently.

Senator BIBLE. Very well.

Mr. STEWART. The ranchers in Marin County, whom I have been asked to represent here by the board of supervisors, feel, as everyone else does, that this park ought to be completed.

Originally, as you know, they objected to the formation of a park for what they considered very sound reasons, and opposed its formation. They wished to stay on their land and operate it. They no longer feel that way. And there's a variety of reasons for changing their minds, Senator. Conditions have changed.

Marin County, in the last 10 or 12 years has changed greatly. It was originally an agricultural county. It is rapidly becoming a place where land is too valuable, or has become too valuable to be used for agriculture. Our county assessor recognizes that strictly agricultural land has a value of somewhere around \$100 to \$140 or \$150 an acre, but most of the grazing land in the county, and particularly in western Marin,

assuming it is not under contract in the agricultural preserve, is valued at from \$400 an acre, which puts it out of the class of agricultural land. The ranchers, of course, are also aware of the values. Last Thursday, all of the dairymen who operate dairies in the park, were at my home.

Senator BIBLE. This would be 12?

Mr. STEWART. That's right, and I asked them, as I have, when we appeared before the House committee, if they were in favor of disposing of their land to the park, and without exception, they said they hoped that the authorization bill and the subsequent appropriation would go through, so that the park could be completed. Obviously, Senator, I did not ask them how they were going to price their land.

Senator BIBLE. I don't think you should.

Mr. STEWART. But they all agreed, without exception, that this land should pass to the park, the authorization bill was needed, and they were hoping that the money would be appropriated in the reasonably near future.

I asked them one additional question that would have some significance to you, and I did this before because the supervisors wished me to ascertain this.

I asked them if, when they sold their land to the parks assuming that they made an agreeable sale, would they want to put in a provision that they be allowed to continue operating their dairies, and their answer, without exception, again was, let's sell the land, and never mind putting in provisions. We will take our chances and decide whether or not we want to operate dairies after we have sold the land.

Senator BIBLE. Let me get that last answer. I don't quite understand it, Mr. Stewart. You are a refreshingly frank man, to come in here and talk this way.

Mr. STEWART. Senator, some of the men who are ranchers have wanted to put this land aside for a park for some 40 years. We recognize the value of it as a park, and we are aware of the pressures of population, and the location of this unique piece of land, and so I should be frank.

The ranchers in that area realize that dairying is not going to continue indefinitely. It's not going to remain a permanent dairy area, the area, and they recognize that, and they were saying that if their land could be bought by the park, or were to be bought by the park, they were not going to put in conditions in their negotiations that they retain their right to dairy.

Senator BIBLE. I understood what you are saying there. I thought you said that at some later date, if they decided they wanted to go into dairying, they would do it, but you are referring to going into dairying somewhere else.

Mr. STEWART. No. The answer was that if they wished to continue living out there and working, that an arrangement could be made with the park. Some of them might want to do it, but didn't want to put that in as a condition for the sale.

Senator BIBLE. I see.

Mr. STEWART. They are willing to deal with the park for the sale of their land without any conditions, meaning that they recognize that they aren't going to dairy indefinitely, in Marin County. None of us are. People are going to take over our land, and dairying will eventually go away from there.

Senator BIBLE. How would you respond to the question that Mr. Hartzog raises as to one of his concerns and you heard him testify, that unless section 4 of the act is remedied in some manner where there is a right to go in and condemn, that any of the 10 owners of the pastoral zone, or 12—that you are representing may first sell out to a real estate man in order to get the highest figure. How do you respond? This is, it seems to me, the only area that hasn't been resolved at Point Reyes. I think we made some headway in the last 9 or 10 years, but this thing takes time.

Mr. STEWART. Senator Bible, the ranchers who are dairying have not made any effort to subdivide their land; that is the ones who are dairying. There is some land in the park that has been purchased by people who are not interested primarily in agriculture, but not many people purchased recently. I can only think of one. That is the Pearce Point property, purchased because of a death and the need of people to pay taxes. The rest of it, if I remember right, and if I am correct, has been owned for some time by people who are not primarily ranchers. The ranchers are fully aware of land value, Senator. If they weren't aware of what was going on, they wouldn't be in the dairying business out there.

They haven't been interested in selling, and it is not easy to sell, Senator. One of the real concerns of these dairymen is the fact that they are all getting older. There's only one young man operating a dairy, and his ranch is owned by his mother, and most of us have had a hard time acquiring the ranches. Ranchers, customarily, don't have a lot of free capital. Death and taxes raise a problem, and we all realize that land does sell readily. There is a cloud on the title of that land. It has been there ever since you passed the original park bill.

Senator BIBLE. I realize that, and you are the ones that got hurt. Mr. STEWART. People don't come in and offer to buy. Now, people who did buy one piece of property, a group of investors bought the Pearce Ranch from the McClure family, and the McClures found it necessary to sell because there had been death in the family, and obviously the people who bought it with the greatest possible advantage, and the McClures attempted to sell at best advantage.

Senator BIBLE. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. I am afraid that the sale wasn't of any great advantage to them, but I don't know of any sales that have been greatly in excess of the land values that have been established in the park, in the park purchase plan. It may be, but I don't know of any. None of this land that I am familiar with.

Did that answer your question?

Senator BIBLE. Yes, it did.

I only have one further question. We are just as anxious as you are, and as chairman of this committee, you can rest assured I must complete my part of this transaction at the earliest possible date. It has lingered too long as it is, but my question would be, would you as a landowner have objections to insertion of a condemnation provision in the event you could not agree in open negotiation?

Mr. STEWART. Well, Senator Bible, because we are aware of proposals for legislative taking and for condemnation rights, and so on, this has been discussed by the ranchers. They have an obvious feeling about the right of condemnation, but you see, some of us are already in the area where they have the authority to condemn.

people who feel they have the right to go over to grazing, the grazing of beef cattle would certainly be compatible with the park.

Senator BIBLE. That is a splendid statement. I have handled parks, seashores, lake shores, for 10 or 12 years, and I don't think I have ever heard a better statement, and I don't say that to knock down the price of your property. You get the best price you can, and at fair market value. I have always felt, and I've talked to all the ranchers in the pastoral zone, and I couldn't see anything inconsistent with having the few cows or cattle grazing out in a beautiful pastoral zone. You can take kids a few blocks from where we are today who have never seen a cow. It might be an attraction as well as some of the other beauties you have out there.

In fact, I am getting more and more convinced of this. In fact, I think the Park director at one hearing, I forget whether this was right or not, and can stand corrected, I think he wanted to go into some kind of dairy operation as a park service. This would provide some cows for the kids to go out and see.

I don't think the Park Service would want to go into that. But it would be a splendid place where you could see some cattle, and I don't see anything incompatible in this arrangement. Your testimony gives us clear guidance as to what we should do, and whatever we do, we are going to do very quick, and we are going to put the dollars forward to do it.

This has been in the vernacular as worrisome to you people, and is bothersome to you as it has been to us.

Let's get the job done.

(Mr. Stewart's prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY BOYD STEWART, LANDOWNER IN POINT REYES SEASHORE, MARIN COUNTY

Chairman Bible and distinguished members of the subcommittee, my name is Boyd Stewart. I am here representing Marin County to explain the feelings and views of the ranchers who are landowners within the seashore boundaries.

We completely support enactment of the authorization necessary to complete the Point Reyes National Seashore. We property owners, who live there with our families and operate the ranches, have endured the adverse effects of uncertainty regarding completion of the seashore for almost five years. During this time our land has been under a cloud and our future obscure.

As you know, ranchers in the U.S. and Point Reyes is no exception, are getting older all the time. Few young men are entering this field. We have numerous difficulties just maintaining and operating our ranches without the tremendous problems which beset us from unexpected deaths, estate tax problems, trespassers, rising property taxes, and lack of knowledge about our future. Almost all of our resources and earthly goods consist of this land, some of which is heavily encumbered.

Those of us who have loved this land for years and seen it through its many moods and seasons, recognize that this treasure can no longer remain ours to enjoy exclusively. Its beauty and grandeur must be shared with all Americans. As they now exist, the Government lands comprising the park, form a crazy quilt pattern throughout the seashore boundaries.

Private lands are interspersed with public, access is confused and management impossible. When you earn your living from the land, you want to see it used efficiently and achieve its greatest potential. The only way that this can be done in the seashore is through completion of land acquisition as quickly as is reasonably possible.

It is rare that any situation could develop which would create a consensus of opinion on the part of ranchers, but in this case, I and my fellow ranchers without exception, urge you to finish the work you have begun, not only for the benefit

Senator BIBLE. If you are outside the pastoral zone.

Mr. STEWART. That's right. They have, and the right of condemnation is not a prime concern to those dairymen.

Senator BIBLE. I see.

Mr. STEWART. This is not something they are raising any objection to. They did not tell me that when I went before the board of supervisors and came back here, I should ask that they not be placed in a position where you could condemn. That was not their prime concern.

Senator BIBLE. The reason I asked the question is that your own answers, and as I said and repeat, very frank and honest answers, indicated that these 10 or 12 people, knew that the population explosion and the prices were affecting use of the land for dairying and ranching. In all probability some other type of use, must be found such as a subdivision or a park, and of the two, you would choose a park.

Mr. STEWART. That's right.

Senator BIBLE. Providing you got the fair market value for your land, and I for one, want to see you get it. If you can't agree with the negotiation of the Park Service, certainly you, as well as any American, has a right to go to court and have a court and jury determine. Our experience has been that every time a landowner takes the Federal Government to a court, he puts the Federal Government through the wringer, but this is a constitutional right, and as a lawyer, of course—I don't know whether California lawyers charge much or not. I do, however, know the Nevada ones always did. If you still have to go to court and pay all the fees, I don't know if you are better off. I am not going to judge this, but your answer clarifies the record for me and gives me a clear indication of the way you should move in the future. If you can't negotiate, then you have to go to court to decide the differences in your opinion and in the opinion of the appraisers. Your testimony has been extremely helpful.

Mr. STEWART. Senator, you know, we ranchers did a pretty good job of keeping that country so that it was available for a park, and one of the reasons was we thought we were the most fortunate people in agriculture. We lived in the most beautiful place, and we didn't intend for anyone to come in. We would have built a fence around it if we could have, and stayed there.

Senator BIBLE. You told me this when I was out there.

Mr. STEWART. The thing, though, that we do feel, and this is common, I wouldn't want to poll all of them, but this is common, we would rather see it used by the people for a park than we would see it subdivided. This is a real feeling that we have, and I could add a lot of things about how they are bothered at the present time in operating the dairies, and so on, but they would like to see, Senator, when this project is complete, and I would hazard a guess, this is my guess, Senator, but when it is completed that while there may be grazing carried on in the pastoral zone, there will be very few cases where people will want to continue operating dairies. This is because we recognize something that the Park Service was not made aware of us by us when they came in, and set this pastoral zone up, and that is, that dairying with the necessity of confining large herds of cattle tightly into pastures, is not compatible with public ownership of land. However, the

of the ranchers, which is obviously incidental to the national interest, but for the benefit of the citizens of the U.S. who should have the opportunity to know and appreciate this unique and magnificent area as we do.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness will be Mr. Maloney.

STATEMENT OF DOUGLAS J. MALONEY, COUNTY COUNSEL OF MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Mr. MALONEY. Sir, as a lawyer, I certainly know enough not to try to improve on Mr. Stewart's statement, so I merely state to you that the county of Marin, as Mr. Stewart has indicated on behalf of the property owners, has no objection to restoration of condemnation powers. Our only concern is what you expressed earlier, and I completely subscribe to your remarks that the important thing is speed to get the bill out with a minimum of complications. Other than that, you are certainly the best judge of that, by all means, and other than that, I want to thank you very much for scheduling this hearing so very, very quickly, and for the keen interest you have displayed in getting the Point Reyes Seashore settled.

Senator BIBLE. I think that doubts were expressed, or should have been expressed, because a commitment was made to the cattle people, the ranchers, and the dairy people in the pastoral zone. As long as they wanted to be there and to make that use of it, they could do it. I think too often the Federal Government promises people one thing and then does something different.

As long as I am here, this is not going to be done, and this is the reason that the Congressmen brought the question up on the House side. I think that's why the right of condemnation was not put in at that time, because some people felt, as I do, we must keep our word to you people, Mr. Stewart. Believe me, we are going to do just that and if the times change and the use of the land has changed, and they are resigned to face up to some of the problems, and if they can't get the best price possible, you can always go to court. Thank you, gentlemen.

(Mr. Maloney's complete statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF DOUGLAS J. MALONEY, COUNTY COUNSEL OF MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Chairman Bible and distinguished members of the subcommittee, during the years I have worked for Marin County there have been few subjects which have engendered more furious activity and perhaps more misunderstanding than the Point Reyes National Seashore.

This is particularly ironic because everyone involved, the Congress, the Park Service, the Board of Supervisors, the conservationists, and the landowners all presently support the concept of the Seashore, acknowledge that its completion is essential, and understand its importance to the Nation. Ever since 1935 the Marin County Board of Supervisors has supported creation of the Seashore at every opportunity and in every way possible.

In addition, the State of California has, without charge, conveyed over 11,000 acres of tidelands to the United States for inclusion in the Seashore.

We must now join to eliminate the grave danger that the Park will not be completed, to everyone's detriment, or that its future will continue to totter precariously in the winds of uncertainty. The need is pressing, and the time for action is at hand.

To this end, therefore, I would like to join Mr. Baar and Mr. Stewart in respectfully urging your endorsement and support of this measure.

Our next witness is an old friend of this committee, Mr. Lew Reid, of Save Our Seashore, San Francisco, Calif. Lew, it's good to see you.

STATEMENT OF E. LEWIS REID, REPRESENTING SAVE OUR SEASHORE

Mr. REID. Mr. Chairman, it is peculiar to be on this side.

Senator BIBLE. It's nice to see you on that side. You used to sit back here. Your full statement will be incorporated in the record.

Mr. REID. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am here today representing Save Our Seashore, which is a group of people principally in California, who became concerned last year about the possibility that Point Reyes might never be completed, and got out to see if there was similar general public concern. Within a couple of months we gathered over one-half million signatures of people who were similarly concerned.

Senator BIBLE. 10,000 letters, all of which were sent personally to me. But I know that you have to earn your fee, now that you left the Interior Committee.

Mr. REID. To those half million people, and especially the 10,000 who wrote you, Mr. Chairman, whom I am representing today, I have the statement of Mr. Peter Behr, who is the chairman of Save Our Seashore, which I would like incorporated in the record.

Senator BIBLE. No objection, that will be the order.

Mr. REID. And I would like my statement also incorporated in the record, in full.

Senator BIBLE. No objection, that will be the order.

Mr. REID. The principal thing I would like to do today is thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Murphy, and Senator Cranston, and certainly Congressman Clausen, for the wonderful job you have done in bringing this issue to a head quickly in this Congress, so we can get the money. I think it has been evidenced this morning that people who want the future generations to visit Point Reyes also owe a debt of gratitude to some extraordinary people like Mr. Stewart. After all the spitter conservation battles you have seen, I am sure you must appreciate how unusual it is to have the man who is a large landowner come forward, representing other landowners, and say he is willing to sell and does not oppose a use of condemnation power. I think it's quite extraordinary.

This is an appropriate time for you to have the hearing for another reason, and that is, over the past 3-day weekends, which was the George Washington Birthday weekend, Point Reyes has had the heaviest visitation that it has ever had in any 3-day period, and I brought some figures along. During 1968, over this George Washington weekend, there were 11,000, rather 11,428 visitors to Point Reyes. In 1969, it went down slightly, there were 10,178 visitors. And over the past weekend, it more than tripled. There were 37,031 visitors to Point Reyes.

Senator BIBLE. 37,000 on 1 day?

Mr. REID. On the 3-day weekend.

Senator BIBLE. On a 3-day weekend. That's a tremendous thrill.

Mr. REID. Save Our Seashore, on the merits of this bill, support the increase of the authorization to \$57.5 million, and we also are pleased that you had as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee, and are happy to hear that you are holding a hearing so quickly on the supplemental appropriation of \$7 million for fiscal 1970. We are quite anxious to see that money appropriated quickly.

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.

AN ENVIRONMENTALIST IN CONGRESS:
URGING PRESIDENTIAL ACTION ON POINT REYES

An Interview Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1990



Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.

Table of Contents--Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.

INTERVIEW HISTORY	287
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	288
PROLOGUE: SIDELIGHT ON THE 1982 BIG GAME	289
I BACKGROUND TO THE POINT REYES STORY	292
Fellow Student John Ehrlichman at Stanford Law School	292
Land-Use Law, Northern California and Washington	293
Environmental Interests in Congress, 1967-1970: NEPA, Earth Day	295
Campaign against the Environmentalists' Dirty Dozen	298
Ehrlichman: Balanced on the Environment	299
II POINT REYES IN THE WHITE HOUSE: LOOKING AT THE DOCUMENTS	301
Vietnam War Overshadowing All Issues	301
Appealing to the Political Instinct	305
Reflections on Watergate	307
Working with Democratic Congressman Cohelan	308
John Whitaker's Memos: Concern with Political Pressure and Presidential Credit	310
Broadening the Issue to Full Funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund: Congressmen Aspinall and Saylor	316
TAPE GUIDE	318
APPENDIX A -- McCloskey Congressional Testimony, 5/13/69	319
APPENDIX B -- Letter, McCloskey to Ehrlichman, 9/16/69, and memo, Hullin to Mayo, 9/18/69	321
APPENDIX C -- Handwritten White House memo, undated	323
APPENDIX D -- Memo, Krogh to Hofe, 9/26/69	324
APPENDIX E -- Memo, Krogh to Hullin, 9/26/69	325
APPENDIX F -- Correspondence re Cohelan bill, 10/9/69, and 10/10/69	326
APPENDIX G -- Whitaker memos to Ehrlichman, 11/13/69; to Nixon, 11/18/69; to Murphy and Clausen, 11/18/69	332
APPENDIX H -- Whitaker memo to Mayo, 11/20/69	340
APPENDIX I -- Handwritten note, 11/21/69, re John Saylor	342

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey Jr.

Date of birth Sept. 29, 1927 Birthplace _____

Father's full name Paul N. McCloskey

Occupation Attorney Birthplace Merced, Calif.

Mother's full name Vera McNabb McCloskey

Occupation Housewife Birthplace Makoueta, Iowa

Your spouse Helen Hooper McCloskey

Your children Nancy
Peter
Kathleen
John

Where did you grow up? San Bernardino until 5; South Pasadena / San M
Calif

Present community Woodside

Education Stanford - Stanford Law School

Occupation(s) Lawyer

Areas of expertise Condemnation / Trial Lawyer

Other interests or activities Member of Congress

Writing

Teaching

Organizations in which you are active _____

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr.

Pete McCloskey was added to the list of interviewees for this project when writer Bill Duddleson found documentary evidence of his initial role in bringing the Point Reyes issue to the attention of the Nixon White House in September 1969. A selection of these documents from the Nixon Presidential Materials at the National Archives is appended to this interview, and McCloskey's comments here serve as a glossary to the sometimes cryptic letters and memos.

At the time of the Point Reyes controversy, McCloskey was a young Republican congressman quickly developing a reputation as a maverick. One of the few environmentalists in Congress, he had a firsthand knowledge of the problem of land-cost escalation that Point Reyes exemplified. He also had a close personal tie with President Nixon's assistant for domestic affairs, John Ehrlichman. Through this connection, the urgency of presidential action on Point Reyes was pressed on the administration.

Aside from providing a sense of how citizen action in California may have been translated into presidential policy in Washington, McCloskey's interview places the Point Reyes issue in the context of the turbulent political scene of the late sixties. He recalls the growing discontent with the Vietnam War that led him, early on, to propose Nixon's impeachment and to run against Nixon for the Republican presidential nomination in 1971.

Congressman McCloskey was interviewed in his law offices in Menlo Park, California, on October 18, 1990. A loyal Stanford University alumnus, when confronted with his interviewer from UC Berkeley, he began his comments with a reflection on the famous 1982 Big Game in which the Cal football team defeated Stanford in the final seconds with a unlikely series of lateral passes and a run through the undisciplined Stanford band. In keeping with his maverick tendencies, McCloskey stood in the midst of the Stanford rooting section and cheered the improbable play in acknowledgment of his friend "Truck" Cullom, who had introduced the lateral pass to Cal football training.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Berkeley, California
February 1992

PROLOGUE: SIDELIGHT ON THE 1982 BIG GAME

[Interview 1: October 18, 1990]##¹

McCloskey: I was at Stanford from January, 1947 until June, 1950 when the Korean War broke out. During those years we lost three straight Big Games to Cal [the University of California, Berkeley], two of them on the conversions. The guy that kicked the points that beat us, 21 to 18 and 7 to 6, was a fellow named Jim Cullom, known as Truck Cullom. I grew to--I didn't hate Truck Cullom, but I knew that they'd beaten us, and they had three teams that went to the Rose Bowl those years, '47, '48, and '49. These were the Pappy Waldorf years. In any event, I went to Korea in 1951 as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, on kind of a famous troop ship with Pat Robertson [conservative minister/politician] saying, "My daddy's a senator; he's getting me out of this."

Lage: Oh, you were on that ship?

McCloskey: Yes. Anyway, I was wounded a couple of times, came back home, and my last six months on active duty, which was from January to June of '52, I was at Camp Pendleton training other young lieutenants who were on their way to Korea, on how to survive. One of the guys that came through was Jim "Truck" Cullom, who had enlisted in the Marine Corps in his college days. I think he'd played pro ball a couple of years. But a marvelous guy. A big, genial tackle. So I rode him fairly hard. If we had to go on a ten-mile hike, I made him go fifteen or gave him the point. But I really ran his ass around the hills of Camp Pendleton.

Lage: Did he know why?

McCloskey: Oh, he knew. Stanford and Cal, you know, it is a marvelous

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes, see page 318.

rivalry. But I later went into the D.A.'s [district attorney's] office up in Oakland, where I was one of only two Stanford men, and there were about forty Cal men, so I saw the other side of the rivalry.

But in any event, Cullom went over to Korea, and in his first couple of weeks went on a squad patrol. There's a famous story about that patrol. Cullom went along, and the squad leader was behind the point man, and then Cullom, and then eleven guys behind him. Cullom tells this story; he says they're walking along the trail and all of a sudden he heard a "Ping!" The guy in the front knew what he'd done, he'd tripped a trip wire with a hand grenade. He dove off to one side and Cullom dove off to the other side. The guy said, "Grenade!" and Cullom said, "Grenade!" and he heard the words going back down the line: "Grenade! Grenade! Grenade! Grenade!" until they got to the last guy. The last guy said, "No shit!" And then there was an explosion, and those were the last words Cullom heard until he woke up on the hospital ship.

Lage: He jumped the wrong way.

McCloskey: Well, the grenade pretty much chewed up his leg and left him limping, and he couldn't play rugby, his first love, for a while. But in any event, he came back, and with a lot of Stanford and Cal guys coached a lot of rugby. Cullom became, as I recall, either the rugby coach or the junior varsity coach at Cal, and he insisted that their football team train with the lateral pass that you have to throw in rugby. So apparently the whole Cal football team under Cullom's urging would run up and down the field lateraling to each other.

So when they had that play [1982 Big Game]--I mean, Stanford had won the game. The game was over. There were four seconds left. All that was left was the kickoff, and all of a sudden these [Cal] guys start lateraling the ball. All of a sudden that last guy runs through the band and they won the game, and everybody at Stanford was sitting there in a state of shock. I [sitting in the midst of the Stanford rooters] said, "Hurray for Cullom!" [laughter] And everybody's looking at me like I'm nuts. But that's the story of Jim Cullom and "the play."

Lage: So that's his legacy.

McCloskey: That's the Cullom legacy.

Lage: Because apparently they did do the lateral passes in practice.

McCloskey: They did. I believe that the legacy started with Jim Cullom and his insistence that football players play rugby. A lot of them did, and in rugby you can't pass forward; it's just a lateral. At any event, that was my image of Truck Cullom.

I BACKGROUND TO THE POINT REYES STORY

Fellow Student John Ehrlichman at Stanford Law School

Lage: Let's turn to our main focus today. We're documenting the 1969 effort to fund the Point Reyes National Seashore as sort of a case study in citizen action--the Save Our Seashore campaign and the citizen lobby in Washington headed by Katy Miller Johnson. During our research, your name came up as a person who may have had a connection to the White House that helped translate some of the citizen interest into a decision in the White House. So we wanted to try to get that story.

McCloskey: Let me tell you a little about my own background that led up to this, because--

Lage: Good. That's what I wanted to start with.

McCloskey: At Stanford Law School in 1949 and '50, I was one of those privileged to have had a little service at the end of World War II, enough to qualify for the G.I. Bill. So I was able to enter Stanford Law School at the end of what amounted to my junior year. I would have been in the class of '51, graduating, but for the Korean War. I finally got out in 1953.

But in any event, in the class of '51, in our second year, I became friendly with John Ehrlichman and Jack Jones. In fact, the three of us studied together. Jack was from Modesto, John was from Seattle, I was from California, but we had common interests. We were all married, we had young wives, and our wives were pregnant. John already had a child. We were not the top students; they were probably in the middle of the class. I was probably close to the bottom of the class. We were so impoverished that for our recreation the three of us bought a ping-pong table together, which must have cost sixty dollars. We kind of traded around. It would be at Ehrlichman's house, then at Jones's house, and then my house. You can call them houses; we were living in shacks around

Stanford. It was not the rich man's school it is now. Anybody could go to Stanford then. Colleges were filled with people that had come out of the war. John had been a navigator on Liberators in the war, so we had respect for him and his combat experience.

At the end of our second year, we went to the moot court. If you were a great student you were on the Stanford Law Review. If you weren't, moot court was the favored activity. John and I were partners in the debates in the spring of 1950. We qualified for the finals. In fact, in the ratings, I think John was first and I was third, and Lewis Butler and Bob Janssen were second and fourth. So it was scheduled that in the fall, the moot court finals would be between Ehrlichman and me on one side, and Janssen and Butler on the other. The significant thing was that Butler went on to become an assistant secretary of HEW [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare] under Nixon. Janssen became probably the finest trial lawyer in California. He went up to Eureka, became a small-town trial lawyer, and later won the famous Seamen's Case, which is the landmark case in California that established tort liability if you breached a contract with bad faith.

Against that background, then, when we went to Korea, John and Jean Ehrlichman were almost the godparents for my first child. She was born the day I landed in Korea in February, 1951. They looked after my wife and daughter in that last six months before everybody graduated in June. My wife as an undergraduate and John from Law School.

Land-Use Law. Northern California and Washington

McCloskey: After law school, I spent a little time in the D.A.'s office in Alameda County--Oakland, Berkeley, and Hayward--and John went up to Seattle with a family law firm where he quickly became known as one of the outstanding municipal zoning and land-use lawyers in Washington. Bear in mind that in the fifties and sixties there was a lot of land development. People were moving to the suburbs. There was agricultural land being turned into suburbs, the cities were expanding, we were coming out of a depression and World War II, and it was a great period of expansion and new land-use law.

Lage: Even in Seattle? Not just here?

McCloskey: Oh, yes, around Seattle, too.

The upshot of this was that I finally hung out my shingle to practice law in Palo Alto in 1955 after leaving the D.A.'s office. I built up a practice down here as the first--I think the first truly environmental law firm in the United States. Lew Butler had gone into the Peace Corps and when he came out of the Peace Corps in 1963 we formed a firm, Butler and McCloskey, to take only conservation cases. We wanted to prevent happening in northern California what had happened in southern California where I'd grown up. That law firm lasted four years, until 1967 when I was elected to Congress. I believe I was elected as the first Republican in the Congress that had any environmental background at all.

Lage: There really wasn't even a field of environmental law. So-called.

McCloskey: That's right. There was not, at that time, and there were not many environmentalists. Environmentalists, when I arrived in the Congress in '67, were deemed to be nuts and kooks and little old ladies in tennis shoes and anti-war protestors--that kind of thing. The environmental movement had no representatives in Congress, with a few exceptions: John Dingell of Michigan, John Blatnik of Minnesota, and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. But the Congress was made up essentially of elderly men who came from the twenty years after World War II. From 1945 to 1967 was a period of steady, straight development, and everybody was for development, progress, and a better standard of living. The environmentalists were beginning to develop, but they were a minority and a despised minority, or at least a joked-about minority. They certainly had no political power.

So I came to the Congress. In those years between 1953 when I came back and graduated--or at least '55 when I started my law practice, and John was a couple of years ahead of me up in Seattle--I would guess that we exchanged half a dozen cases. I became a condemnation lawyer and represented citizens groups with cases to save the Bay, save the foothills, and the like. Lew Butler and I brought the first lawsuit to save San Francisco Bay from being filled. That lawsuit was originally against the three members of the Land Commission in California, who were then [Controller] Alan Cranston, [Director of Finance] Hale Champion, and [Lieutenant Governor] Glenn Anderson [all California Democrats]. In the middle of us bringing that lawsuit in 1966, Republicans were elected, and our friends Hugh Flournoy, Robert Finch, and Cap Weinberger became the defendants, the new officers on the State Lands Commission.

I went to Congress [in 1967] and Lew went into the administration. Our case was taken over by the state attorney general, and won. It stopped the filling of the Bay.

I had been active with something called the Committee for Green Foothills and the Committee to Save the Bay. Our lawsuits involved protecting the town of Volcano from becoming a cement mill, protecting the valley of Covelo in Round Valley up in northern California from being flooded by the damming of the Eel River.

Lage: Dos Rios Dam.

McCloskey: That was essentially what I did. I was an environmental lawyer, but my primary thing was representing land owners whose lands were condemned for power lines or highways and so forth. Against that background, John and I were exchanging cases. Whenever I got a case up in Seattle--involving Indians or land or something, water--I referred it to him. When he got a case down in northern California, he referred it to me. We stayed good friends.

Environmental Interests in Congress, 1967-1970: NEPA, Earth Day

McCloskey: Then Nixon was elected. He was elected in 1968 with a plan to end the war. You will remember Johnson had resigned; he didn't want to run again because the war was tearing the country apart. Nixon had a plan to end the war, and suddenly all my friends come to Washington. Ehrlichman comes as the number two man to Nixon. Butler came in as the assistant to Bob Finch, the California guy that had managed Nixon's campaigns back in the fifties and sixties. We now had a little coterie of northern California environmentalists: me, Butler, Ehrlichman, Jack [John G.] Veneman [former California Assemblyman, then undersecretary of Department of Health, Education and Welfare], and others.

The first environmental law was passed in 1969. It was called the National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA]. I was put on, as all freshmen are, committees that had no importance. I was put on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which had a little subcommittee called the Fish & Wildlife Conservation Subcommittee of the Merchant Marine & Fisheries Committee. The subcommittee wasn't much, but it had a marvelous chairman, John Dingell. In my other committee, I was put on with Henry Reuss in Government Operations, for which I was on the Environmental Subcommittee. Henry Reuss was an

environmentalist. Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, and Vermont tended to be centers of environmental action because they had cut down all the trees in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, and Vermont has always had the legacy of the Green Mountains.

Okay, that's the background when the Nixon administration comes to office. The environmental movement really got off the ground with Earth Day in 1970, but even before that we had passed the National Environmental Policy Act. Nobody knew what it was; it required an environmental impact report on every project. If Congress had ever known what that was, it would not have passed. But it passed. Scoop [Henry M.] Jackson from the state of Washington was also an environmentalist. It went through the Senate, and Jackson controlled the Senate Interior Committee. We had Merchant Marine & Fisheries, and it blew through the Congress, and all of a sudden we had revolutionized America. We didn't know it in 1969.

Lage: You didn't know that it was going to have this effect?

McCloskey: We had no idea. That same year, there was a major budget crisis. It was the first year of Johnson's guns and butter policy. Up until '69, the nation had generally operated on a balanced budget theory. Whether it was Republican or Democrat, the theory was you had to balance the budget. The impact of the Great Society programs of '65, '66, and '67 hadn't really hit yet with the problems they produced.

Lage: Although Johnson did use that phrase, that we can have guns and butter.

McCloskey: He said guns and butter. But the Congress was appalled that year to find that there was a \$25 billion budgetary deficit against a budget of about \$120 billion. It was a huge deficit because Johnson was trying to fight the Vietnam War and run all these social programs that he was so proud of in his War on Poverty.

Well, against that background, there was only one additional funding bill we voted that year, and that was the Water Pollution Control Act, for which we quadrupled the funding. That quadrupling of the funding was led by a coalition of four Democrats and me. It was John Blatnik of Minnesota, John Dingell of Michigan, and I've forgotten the other two. But we got the thing through the House, and everybody was astounded. I was just riding along--freshman Republicans, nobody listens to them. We had this kind of funny combination. They finally had a Republican on the environmental side, so it happened. Nobody wanted to vote

against clean water, even though they had that huge deficit. That's the background.

Then in '69 we passed the Environmental Policy Act through this funny little subcommittee. And then in the 1970 elections, after Earth Day, the kids that ran Earth Day, led by Denis Hayes, a former Stanford student body president, about twenty kids, they knocked off half of a group [of congressmen] they called the Dirty Dozen. When that happened in 1970, that's what changed Congress. When we convened in '71, now we had an entirely environmental Congress. Everybody wanted to say they were environmentalists because these kids had knocked off these four Republicans and two Democrats.

Lage: So it wasn't just the change in the composition of the Congress but the change in what the congressmen wanted to be identified as. They all wanted to latch onto environmentalism.

McCloskey: That's right. I'll tell you a story about it. I teach this class tonight at Santa Clara. I've used it in every class that I teach, about citizen action.

In 1970 Earth Day was April 22. These kids had taken Arbor Day--from the "plant a tree" concept that had been started back in the last century--and said, "We're going to have an Earth Day." Ehrlichman in the White House, and [attorney general] John Mitchell, put Earth Day under surveillance. What Earth Day was--these twenty-four or five kids in Washington. Gaylord Nelson, Democrat senator, and I, Republican member of the House were the chairmen. We had a third guy named Sid [Sydney] Howe, president of the Conservation Foundation. We raised \$100,000, and what these kids did is that they got a list of ten thousand high schools and two thousand colleges. Starting in January, they sent out every two weeks a little flier saying, "Earth Day is going to be April 22. We want you to have discussions of these six environmental topics." Each flier had a topic: land expansion, or water pollution, air pollution, toxics, population. Six topics. And Earth Day was conceived as a Sunday in which they'd sit down and have six workshops on every campus of these high schools and colleges across the country. You had an Earth Day chairman at each high school and college.

So it turned out to be a marvelous thing. It was apparently a sunny day, and the kids came out and frolicked. The FBI was looking at all of them, because this was the height of the anti-war movement. The Nixon people thought it was a subversive thing; it was an anti-war protest in disguise.

Campaign Against the Environmentalists' Dirty Dozen

McCloskey: But a week after Earth Day, I was sitting in the cloak room in the House of Representatives, which is a funny little L-shaped room. We have one; the Democrats have one. The kids had \$30,000 left over from what they had spent on Earth Day. They didn't know how to spend it. At two o'clock a guy comes into the cloak room, an old Republican congressman, and he's waving a paper, the Washington Star. He says, "Look at this! Look at this! McCloskey, this is your work!" And about on the fifth page there's an interior two-column little heading: "Environmental Group labels twelve members of Congress 'Dirty Dozen.'" And this guy's name's on it. There's a few guys sleeping around, sitting there watching television, and I don't know what--. The cloak room is a dull place, but this guy's waving his newspaper and he's pointing at me, and it mentions the Earth Day, which McCloskey and Nelson were sponsoring. Well, these kids had picked twelve congressmen. Two of them are Democrats, and ten are Republicans. Everybody looks at him and says, "Aw, come on, Harry, don't worry about that. It's just a bunch of kids, you know. Ha ha ha, ho ho ho." And it was forgotten.

It was forgotten for about five weeks. On the first Wednesday in June, everybody opened their Washington Post, and lo and behold, the two Democrats on that list had both been defeated in Democratic primaries: one in Baltimore and one in Denver. They were ranking senior Democrats. One guy was the number two guy in the Judiciary Committee, Byron Rogers. The other guy, I think his name was [George H.] Fallon, and he was on the Public Works Committee. I mean, nobody would believe that these two guys could be beaten in Democratic primaries. What had happened?

The twenty-five kids in Washington, they'd gone out and they'd picked--. They didn't pick the twelve worst on the environment; they'd picked twelve that they thought could be beaten. You know, sometimes you only get a 20 percent turnout in the primary. They'd gone into Denver and Baltimore, and they'd gotten five hundred of these kids that had played a part in Earth Day. They'd walked precincts, and they turned out voters, and they elected two young Democrat environmentalists.

Well, that was enough, but within twenty-four hours-- twenty-four hours--me, the despised junior Republican from California, the sponsor of this embarrassing Earth Day, the

anti-war, anti-Nixon Republican--. Nobody could figure out why I was against the war; I'd been a Marine and all these things. Within twenty-four hours, seven of the ten Republicans on that list had come to me and said, "Pete, could we get your speeches and data on water pollution, air pollution?" Suddenly the environment had become an important thing.

Four of those ten Republicans were defeated in November, and when we convened in January, 1971, for the 92nd Congress, everybody says, "I'm an environmentalist." If you look at what happened in those next two, four years, we passed all the great environmental legislation--clean water, clean air, endangered species, estuarine--and most of it went through this little funny subcommittee on Fish & Wildlife, of which John Dingell was the chairman and I was the Republican ranking member. We started to get environmentalists. Tom Evans of Delaware; and Jim [James M.] Jeffords of Vermont, who's now in the Senate. But the environmental movement really started with Earth Day, 1970. It probably ended with the Arab oil embargo in '73, because all the issues had been environment versus development up until that time. Then you put energy in as a triangular confrontation, and things got confused; the economy took a nose dive.

But you had seen three golden years of environmental legislation. Nixon, interestingly enough, was coming in as a Republican. Johnson, Texas, what do they care about the environment? Although Lady Bird Johnson was probably the first official environmentalist as his wife. She tried to beautify Washington, and Lady Bird was very active in that kind of thing. So when Nixon came in, you had a guy like Ehrlichman as his number two guy in charge of domestic policy, who had seen the trees cut down in Washington [state] and who did want to preserve the environment.

Ehrlichman: Balanced on the Environment

Lage: Was his interest in land law the same as yours? Was he representing environmentalists?

McCloskey: You would say that John was certainly a balanced guy. He lived on the bank of Lake Washington. His back yard was a grassy expanse that sloped down to the lake. He treasured the right to barbecue a salmon. The last vacation my wife and I took, we had three couples and three station wagons and took ten kids, and stayed in Ehrlichman's back yard in Seattle in 1966, I

think it was, when they had that Expo in Seattle. The environmentalists are generally from Oregon and Washington and northern California in this part of the world. Yes, you have the timber interest in Washington and Oregon, and you have the defense interests in Seattle and Bremerton, those places, but the environment and saving--. Oregon had a bumper sticker: "Don't Californicate Oregon." They didn't want to have happen to Oregon what had happened in L.A. [Los Angeles]. They now have smog in Eugene [Oregon], in the Willamette Valley. But yes, you would say that John was at least balanced on the environment.

Lage: Let's get us back into Point Reyes, if we can. Did you have any personal experience with Point Reyes, or was it just an issue that struck a bell with you?

McCloskey: My law practice had involved representing clients in Marin County and Sonoma County, and I had hiked in those areas and Point Reyes, and Point Reyes and Bolinas were areas we treasured like Carmel, Monterey, and Yosemite. I'm a fourth-generation California; my family's been in northern California since 1853, so saving northern California was a great goal, and I know most inches of it. Yes, I know that area very well.

Lage: So when the issue came up to save Point Reyes, you knew what they were talking about, personally. Would you know if Ehrlichman had ever been out there? Is that something you did at Stanford?

McCloskey: My guess would be he would know the northern California coast, and he would equate it with areas he knew well. He might have driven through once, but law school was very demanding.

Lage: You had introduced a bill similar to the one that finally was reported out of the Interior Committee on Point Reyes.

McCloskey: Yes. I was looking at my statement here that you sent me [testimony before the House Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation. See Appendix A, p. 319]. Don Clausen was the congressman from northern California at that time. He represented this entire coast. I see we've got [Congressmen] Glenn Anderson, John Moss, Don Edwards, Charlie [Charles] Gubser, Lionel Van Deerlin, and Al [Alphonso] Bell, with a letter from Senator [George] Murphy. I don't believe anybody opposed it.

Lage: No, nobody around here really opposed it.

II POINT REYES IN THE WHITE HOUSE: LOOKING AT THE DOCUMENTS

Vietnam War Overshadowing All Issues

Lage: I wanted to look at some of these documents with you. Let's kind of go in sequence if we can.

McCloskey: Let me make this note here. Tod Hullin, for example, and Bud Krogh were both brought by John Ehrlichman to the White House. They'd both been in his law firm in Seattle, and Tod Hullin had been the quarterback for the University of Washington. Bud Krogh was a super guy. So he had quite a set of people there.

Lage: In May, 1969, you testified in front of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, and then things seemed to sort of lie low because the Bureau of the Budget [BOB] would not release the funds, would not say that the funds from the Land & Water Conservation fund could be released, even if appropriated by Congress. On September 10, a letter was sent by mail to Wayne Aspinall, from Bureau of the Budget head, Robert Mayo, confirming this.

Now, the next bit of evidence we have of your involvement is from Bill Duddleson, who was with the Conservation Foundation, and he was involved in putting on the first Law and the Environment Conference at Airlie House in Virginia.

McCloskey: Did I go to that?

Lage: You went to that. You don't remember this?

McCloskey: I remember going to Airlie House a few times. It was one of the most desolate places in the world on a cold winter day. They had these conferences down there, yes.

Lage: September 12, 1969, was the first Law and the Environment Conference. Anyway, Bill Duddleson remembers telling you about this letter from Mayo, and you went immediately to the telephone and apparently called John Ehrlichman to protest.

McCloskey: I have no personal recollection of that.

Lage: I'm putting you on the spot here. But following that, you did get in touch with Ehrlichman, because we have these letters. [See Appendices B-I. Documents are from the Nixon Presidential Materials, in custody of the National Archives and Records Administration, Alexandria, Virginia]. What's the history behind the signature there: "Your obedient servant"? [Appendix B, p. 321]

McCloskey: That's a century-old way of signing letters. It's the way George Washington wrote to Ben Franklin: "Your obedient servant." That's just a joke.

Note this first letter is still September 16, 1969. He's only been in office for eight months. Took office in January. Luckily, at that time John and me were still friends. I believe it is the next month that I introduced the resolution to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, and it began to be more difficult for John and I to identify as friends because I was embarrassing the president with my opposition to the Vietnam War. I ran against him in 1971, solely on Vietnam. At that time it became impossible for John.

Lage: Was the Tonkin Gulf resolution happening that same Fall?

McCloskey: No, the Tonkin Gulf resolution had been adopted in 1964, in the Johnson administration. But by 1968 and that campaign, the Vietnam war was the key issue, Nixon against Hubert Humphrey. He only beat Humphrey very narrowly in '68, and the feeling was that Humphrey got tagged with the war policies of Lyndon Johnson, or he would have beaten Nixon. If the election had been held a week later, Humphrey was coming up, Nixon was going down. But Nixon was elected in November '68 with a plan to end the war, looking like the peace candidate. It wasn't until Nixon invaded Cambodia, and we had Kent State and the really severe casualties in '69 and '70--. In '69, a lot of us young Republican congressmen, including me and George Bush, were trying to convince the Nixon people to get out of Vietnam. Bush was from Texas.

Lage: I didn't remember that about Bush.

McCloskey: A lot of people don't remember it about Bush, but George was elected in 1966, and coming into office with him were forty-three other young freshmen Republicans. It was one of the last great turnovers. Johnson had beaten Goldwater so badly in '64 that a lot of marginal seats rode Johnson's coattails. Well,

in '66, in a mid-year with Johnson unpopular, forty-four new Republicans were elected. Those guys were young tigers. They were elected in swing districts; they'd all campaigned hard. Bush was the first Republican elected in Houston, Texas. That group became known as the 8/66 Club. I came in in mid-year, at the end of '67. They took office January '67; I came in in December. Bush was our leader. We all kind of recognized George as the guiding leadership of the forty-four members of this group, which had meetings and enjoyed each other and battled the seniority system and the old goats.

And in the next session, in 1969, after we were reelected in '68, Bush became the chairman of the House Republican Environmental Task Force, and I was his vice-chairman. If you're a freshman or a junior Republican, you're not very important. Nobody listens to you in the committee, so you do research on these issues of the future. So Bush and I were working in this Republican Environmental Task Force. Bush was very much an environmentalist. You can't come from Texas and have a house in Kennebunkport, Maine, and not be an environmentalist.

What I want to put this in context with is that at this particular time in history, I was a Republican congressman, part of the minority party in the House, and John Ehrlichman and I had worked together and had the beneficial relationship of twenty years of fast friendship.

Lage: So you had a lot of entree. He really seemed to respond to your letter, if we look at all the rest of these documents. A lot apparently was done in response to your input.

McCloskey: It's more than that. To be honest, he bought a house out in Great Falls [northern Virginia suburb of Washington, DC]. He and his wife had five children. Bill [William H.] Rehnquist, who had been at Stanford law school also, was in that administration [as assistant attorney general]; he lived out there and had two children. Lew Butler had three children. I had four. Our kids were all of high school or younger age.

##

McCloskey: What I'm saying is that the four of us--Rehnquist, Butler, me, and Ehrlichman--friends from law school, all lived within ten miles of one another from McLean [Virginia] out to Great Falls. So on occasion, John would come in, driven in his chauffeur-driven limousine. I remember the day they invaded Cambodia. I was madder than hell, and John picked us up. I lived about two

blocks from Lew Butler, and he picked up Lew and me. We all rode into the White House, and I was yelling at Ehrlichman, and this was now '71 or '70. Lew was trying to mediate. Lew later resigned from the administration because of the renewed bombing of Cambodia. So it was tearing the nation apart, and it was tearing old friends apart.

So I became somewhat of a leader to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution. I made the first speech saying Nixon ought to be impeached. John and I, while our personal friendship probably remained, there was no need to talk to one another after 1971. We became friends again; I visited him in the federal prison in Safford, Arizona, in the mid-seventies and said, "John, for Christ's sake, we shouldn't let our differences end our friendship." We've remained friends ever since. He's a good guy. Wielding all of that power, he may have looked arrogant and probably was arrogant for a period of time, but as I say, a friendship going back forty years should be more important than political views.

Lage: So would Point Reyes have been the kind of thing you would talk to him about over a touch football game?

McCloskey: We could have. I'll tell you, during that year of 1969, which was a crucial year in this country, the events of the Vietnam War so far overshadowed everything. In the spring of '69, twenty-two Republican congressmen went out to fifty campuses on spring break. We were led by a guy named [William E.] Bill Brock from Tennessee who later became national chairman [of the Republican Party]. Bush and a couple of guys went to three or four universities in Texas. Don Riegle, Jerry Pettis and I came to Berkeley [the University of California], Stanford, San Francisco State, USC [University of Southern California], and UC [University of California at] San Diego. What we did in those seven days, we dressed like the students, we went incognito, and we tried to get a feel of what the students were thinking. They teargassed us in Berkeley; that was the day of the great riot.

Lage: While you were visiting there?

McCloskey: Yes. I was teargassed. Three congressmen walking around in blue jeans. We were teargassed on the Berkeley campus. [President S.I.] Hayakawa was barricaded in the basement at San Francisco State. They burned down the ROTC building at Stanford while we were there. I mean, this was the height of the student protest against the Vietnam War. As Republican congressmen, we went back and wrote a report to Nixon, and

said, "Listen, you've got to make changes. This country is exploding."

Lage: And Bush was with you on all this?

McCloskey: Bush was part of the group. The twenty-two Republicans were all out of this group of the 8/66 club; we were all freshmen or sophomores.

Appealing to the Political Instinct

Lage: We're getting a lot of other things, even if you're not remembering Point Reyes completely. Point Reyes was a sidelight to your activity.

McCloskey: That's what I'm saying. For a freshman Republican to get anything done is an amazing thing. I had forgotten this. I've never taken credit for Point Reyes. I don't think I deserve any credit for it.

Lage: I don't think you deserve the complete credit either, but it's a part of the picture.

McCloskey: Yes. But you'll note the Republican partisanship [in his September 16, 1969 letter to Ehrlichman, Appendix B, p. 321]. "Let's give the president credit." That's what you always try to do with presidents.

Lage: That's what I wanted to ask you. This is the letter of September 16, where you point out that they can use this issue to their advantage.

McCloskey: That's the only thing that moves those guys in the White House. If you can't find some way for the president to stand up and smile at the cameras and have a media opportunity--. That's the only thing that moves those guys. Ehrlichman would tell you that. Once they get in there, yes, they want to do what's best for the nation, but they always want to make the president look good. So if the president can overcome a Bureau of the Budget chief-- "He slashed through the red tape and funded the Point Reyes seashore, and they ought to have a little statue of Richard Nixon out there like at the John Wayne Airport." That's what moves them. It was shameless. [quotes from his letter] "If you move this time, why not let a few of us know in advance so that we can properly give the president credit where it is due? It might also help to have the president announce that due to the efforts of George Murphy, Don Clausen,

and Bill Mailliard, he is taking the step to preserve a priceless national heritage."

I want to tell you, Murphy was in deep trouble as a U.S. senator. He's a Republican. Don Clausen was always in trouble up there because his district was half conservation and half timber. Clausen was always dancing a little tap dance between his environmentalists in Marin County and his timber cutters up in Humboldt. And Mailliard was the only Republican left in the San Francisco Bay Area, but Mailliard had a district by now that's about 70 percent Democrat. Bill finally retired. There's a Mailliard Grove up there in the redwoods that the Mailliard family contributed. But that was why [I emphasized that] "due to the efforts of George Murphy, Don Clausen, and Bill Mailliard," Nixon was "taking this step to preserve a priceless national heritage." With me looking at a Republican primary in June of '70, I should have added my name to that, because I only won narrowly. The Republican primaries were very difficult.

Lage: What's the next thing that happened?

McCloskey: This is Ehrlichman's handwriting [Appendix C, p. 323] on the White House budget, saying the "funds in Land & Water Conservation Fund before '69 committed for FY [fiscal year] '70 already publicly identified with specific projects. For '71 budget it is an open question. Considerable re-programming. Land rates... Acquisition of additional land will cost at least 50 million. Needed authorizing legislation is still pending."¹

Lage: You can read it better than I.

McCloskey: Yes. Well, that's John's handwriting. It's very forceful. September 26 he gets a memorandum back from Bud Krogh [Appendix D, p. 324]. "I'm sure you have been beleaguered... [laughter]" Doug Hofe, I don't know who he is. Probably over in the Department of the Interior.

Lage: During this time we had the citizen campaign, Save Our Seashore, where they were collecting a million petition signatures and sending letters off to the White House. So that was part of the background.

¹John Ehrlichman identifies the handwriting on this memorandum as Tod Hullin's. --Ed.

McCloskey: Yes, and I noticed this from Krogh. [Appendix E, September 29, 1969, p. 325] "I advised Schlesinger." What was [James] Schlesinger doing at that time?

Lage: I think he was in the Bureau of the Budget.

McCloskey: Yes. Probably. "Point Reyes had received a higher priority in our thinking...." Well, we did have a little impact.

Lage: Yes.

McCloskey: Yes, Schlesinger was with BOB and was to provide Krogh with, "a memorandum on how we can get additional funding....It was necessary for us to do something dramatic." That's Bud Krogh. Now, that's the chief burglar. Bud Krogh's the first guy that plead guilty in Watergate three years later, four years later.

Reflections on Watergate

Lage: Did all that surprise you terribly, knowing these people in kind of a personal way?

McCloskey: It didn't necessarily surprise me, but it--. See, in those days, in fairness to those guys, no one had yet said in 1969 that burglary and wiretapping and all these illegal things in the national security weren't appropriate. What happened was that during the Cold War, where you wiretapped foreign spies and you captured them and tortured them, and they captured our guys and tortured them, the Cold War and the undercover CIA effort, it was a fairly simple transfer in 1970 to say, "Since maintaining the war in Vietnam requires domestic surveillance and an enemies list, and Dan Ellsberg has undercut us, let's destroy his credibility, let's rob his doctor's office." Krogh ran the operation, which ultimately led to the impeachment of the president. But in fairness to them, they thought that in keeping the president's policy going, that burglary and those things were legal in those days. But Krogh later said, "I reexamined my conscience and I can't justify common burglary just to protect the president's Vietnam War policy." But this is a retroactive standard of morality that had not yet been defined.

Lage: But when they knew people like yourself--this has nothing to do with Point Reyes--but they knew you personally as an honorable person very much opposed to the war. How could they treat

everyone who's opposed to the war as someone worthy of being spied on?

McCloskey: I was an aberration, you see. They had to respect me because I had fought in the Korean War, had these medals and been wounded. They couldn't say a Marine is a Communist sympathizer. Had I been just a college professor, I would have been viewed as a dupe for the Communist movement, a left-wing nut who was a fuzzy-headed liberal. That was the view in the Republican party. It became the view much later in the Reagan administration. Fuzzy-headed liberal. You heard them talking about those fuzzy-headed liberals. You know, "They're nice people, but they don't really see our problem, which is this vicious communism." So for them to move to acts which for thirty years had been accepted in international espionage, they say, "Well, now they're in domestic espionage. These people are undermining our war effort." You had people rioting in Port Chicago, you had people refusing to fight, conscientious objectors going to Canada. The country was torn apart by Vietnam because the older men--.

And I had volunteered to go to Vietnam. I thought that our generation ought to fight. I didn't want my sons to fight there. But the older generation, we'd only fought good wars against Germany and Japan and Korea, so to take on communism, that was a proper thing. So you attempt, when you are for one point of view, to find that people on the other side are fuzzy-headed thinkers or liberals or misguided nuts and kooks or using speed and marijuana or whatever. You always dignify your own position by cutting down the other side. They could cut me down for a lot of things. They couldn't cut me down on the war thing. So, well, it was just a painful thing.

In any event, in '69 we were still in front of that era, and still I was like any Republican congressman with a Republican president. The Republicans being a minority, you're working behind the scenes with the White House.

Lage: And they seemed to respond.

Working with Democratic Congressman Cohelan

McCloskey: Yes. [looking at documents in Appendix F, pp. 326-331] Jeff Cohelan was a good friend of mine from Berkeley, a lovely man.

- Lage:** His response to Nixon's refusal to fund the Land and Water Conservation Fund was to put forth this bill, which you co-authored [H.R. 14533 to suspend the President's authority to enter mineral leasing agreements, unless the Land and Water Conservation Fund was fully expended. See Appendix F, p. 329]. Do you recall that?
- McCloskey:** I don't recall it, but I remember Jeff Cohelan and working with him.

There's another issue that comes into this. These notes [Appendix F, October 9, 1969 letter, p. 326] are David Brown's, my legislative assistant, D.B. These are my notes over here on the left: "Budgetary purpose only. \$37.5 allocated to Park Service." There's another fight going on there that would play a part in what you're thinking, and that was the fight that Nixon for the first time was refusing to spend money that was appropriated. Nixon wanted to balance the budget, the great fiscal responsibility, the trademark of the Republican party. So Congress was at war with him and trying to figure out how to force him to spend the money that they appropriated. That was one of these issues.

- Lage:** And you sort of held this out to the people in the White House that you were going to have to sign onto this [Cohelan's] bill, unless you could see some motion there.
- McCloskey:** I wish we had this confidential BOB memo of October 1 [referred to in October 10, 1969 letter to Hullin, Appendix F, p. 327]. He must have sent it to me. It's probably in my records over at the Hoover Institution [at Stanford University].
- Lage:** Is that where your records are?
- McCloskey:** Yes. "Point Reyes...may show a higher annual increase in fair market value than some of the other areas." I was a condemnation lawyer; fair market value of lands and the explosion of land values was how I made my living.
- Lage:** And apparently a lot of congressmen appalled at what had happened to the land prices out there.
- McCloskey:** You see, at Redwood Park we had had a legislative taking. We'd taken the land, but we'd only allocated \$50 million. I think it cost over \$400 million, but that was years later. "Supplemental appropriation....To have a chance...now." Okay, Aspinall was a turkey. He was--

- Lage: Do you recall that? He was holding everything up to get Nixon to commit the money before he would bring the vote on the authorization for Point Reyes before his committee.
- McCloskey: Aspinall was the chairman of the House Interior Committee. He was a waspy, hostile, angry, bitter man. That's all I can remember about him, but he controlled everything, and his great goal in life was to divert water from the western side of the Rockies over to the eastern side for the state of Colorado, for his district. He was a tough son of a bitch. So I don't know. I would expect that Cohelan and I were jointly fighting Aspinall. Aspinall was the last rock of--
- Lage: He was another one that went down, I'm not sure when, but I believe he was defeated by one of these environmental campaigns.
- McCloskey: In due course he may have been, but--
- Lage: You indicated you would not support the Cohelan bill "until the other alternatives are resolved." Well, you must not have gotten satisfaction, because you did sign on as a co-author on that Cohelan bill.
- McCloskey: It would look like that, but here I am trying to work with the president rather than the Democrats because the way to do this was through the White House, if we could get it done.

John Whitaker's Memos: Concern with Political Pressure and Presidential Credit

- McCloskey: John Whitaker. [see memo, November 13, 1969, Appendix G, pp. 332-335]
- Lage: Do you remember him?
- McCloskey: Yes, he was another one of John's young lawyers. [Whitaker's background was in Geology, with a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. He later became undersecretary of the Interior. --Ed.]
- Lage: Was he out of John's law office?
- McCloskey: I'm not sure he was out of the law office. Let's see what he says. "Park Director Hartzog...He will 'waffle' and he is instructed to do so by me."

- Lage: I know. Isn't that wonderful?
- McCloskey: Oh, yes. These guys. They were too honest. They put everything in writing. When you look at it later, they look like a bunch of crooks, always lying.
- Lage: In writing or on tape.
- McCloskey: "Interior Appropriations Committee will introduce legislation to appropriate funds and make political hay out of it." Do you know who the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee was at that time? That would be good to know. [Julia Butler Hansen of Washington was the chair.]
- "In other words, the president will be 'run over' by Congress and the Democrats will collect the credit."
- Lage: Yes. Now the political angle really comes in.
- McCloskey: That's probably what I told them in October.
- Lage: And they were getting all these petitions. I think eventually they got almost half a million signatures.
- McCloskey: "He could veto the authorization bill, but at great political expense."
- Lage: Some of the underlining in these documents was made by various researchers who passed them along to me.
- McCloskey: Sweet Ranch?
- Lage: That was the Lake Ranch out at Point Reyes, one of the key pieces of property.
- McCloskey: "Appropriations legislation should not include. . . 'legislative taking' since, obviously, we cannot have the \$33.5 million available in FY 1970."
- Lage: Although you had suggested, as well as a number of others, that there be legislative taking, that didn't happen.
- McCloskey: "We commit for a speedy purchase by the end of FY 1972. . . . My rationale is that we are going to be run over by Congress on this one and we should therefore pick up the political credit and do it in the most dramatic way possible."
- Lage: Now, was this more of this obsession with the political credit?

McCloskey: That's all they care about in the White House.

Lage: Do you think that's just Nixon, or do you think that was everybody?

McCloskey: No, right now. Bush. Look at the budget deal. I mean, they're all sitting around: "How do we make the boss look good?"

Lage: Right. And the Democrats wondering how they can make him look bad.

McCloskey: "It gives the president a chance to identify with California, but not at the expense of playing regional favoritism because he can point out that Point Reyes, more than any park, represents the prime example of major encroachment by suburban sprawl..." and that's right. These places in Texas and Nevada didn't face the same land cost inflation.

Lage: I think this was an idea you put forth in an earlier memo.

McCloskey: Here. "The political pressure on this one is extremely high." There's where your petitions play a part. Clausen. Clausen is the original Nervous Nellie. I mean, Clausen--have you ever met Don Clausen?

Lage: No.

McCloskey: Oh, he's a funny guy. Clausen was a supervisor up in Del Norte County, Crescent City.

Lage: So he came out of the timber area.

McCloskey: Oh, yes. And yet 60 percent of his votes were down in Marin, in the heart of the biggest environmental area in California. Clausen is a big, kind of jolly guy. Funny guy, but he first ran against a guy named Clem Miller, who was an enormously popular Democratic congressman from Marin County. Clem Miller died in a plane crash three weeks before the election. I think it was in '64 [October 7, 1962]. He still beat Clausen three weeks later. A dead man. They had to have a special election to get Clausen in.

So Clausen gets his money from the timber interest and his votes from the conservationists, so he was always--. Every issue, Clausen was on me because I was a leader in the environmental movement in the House. Especially Earth Day. Clausen was always trying to get me to help him so the environmentalists wouldn't tear him apart. Man, he was trying

to get the King Range area protected, and he was always trying to do something environmental to keep those guys in the southern part of his district happy.

Lage: Would he have come to you on this Point Reyes issue also, do you think?

McCloskey: Oh, my God, I would guess twenty times. Clausen, as I say, he was always trying to show the environmentalists he was doing something. Point Reyes to Clausen was getting reelected.

Lage: And he had the Redwood Park too, up in the other end of his district.

McCloskey: Yes.

Lage: I love the ending to Whitaker's memo.

McCloskey: "I recommend that the President beat the Democrats to the punch and submit supplemental FY 1970 appropriation. . . ." Remember, this is in the heart of guns and butter crisis. That he invites "Jackson, Allott and Bible (Parks Subcommittee), Congressmen Aspinall, Saylor and Roy A. Taylor." Those guys were powerful. John Saylor was a tough guy. Joe Skubitz. "Meet privately. . .with Secretary Hickel, Senator Murphy and Don Clausen. . . .e.g. cancel a space shot." [laughter]

Lage: Isn't that great?

McCloskey: That is so funny, because here we are, last year, one of the great issues. The president, Bush, who is a good guy from my standpoint, an environmentalist, and exactly this fight comes up in front of him. Bureau of the Budget, Darman and all those turkeys, were recommending that NASA this year had two options. They could do something technical for half a billion dollars in space or they could spend half a billion to put up a satellite that surveilled the earth and could possibly give environmental data on the ozone layer and the warming effect. There was a terrible fight in the Bureau of the Budget, which came down and recommended against the environmental alternative.

Bush wanted to make Earth Day in 1990 his first proclamation. So January 3, I got invited, as the co-chairman of Earth Day in '70, back to Washington in 1990. That goes back a long way, because in 1970 Bush had me campaigning for him in Texas. He was running against Lloyd Bentsen. They had the pollution of the Houston ship channel as an issue, and Bush was trying to beat Bentsen for the Senate race. He took Pettis and me up in a blimp, in the Goodyear blimp, to get a little

news coverage of how strongly Bush was going to represent Texas in getting rid of that pollution in the Houston ship channel.

So here, twenty years later, I get called to the White House, and he has about thirty of us sitting there. He had Mo Udall and Gaylord Nelson and me and Denis Hayes--all the old crew from 1970. He proclaims that the 1990s are going to be the decade of the environment, and he, President Bush, is going to be the environmental president. Lurking in the background is this issue: is he going to get the Bureau of the Budget to allocate the \$500 million, not for the space shot but for the surveillance of the earth for environmental purposes on earth rather than in space? He came down in favor of the environmental side on that. I was making the same argument: let Bush do that. Let him take credit for it.

Lage: So you had a little input into that as well?

McCloskey: Just input. I mean, I'm not the key guy. The key guy is probably Bob Grady, who was the speechwriter for him and went over to Budget on the environmental side.

At any event, the same fight always goes--where do you allocate the money? You have one set of guys saying, "This is important. Let the president take credit for the space shot," and another set of guys saying, "The environment's more important. Let him take credit for an environmental issue." That's how those things are made. But what it comes down to is it comes down to a mix of what the political pressure from home was. Without those petitions, you might not have had Clausen jumping up and down.

Lage: And Murphy, I think was very--

McCloskey: Oh, yes, well, Murphy got beaten in the next election, as I recall.

Lage: He did, but he thought this was pretty crucial to his chances of winning. And he lobbied the White House also.

McCloskey: Murphy thought I was a Communist. I was against the war, and Murphy-- I never did like--

Lage: Murphy and you didn't do well?

McCloskey: No, we didn't get along. Clausen and I had a friendly relationship because I might say I represented the one group-- If I had gone up there and said, "Clausen's not good on the environment," he might have gotten beaten, and he knew it. I

wasn't about to do it, but it was the environmental constituency, he was scared of them from the day he went to Congress until the day he finally got beaten.

Lage: Well, he supported Point Reyes pretty strongly, I guess.

McCloskey: Yes, Clausen on occasion could be a very effective congressman.

Lage: Nixon finally came around, and then what seemed to happen was that Aspinall then sort of--. Seeing that Nixon was committed to Point Reyes, Aspinall held Point Reyes hostage to a full funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. And Nixon had to come around and fund it, and ended up funding it way beyond anybody's expectation.

Did you see any evidence that Nixon's turnaround helped him out here, when you were campaigning against him, or was the whole issue Vietnam? Nixon did turn around on Point Reyes, and then he endorsed the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, but do you think that was just overshadowed by Vietnam, or do you have any recollection of that?

McCloskey: Well, when I made the first impeachment speech. . .

Lage: How early?

McCloskey: In February of '71. From then on I was Peck's bad boy in the White House.

Lage: So you were advocating impeachment on the grounds of Vietnam.

McCloskey: We finally got the [repeal of] Gulf of Tonkin resolution passed. It was effective January 10, 1971. On January 20, as I recall, he invaded Cambodia. I said that that exceeded his constitutional powers and justified discussion of impeachment. That's '71. And then in June of '73 I made the first speech that he had committed an obstruction of justice based on evidence that we'd gotten. We finally commenced impeachment proceedings in November '73, after the Saturday Night Massacre when he fired Cox, and Richardson, and Ruckelshaus had resigned.

Lage: Did you have any connection with Ehrlichman during those times, or was it just--

McCloskey: We saw each other, and our kids went to school together. We had sort of agreed to disagree, but that only started, really, in 1970.

Actually, it was right about this time, I think it was October of '69, that Don Riegle and I and four other Republicans introduced the resolution to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. At that point--. You see, Nixon was talking at that time about a plan to end the war. It was just a question of how to end it. We were trying to push the president with that, but it really wasn't until--. John and I stayed good friends until '71, when I made that impeachment speech. That caused him a little embarrassment.

Lage: That would make it a little tough.

Broadening the Issue to Full Funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund: Congressmen Aspinall and Saylor

McCloskey: "Aspinall came at the President pretty hard on the problem of this administration not appropriating funds for already authorized parks." [Whitaker to Mayo, November 20, 1969. Appendix H, p. 340] That was the big issue. Congress appropriated the money, and Nixon wouldn't spend it. So they had a legitimate bitch, Aspinall did.

Lage: And Aspinall seemed to handle it pretty effectively. Once they got Nixon hooked on Point Reyes, then they could push him on the rest. And then John Saylor became offended, apparently, and opposed Point Reyes. Do you remember anything about that?

McCloskey: John Saylor was a prickly man. You could say for both Aspinall and Saylor that power got to them. Power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. Saylor and Aspinall were two guys who had spent a lot of time in the House, had gotten the power, and they wielded it. Saylor could have been offended by any number of things. They could have cut out something up in his district. John was from Pennsylvania.

Lage: One thing they did that may have offended him--in fact, there's an indication in the papers--they didn't invite him when the president met with Murphy and Clausen and Aspinall-- [see Appendix I, p. 342]

McCloskey: That would have offended him.

Lage: --to announce the funding for Point Reyes.

McCloskey: That really would have offended him.

Lage: And there's a little note from one of the staffers that perhaps Saylor should have been invited.

McCloskey: Yes, well, he was a ranking Republican.

Lage: Is that the kind of thing he would take offense at?

McCloskey: Oh, yes, he would be very jealous of his power. I'll give an example of that.

When Ed Zschau went to the Congress--Ed came from Silicon Valley; he desperately wanted a cut in the capital gains tax. He went to a congressman younger than he was but who had been there eight years on the Ways and Means Committee, Bill Thomas. He said, "Bill, would you introduce a bill to cut the capital gains tax?" Bill said no, so Ed introduced it. When I went back that first year, I asked Thomas, "How's Ed Zschau doing? Everybody says he's a brilliant guy," everybody else except Thomas. Thomas says, "He'd better learn his place." If he was going to introduce a tax bill, it had better be with the consent of the ranking Republican from California, the taxman.

That petty jealousy of position is sometimes much more important to a member than what's right or what the politics are. John Saylor was a particularly prickly guy about his jurisdiction. So if he didn't get credit for something--. And you know, he may have offended the president on something else, and they had some private vendetta going. But that's what I would suspect. I have no recollection of Saylor except as being a prickly guy, and he was always a hard guy to get around because he was sitting there as the ranking Republican.

[Interview concludes with a call from Pete McCloskey to John Ehrlichman relaying ROHO's interest in interviewing Ehrlichman on his recollections of the Point Reyes story.]

Transcriber: Elizabeth Kim
Final Typist: Kian Sandjideh

TAPE GUIDE--Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

Date of Interview: October 18, 1990

tape 1, side A

289

tape 1, side B

303

Appendix A
 McCloskey Congressional
 Testimony, 5/13/69

c. Pt. Reyes

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE, CALIF.

HEARING
 BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL PARKS AND RECREATION
 OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS
 FIRST SESSION
 ON

H.R. 3786 and Related Bills

TO AUTHORIZE THE APPROPRIATION OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS
 NECESSARY FOR ACQUISITION OF LAND AT THE POINT REYES
 NATIONAL SEASHORE IN CALIFORNIA

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, MAY 13, 1969

Serial No. 91-5

Printed for the use of the
 Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
 WASHINGTON : 1969

**STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

Mr. McCloskey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would ask unanimous consent to insert this written statement at the present time in the record. It is very brief.

Mr. TAYLOR. In the absence of objection, so ordered.
(Mr. McCloskey's full statement follows:)

**STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

Mr. Chairman, I speak in favor of H.R. 3786 and my own identical bill, H.R. 10137. In view of the breadth of the testimony which has already been heard, I will limit my testimony to personal knowledge and experience with the area in question and particularly its rising land values.

I am privileged to live about the same distance south of San Francisco that the proposed Point Reyes National Seashore is north. Before being elected to Congress in 1967, my profession was that of an attorney specializing in condemnation cases on behalf of landowners. The entire San Francisco Bay Area has been characterized by skyrocketing land prices in the last several decades. Particularly is this true with respect to rural areas which are suitable for subdivision and which are within an hour or two's drive from existing urban centers.

The decentralization of shopping centers and industry has made areas such as Point Reyes easily accessible to a new breed of affluent Americans, an ever-increasing number of people who desire to own a second home in the country. Semi-rural areas on the periphery of the San Francisco Bay Area's suburbs have doubled in value in the last 10 years. In my own district, rural San Mateo County, land similar to Point Reyes and the same distance from San Francisco, has gone from \$500 per acre to \$5,000 per acre since 1962. From my personal observation and experience, I believe it would be foolish indeed to authorize any sum less than the full \$7,500,000 figure of the bills before the Committee. I would likewise suggest consideration of the concept of legislative taking used in the Redwoods National Park last year. I think it absolutely certain that land values in the Point Reyes area will continue to escalate at a rate rapid enough to make even the \$7,500,000 figure inadequate unless the property is taken by condemnation during calendar year 1969.

In conclusion, let me say that the cost of this acquisition is infinitesimal in comparison with the public benefits in preserving this magnificent seashore and adjoining terrain for perpetual public use. There are few areas in the world which compare with the rugged grandeur of California coastline, and in a world where we spend equivalent sums for a few days' expenditure of ammunition 5,000 miles away in Viet Nam, we would be derelict indeed not to recognize the national priority here involved.

Mr. McCloskey. I have very little to add to this statement except in response to the question Mr. Skubitz asked earlier. I think there is no question but that the entire San Francisco Bay area is an area of national interest and of national historic and geographical attraction. People come from all over the world to San Francisco and the fact that this national seashore will be within an hour's driving distance to the north of the Golden Gate Bridge, I think, is extremely important as an adjunct to the ordinary visit paid San Francisco by every citizen in the United States if he has the opportunity.

I would like to make a second comment. Until 2 years ago it was my privilege to earn my living as a condemnation lawyer and I think it is sometimes difficult for Members from areas other than the rapidly burgeoning population centers of California to understand the transition that is taking place around these urban areas when suddenly nearly everyone desires to have some place outside that urban area to which he can retire. Because of that, these semirural areas within an hour or two's drive of the urban centers have gone up in value by increases which are not explained solely by inflation. They are explained, I think, by the growth of an affluent society which desires this second rural home in the country with the privilege of getting into the countryside within an hour or two's driving time if at all possible. And this is the factor which to my personal knowledge, has caused lands within the same driving distance of San Francisco to increase as much as ten times in value in the last 7 years.

Before I came to the Congress, I was engaged in litigation with the U.S. Government and I am somewhat familiar with the tendency on the part of Government appraisers to undervalue rather than over-evaluate lands which they seek to acquire in areas of this kind. I would add my own admonition that in view of the history of this particular acquisition, I would submit that the higher figure of \$38 million rather than the lower is the appropriate figure for this committee to authorize.

Thank you.

Mr. TAYLOR. Are you familiar with the procedures that the National Park Service used in acquiring this land?

Mr. McCloskey. Not this particular land, sir. I have just been given the report that the Department has submitted.

Mr. TAYLOR. I was going to ask you whether or not, in your opinion, the jury verdicts were reasonable, but perhaps you would not know that area well enough.

Mr. McCloskey. Well, juries of California tend to appreciate the prospective use of lands of this kind—this semirural land, presently being used for ranches—because the wealthiest men in the San Francisco Bay area are often men who were sheepherders 20 years ago and owned ranches of this precise type.

Mr. TAYLOR. Any questions from anyone else?

Thank you very much.

Mr. McCloskey. Thank you.

Appendix B
McCloskey to Ehrlichman

PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY, JR.
11TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

SEP 18 1969
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
AND
COMMITTEE ON
MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 16, 1969

Mr. John Ehrlichman
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Here's a starter. The only man who can save the Point Reyes National Seashore is the President. He is running out of time because the House Interior Committee is going to adjourn October 1, and the Bureau of the Budget Director, Robert Mayo, has made it clear that there are no funds available from BOB despite what has been properly characterized thus far as "weak White House support."

The money is available in the land and water conservation fund. All the President need do is order that it be released, earmarked for the national seashore projects, specifically, Point Reyes.

If you move this time, why not let a few of us know in advance so that we can properly give the President credit where it is due? It might also help to have the President announce that due to the efforts of George Murphy, Don Clausen and Bill Mailliard, he is taking this step to preserve a priceless national heritage.

Yr. Obt. Svt.

Pete

PNMcC:cb

SEPTEMBER 18, 1969

TO: DIRECTOR MAYO
FROM: TOR HULLIN

Attached is a copy of a letter from Congressman Paul McCloskey concerning Point Reyes National Seashore.

John Ehrlichman would like to know if the money in the land and water conservation fund is available.

Many thanks.

Attachment

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*look
at
McCluskey*

McCluskey

Funds in Land: Water Conservation
Funds before is committed
for FY70 already publicly
identified w/ specific projects

for 71 Budget it is an open
question. Considerable re-programming

Land rates are ↑

*70 million
increase*
Acquisition of additional land
will cost at least 50 million.
Needed Authorizing legislation
is still pending.

September 26, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR DOUG HOFE

FROM: BUD KROGH

SUBJECT: POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

I'm sure you have been beleaguered with suggestions on the need to save the Point Reyes project.

Attached is some material from Congressman McCloskey's office who has been pressuring us to do what we can.

Is there anything the Department of Interior can do to help this program go forward?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR TOD HULLIN

FROM:

BUD KROGH

BK

SUBJECT:

POINT REYES

Per your instructions, I have asked Jim Schlesinger, BoB, to provide me with a memorandum on how we can get additional funding for the Point Reyes project.

I advised Schlesinger that Point Reyes had received a higher priority in our thinking, and that it was necessary for us to do something dramatic. Accordingly, he will get a memorandum back to me today or tomorrow which should be in time for Ehrlichman to brief McCloskey.

E

1

7TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA
COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JEFFREY P. NEWMAN

FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
MR. AND MRS. ROY LEMON
LATMAN SQUARE BUILDING
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94612

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

OCT 10 1969

October 9, 1969

Dear *John*

As you are well aware, the Administration will not release the funds necessary for further purchases of land for the Point Reyes National Seashore.

I intend to introduce a bill which is designed to stimulate the release of the trust funds and make them available for this land acquisition.

This bill is a logical extension of the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1967, which was amended to authorize partial use of funds derived from oil leases on the outer continental shelf. The Administration budget request is only \$124 million for land acquisition for fiscal year 1970. This is the amount the Bureau of the Budget intends to release. The total amount available in the fund, on the other hand, is now \$288.5 million. Therefore, \$164.5 million will be unexpended this year unless we act soon.

This bill will suspend the authority of the Executive Branch to enter any lease agreement if the full amount of the Land and Water Conservation fund is not expended, and will also direct suspension of drilling operations under leases granted after passage of this bill in the same circumstances.

I recognize that this is a strong measure but feel it is the only way to break the fiscal logjam we are now facing.

I sincerely hope you will join me as a co-sponsor of this legislation. I intend to introduce the bill on October 19. If you wish to co-sponsor, please notify my office on EX 2661.

Sincerely yours,
[Signature]
Jeffery Cohelan
Member of Congress

*PA/C
good ideas
may be the only
way to solve
set
at Reyes
Sims
DB*

*Cut down on
budgetary purpose
only
37.6 allocated to
Park Service*

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

October 10, 1969

Mr. Tod R. Hullin
Administrative Assistant
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Tod:

This is in preliminary response to your note of October 1 and the confidential BOB memorandum of that date.

1. The President has the authority to increase the allocation of Land and Water Conservation Act funds from \$124 million to a figure in the neighborhood of \$200 million or more.

2. With this increase there is also the discretion of the President or the Secretary of Interior to allocate more than \$37.6 million to the Park Service, either by adding all of the increase to the Park Service or by denying funds to other beneficiaries of the fund.

3. With respect to the priorities of projects elsewhere in the United States, a new criteria might be applied, to wit: how fast are the land prices rising in the areas to be acquired? I suspect that Point Reyes, with its proximity to San Francisco, may show a higher annual increase in fair market value than some of the other areas.

4. None of this means much, of course, unless the House Interior Committee, at its hearings which are now set for November 13, increases the authority for Point Reyes from the present \$19.1 million. It is estimated that \$28.3 million will be necessary, but I suspect the real cost may now be up to \$38 million.

19 + 289
OK + 28

Mr. Tod R. Hullin
 October 10, 1969
 Page Two

5. Assuming that the increased authority is enacted by the Congress, it is my understanding that a supplemental appropriation bill would also be required.

6. To have a chance of success in these legislative actions, I assume the President should indicate now that he will allocate the required funds if Congress does its part.

*Meaning
 how well*

7. Chairman Aspinall's motives, desires and intentions are a mystery to me.

I am enclosing for your examination a letter I have just received from Congressman Cohelan with respect to an act he proposed to introduce on the same subject.

I will not support his bill until the other alternatives are resolved.

Best regards,

Pete

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

PNMcC:cb

cc: Mr. John D. Ehrlichman

77th CONGRESS
2^d SESSION

H. R. 14533

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 27, 1969

Mr. CONLAN (for himself, Mr. McCLOSKEY, and Mr. McFALL) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

A BILL

To amend the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965 to provide that authority to enter into certain mineral leases with respect to the Outer Continental Shelf shall be suspended during any period when amounts in the land and water conservation fund are impounded or otherwise withheld from expenditure, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
That the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (Public Law 88-578) is amended by adding immediately after section 2 thereof the following new section:

1 "SUSPENSION OF MINERAL LEASING AUTHORITY UNDER
2 CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES

3 "SEC. 2A. (a) SUSPENSION.—Whenever any of the
4 sums covered into the fund in accordance with section 2 of
5 this Act and available for expenditure as provided in section
6 3 of this Act are impounded, withheld from obligation, or
7 otherwise withheld from expenditure, then, notwithstanding
8 section 5 of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43
9 U.S.C. 1334) or any other provision of that or any other
10 law, no lease, permit, or other form of authorization shall be
11 entered into, granted, extended, issued, or otherwise agreed
12 to by the President, the Secretary of the Interior, or any
13 other officer or employee of the United States for the
14 exploration for, or development or removal of deposits of,
15 oil, gas, or other minerals from the Outer Continental Shelf,
16 for so long as such sums are so impounded, withheld from
17 obligation, or otherwise withheld from expenditure.

18 "(b) FUTURE LEASES.—Every lease, permit, or other
19 form or authorization for the exploration for, or development
20 or removal of deposits of, oil, gas, or other minerals from
21 the Outer Continental Shelf entered into, initially or by
22 extension, after the date of enactment of this section shall,
23 notwithstanding any other provision of law, be conditioned
24 upon the holder of the lease ceasing all exploration, develop-
25 ment, removal, and other operations in connection with such

3

1 lease during any period when any of the sums covered into
2 the fund in accordance with section 2 of this Act and avail-
3 able for expenditure as provided in section 3 of this Act are
4 impounded, withheld from obligation, or otherwise withheld
5 from expenditure.”

November 13, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

From: John C. Whitaker *JCW*

Re: Purchase of Point Reyes California Peninsula
Area, Northern San Francisco, as a National Park

BACKGROUND

1. Park Director Hartzog testifies today before the House Interior Committee in favor of authorizing an increase of \$33.5 Million for the purchase of Point Reyes as a national park. His testimony will center largely around the rise in land values from the previous estimate of \$28.3 Million, to the present estimate of \$33.365 Million to purchase the area. When asked by the Committee if he favors a supplemental FY 1970 appropriation legislation, he will "waffle" and he is instructed to do so by me.
2. Perhaps as early as tomorrow, but certainly not more than two or three weeks from now, the Interior Appropriations Committee will introduce legislation to appropriate funds and make political hay out of it. All intelligence I can gather on it indicates that the Interior Appropriations Committee will pass an appropriation of \$33.365 Million. In other words, the President will be "run over" by Congress and the Democrats will collect the credit.
3. I foresee no chance the ultimately the President will veto the entire appropriations package, but he could veto the authorization bill which will come to him as one item -- but at great political expense.
4. After meeting with Carl Schwartz, Director of the Natural Resources Division, BOB; Carl McMurray, Advisory to Secretary Hickel, and Park Director Hartzog, Hartzog proposed the following plan:

RECOMMENDATION

If the above options to find any money are not fruitful, and I am pretty sure they will not be, then I recommend that we go ahead and put in legislation appropriations for supplemental FY 1970, although it may not have to be for the full \$7.5 Million. }

It may be that Hartzog can get started with less money than that, but at any rate we commit for a speedy purchase by the end of FY 1972 of the entire Point Reyes area. My rationale is that we are going to be run over by Congress on this one and we should therefore pick up the political credit and do it in the most dramatic way possible. }

The following parks have requests in for acquisition for FY 1970, and the total cost for purchase of parks is indicated below:

Cape Cod, Massachusetts	\$ 17.401 Million
Point Reyes, California	33.5 Million
Padre Island, Texas	4.130 Million
Lake Mead, Arizona/Nevada	<u>4.6 Million</u>

\$59.631 Million

- a) Obviously, California has much more political clout when you look at the political situation in the above States. }
- b) It gives the President a chance to identify with California, but not at the expense of playing regional favoritism because he can point out that Point Reyes, more than any park, represents the prime example of major encroachment by suburban sprawl of any area in the country.
- c) The political pressure on this one is extremely high. For example, Congressman Don Clausen now has 250,000 petitions for purchase of the park.

Prepare supplemental appropriations legislation for FY 1970 for \$7.5 Million. This is the amount of money he usefully feels can be spent to purchase property in the Point Reyes area during this fiscal year. Hartzog could probably get by with \$2 or \$3 Million if authorized to negotiate with Sweet (the key land) for only a portion of his property and defer later negotiation until next year, but that would just make the tab stiffer in later years. His schedule for appropriations for purchase of the whole park will be:

FY 1970	\$ 7.5 Million (may be only \$2 or 3 Million)
FY 1971	\$ 7.5 Million
FY 1972	<u>\$18.5 Million</u>
	\$33.5 Million (approximately)

Hartzog, who is probably more aware than anyone about the escalating cost of land purchase, is convinced that he can purchase the park for \$33.5 Million by the end of FY 1972.

5. Appropriations legislation should not include a clause for "legislative taking" since, obviously, we cannot have much of the \$33.5 Million available in FY 1970. The purchase would have to be by way of the condemnation route through normal court procedures.

6. Other methods now being explored to find the necessary \$7.5 Million in FY 1970 funds are as follows:

- a) Carl McMurray is re-examining the possibility of reprogramming funds in the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of Interior.
- b) Carl McMurray is making a delicate exploration of the possibility of making a deal with the Department of Agriculture whereby contract authority can be given from the National Park Service of Interior to the Forest Service of Agriculture in return for cash from the Department of Agriculture.

Carl Schwartz will not undertake this exploration with Agriculture until such time as an authorization bill on Point Reyes has been passed.

-4-

- d) Finally, on the Sweet property (a key portion of the park) developers have reportedly made the offer of \$5 Million for purchase of this land for highrise apartments, right in the choice peninsula portion of the park.

Considering the above, I recommend that the President beat the Democrats to the punch and submit supplemental FY 1970 appropriation legislation -- that he should do this in a dramatic way by inviting to the Cabinet Room the entire California Delegation (both Democrats and Republicans), together with Senators Jackson, Allott and Bible (Parks Sub Committee), Congressmen Aspinall, Saylor and Roy A. Taylor (Chairman of the House Park Subcommittee, Dem. N. C.) and Joe Skubitz (Rep. Kansas).

Just before a meeting with this large group, the President should meet privately for about ten minutes with Secretary Hickel, Senator Murphy and Don Clausen (the Point Reyes park is in his District) and then have the President announce his decision to the entire group, with an accompanying letter to Chairman Aspinall at the same time.

Assuming that no funds are forthcoming in FY 1970 from any of the above described options and further assuming that it's a real fact that we have gone through our \$192.9 Billion budget level for FY 1970, then the money should come from some other program, e. g. cancel a space shot.

November 18, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: John C. Whitaker

Subject: Meeting with Senator George Murphy
and Congressman Don Clausen
Tuesday, November 18, 1969
3:25 to 3:40 P.M.

I. PURPOSE

To inform Murphy and Clausen of your decision to fund the purchase of the Point Reyes national seashore area.

II. BACKGROUND

The area covers 54,136 acres, of which only 22,816 acres have been purchased since 1962 for a cost of \$19 Million. Because of the escalating land prices due to the proximity of this area to San Francisco, you have made the decision to go ahead and purchase the area over a three-year period under the following schedule:

FY '70	\$ 7.5 Million
FY '71	7.5 Million
FY '72	<u>18.5 Million</u>
Total	\$33.65 Million

III. POINTS OF DISCUSSION

- A. Ask Senator Murphy and Congressman Clausen to tell the press at the 4 o'clock Ziegler briefing of your intentions to go ahead and acquire the land; that the Administration will send a supplemental budget request for FY'70 to Congress (there is no reason why Murphy should mention the exact amount), contingent upon the enactment of authorizing legislation above the present funding level of \$19 Million.**
- B. You may wish to caution Murphy that you do not wish to appear politically partisan in favor of California; that the justification for purchase of the park is the escalating land costs and proximity of this wonderful seashore area to San Francisco which is creating tremendous pressure for real estate development, including highrise apartments and suburban single family dwellings.**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 18, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable George Murphy
Honorable Don Clausen*J. E. Whitaker*

Subject: Point Reyes National Seashore Area

After your meeting with the President, you may wish to make the following points to the press:

1. That the Point Reyes national seashore area was originally authorized in 1962 but the funds have never really been appropriated to the full amount to purchase the area. To date, \$19 Million have been appropriated to buy 22,816 acres, whereas the total park area is 54,136 acres. In other words, there are 31,320 acres left to purchase.

2. Even given the tightness of the FY'70 Budget, the President has told you that he wishes to go ahead with the purchase of this property as a national seashore area because the pressure to develop the area for highrise apartments and single family suburban dwelling units is extremely high and the President feels this beautiful area must be preserved for present and future generations.

3. If you are asked by the press why the President has decided to go ahead with this park area and not with other national park areas, you may wish to indicate that Point Reyes is unique in the sense that there are higher pressures for real estate development and escalating land values here than in any place in the country. Therefore, the President has indicated action is required now.

- 2 -

4. You may wish to indicate that should the House Interior Committee enact authorizing legislation above the present funding level of \$19 Million, the Administration will present a supplemental budget request for FY'70 and schedule funds for FY'71 and FY'72 to complete the purchase of the area.

John C. Whitaker
Deputy Assistant to the President

November 20, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR MAYO

From: John C. Whitaker

Re: Parks

I wanted to report to you on the meeting among the President, Senator Murphy, Congressmen Aspinall and Clausen, and myself.

1. Aspinall readily agreed to pass authorization legislation if the President came down with his supplemental FY'70 for "a little over \$7 Million for Point Reyes." (text of press conference attached.)

In my conversations with Carl McMurray this morning, he is reprogramming approximately \$1.5 Million from the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the balance up to "just over \$7 Million" would have to come from Budget in FY'70. Interior is preparing the supplemental appropriations legislation for BOB now.

2. Aspinall came at the President pretty hard on the problem of this Administration not appropriating funds for already authorized parks. In a later conversation with me, he in effect said "my Committee will not authorize any future parks until the three remaining at the top of my list are funded -- Cape Cod, Massachusetts; Padre Island, Texas and Lake Mead, Arizona/Nevada". My guess is that he can make that statement stick.

3. Aspinall asked the President to fund the Land and Conservation Act to the full \$200 Million in FY 71. The President talked with Aspinall about a pay-as-you-go plan for financing parks and how sympathetic he was to that point of view. In

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1

CONFIDENTIAL By RM NARS, Date 10-1-70

a later conversation with Aspinall, I wrapped it up this way-- (a) we had a firm deal on Point Reyes, (b) there was sympathy to funding the Land and Conservation Act to the full \$200 Million but I definitely stated that we could not make a commitment on it at this time pending Budget review between you and the President, and (c) we were working hard on possible schemes for long-term financing of parks.

As a practical matter then, I conclude that the price for Point Reyes is at a minimum appropriation of funds for FY'71 for the three remaining parks. In Aspinall's mind he would want to spend the \$200 Million in FY'71 to clean up all the authorized but unappropriated parks on his books before there is talk of any new parks. I imagine he can make that stick, too, if you give him the \$200 Million.

Meanwhile, Carl McMurray on Secretary Hickel's staff is wrestling with new ways to finance parks. I have asked him to talk his ideas over with Carl Schwartz and prepare a "prospectus" with Secretary Hickel for the President.

cc: Mr. Carl Schwartz

CONFIDENTIAL

Put in PT says file
 Don't type

11/21

Don Clawson: Ford

Saul to Ford that "white House
 didn't want me down there"

Ford - thanks Larry

1. should as Clawson & Murphy request for
 meeting with ^{the} President -
2. should be possible meeting
3. felt a far less matter
 Asperal be invited -
 if make one has many more -
- (4) Bill Myard -
- (5) In retrospect let John Sauls - know
- (1) had meeting with President

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970
An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation

John D. Ehrlichman

PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT WITH A BIAS FOR PARKS

An Interview Conducted by
William J. Duddleson
in 1991

Table of Contents--John D. Ehrlichman

INTERVIEW HISTORY	345
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	346
I THE WHITE HOUSE AND POINT REYES, 1969-1970	347
Some of Those Involved in Actions of the Nixon White House	347
The Budget Bureau's Role	347
Congressman Pete McCloskey's Role	348
John Whitaker's Role	349
Senator Murphy's Role	350
John Ehrlichman's Role: The Working Relationship with the President	351
The Citizen Role: Peter Behr and the Save our Seashore Campaign	352
Aftereffects of Point Reyes Success: "Legacy of Parks" Program and The Two Gateways	354
Impact on the President of "People Power" in Point Reyes	355
Relations with Congress	356
Working on the Federal Budget	358
Making the Trade-Offs with Kissinger and Nixon	358
Who Speaks for an Administration?	360
What Turned Point Reyes in a New Direction?	360
Pete McCloskey's Pounding Started It	360
The Budget Bureau's Alternatives: The "Shrink the Park" Option	361
Nixon and the "Budget Boys": James Schlesinger and Robert Mayo	362
Murphy's Changing Relationship with Nixon	365
II POINT REYES AND OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIONS OF THE NIXON YEARS	366
Other White House Involvements	366
Enacting the National Environmental Policy Act	366
Halting the Cross-Florida Barge Canal	368
Firing a Park Service Director	369
Some Other Matters That May Have Been Affected by Point Reyes	371
Proposing Change in How the Government Tries Land Lawsuits	371
Encouraging Park Action Elsewhere	374
Providing Political Credibility	375
Educating a Decision-Maker	376
Working on the Property Review Board	377
Impact of Point Reyes Local Advocates, via Citizen Behr and Congressman Clausen	378
A Car Pool for a Conference?	379
A Space Shot for a Park?	380
Happy Results and Anniversaries	382
TAPE GUIDE	385

INTERVIEW HISTORY--John D. Ehrlichman

In September 1969 John Ehrlichman was President Nixon's White House counsel, and that November he became Nixon's principal assistant for domestic affairs. When he had arrived in Washington that January with the newly elected president, Ehrlichman and his family found a home in nearby Virginia, near his Stanford law school classmate and friend of twenty years, California Congressman Pete McCloskey. The two men were not only neighbors, they were in the same carpool; both were driven to work in the White House limousine assigned to Ehrlichman.

When McCloskey learned, on September 12th, that Nixon's budget director had announced that--even if Congress appropriated funds to complete land acquisition at Point Reyes National Seashore--the funds would not be released by the Nixon administration, he immediately called the one person he knew who might be able to get that policy changed: John Ehrlichman.

The key question addressed during this interview more than twenty years later was what had caused the Nixon administration's stated policy on Point Reyes funding to change, sometime between September and November of '69, from "no" to "yes"? During the interview Ehrlichman said--accurately, as I, too, read the paper trail in the Nixon presidential files held by the National Archives--the fact that McCloskey got his attention, and that he in turn put his staff to work on it in a responsive way, was, at least, "the thing that started it in the new direction."

Arrangements for the Ehrlichman interview were facilitated by Pete McCloskey. Their friendship, estranged because of their ardently held and widely differing views on the Vietnam War--beginning about a month after McCloskey first asked Ehrlichman for help on Point Reyes--was reestablished in the mid-seventies. That was when McCloskey visited Ehrlichman in the federal prison camp where he served eighteen months following his Watergate-related obstruction-of-justice and perjury convictions.

The interview was done June 11, 1991, in Ehrlichman's home office on a hillside in Santa Fe, New Mexico, base for his consulting work which includes environmental consulting, and his writing--his third novel was in progress. His two black retrievers, Bryan and Daphne, were silent witnesses to the interview and Cat, who sat on his lap purring into the tape recorder, a more vocal one. During the morning the only reference to Ehrlichman's Watergate time of trouble was made by me, as I said goodbye. He said, have a good trip home, and I wished him good luck, "after all you've been through." Nothing, he said, could be further

behind him.

As he walked with me to my car it began to rain. After explaining that he had a pig who got out of sorts when it rained, and could use some company, he waved and walked off through the piñon pine, accompanied by Bryan and Daphne, calling, "Pig, Pig, where are you? Here Pig, here Pig . . ."

Bill Duddleson
Interviewer

November 1992
Bethesda, Maryland

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name JOHN EHRlichMAN

Date of birth 3-20-25 Birthplace TACOMA, WA

Father's full name RUDOLPH I. EHRlichMAN

Occupation _____ Birthplace MINN.

Mother's full name LILLIAN C. EHRlichMAN

Occupation _____ Birthplace WISC.

Your spouse CHRISTY PEACOCK

Your children PETER, JAN HALE, THOMAS, JODY PINEDA
ROBERT and MICHAEL

Where did you grow up? SANTA MONICA, CA

Present community ATLANTA

Education J.D.

Occupation(s) Writer, consultant, executive

Areas of expertise _____

Other interests or activities _____

Organizations in which you are active _____

I THE WHITE HOUSE AND POINT REYES, 1969-1970

[Interview 1: June 11, 1991]##¹Some of Those Involved in Actions of the Nixon White House

Duddleson: As you probably gathered from the material, the focus of this Bancroft Library oral history is the Save Our Seashore citizen movement in the San Francisco Bay Area in '69 and '70. And, events that may have flowed from that. A key puzzlement, still, is how the Nixon Administration's position came to change on whether the administration would support additional funding to complete the land acquisition of Point Reyes National Seashore. Do you have any recollection of the process, what might have been the key junctures?

The Budget Bureau's Role

Ehrlichman: As you know from your experience, the president, through the voice of what was then the Bureau of the Budget, took positions on all kinds of legislative issues without the president ever really noticing it. It was up to the director of the Bureau of the Budget to figure out what the money availability was and to just go ahead and say to Congress, "This is good," and "This is bad," and "We do have money for this and we don't have money for that."

Implicit in the process, however, is the right of the president to cut into that communication at any point and to say, "Wait a minute. That's not the way I feel at all." And to stop the Bureau of the Budget from its course of action. A

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes, see p. 385.

number of times, departments--like the Department of the Interior in this case--would take a position, and the Bureau of the Budget would take an entirely different position. It would be up to the Congress to reconcile the conflict if they could, or for one of us to escalate it to a level in the White House where one of us got involved and refereed between the budget people and the departmental people and arrived at some kind of a reconciled position.

Congressman Pete McCloskey's Role

Ehrlichman: In this case, the [Interior] Department took a position that the Bureau of the Budget hedged for a while, and then it came along and took a position adverse to the department. It got up to the assistant level in the White House because Pete McCloskey¹ pounded on me.

Duddleson: That was the first time it was brought to your attention?

Ehrlichman: Oh, I think so. I suspect that John Whitaker, my assistant, knew that there was a conflict, but we had dozens of those in every department all the time. Ordinarily, the presumption is that the Budget people are right and the department is wrong, and we go on from there.

In this case, McCloskey was a college friend and we'd been to [Stanford] law school together and our families had grown up together. I used to give him a ride to work. The White House limousine would come out to Great Falls and pick me up and then stop in McLean² to get him, and then it would drop me at the White House and take him on up to the Hill. And many times, we stopped and got Lew [Lewis H.] Butler, who was assistant secretary of HEW [Health, Education, and Welfare], so the three of us would ride up together, and we would talk about whatever we had on our minds.

It was in some kind of a context like that, I'm sure, that McCloskey began to call my attention to Point Reyes. He had easy access to me and could pick up the phone and get me, and it was something that he cared a lot about, so it came to

¹Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, of San Mateo County, California, was a Republican member of the House, 1967-83--Ed.

²Great Falls and McLean are Virginia suburbs of Washington.

my attention. So then I cut into it, and I assigned Tod [R.] Hullin and John [C.] Whitaker, and I notice [Egil] Bud Krogh [Jr.] was also involved in it. All three of them on my staff.¹

John Whitaker's Role

Duddleson: I notice from the documents, the [Point Reyes] paper trail we've found in the National Archives, that John Whitaker didn't come in, on the documents, until late in the process, until a week or so before the November '69 [Point Reyes] meeting with the president and the three members of Congress. Was that possibly related to your change in position from [White House] counsel?²

Ehrlichman: Yes. Right around that period of time, along in the first part of October, I think, we switched over from--. I was counsel to the president, became assistant to the president for domestic affairs, and took over what was to be the staff of the Domestic Council. The Domestic Council was born; the Bureau of the Budget became the Office of Management and Budget, all right at that period of time, so there was a lot going on in the way of transition.

Duddleson: And Whitaker came with the Domestic Council?

Ehrlichman: He was secretary of the Cabinet and came into the Domestic Council staff. Krogh was already on my staff when I was counsel, and he took a co-equal post as an assistant director of the Domestic Council staff with Whitaker and with four or five others. My guess is that Whitaker didn't get his feet under him in the Domestic Council staff until right about where you see him appear on the scene in this whole process.

Duddleson: In November?

¹Hullin was Ehrlichman's assistant. Whitaker was with the White House staff group for a Cabinet-level entity called the Domestic Council, set up in 1969, and was responsible for natural resources, conservation, and environmental issues. Ehrlichman was executive director of the Domestic Council.--Ed.

²See Appendices to McCloskey interview, pp. 321-342, for many of these documents.

Ehrlichman: Yes.

Duddleson: And he was your ranking assistant, was he?

Ehrlichman: No. Ken [Kenneth R.] Cole was. Ken Cole had been working for [H. R. (Bob)] Haldeman [Nixon's White House chief of staff]. He came over and became my deputy. Anyway, I had six assistants: Krogh and Whitaker, Ed Morgan, Henry Cashen, Lew Engman and somebody else. But anyway, those fellows were at that level. And Whitaker's portfolio was Interior and EPA and so forth.

Senator Murphy's Role

Duddleson: Do you have any recollection of--after you got into it and had Krogh and Hullin working on this [Point Reyes]--of at what point or in what circumstances the [administration] position changed? And what deciding role, if any, Senator [George L.] Murphy's¹ interest had in it?

Ehrlichman: Murphy's role was, as I recall, that he was a candidate for reelection in one of the big battleground states, and it was very much in the president's interest to be sure that he got reelected. He was only marginally influential on the president. Nixon considered him a kind of a lightweight. So although he [Murphy] took a great deal of credit for this, I would say that he didn't carry the day, so to speak. As far as I was concerned, the posture was this: Interior wanted this, Bureau of the Budget didn't. We were keeping the president's cards very close to his chest until we found out--.

[phone rings, tape interruption]

Ehrlichman: So in summary, I would say that when McCloskey hit me on it, I wanted to find out more about it. Obviously, I couldn't side with him immediately. I had conflicting agencies within our house. And we had to find out where the bodies were buried in all of this. So I asked Hullin, who was my personal assistant, to find out as much as he could about this. And I

¹Murphy, a former movie actor and film industry public relations executive, was the senior U.S. senator from California and a candidate for reelection in 1970. He had long been active in California Republican party politics and was a long-time Nixon ally.--Ed.

asked McCloskey to write me a letter about it, which he did [dated September 16, 1969. See p. 321]. And then we began choosing up sides after that.

John Ehrlichman's Role: The Working Relationship with the President

Duddleson: And then did you make a recommendation to the president, or did you--? Somewhere in here, we need to get into the question of the president's delegation to you on the domestic matters and the environmental matters.

Ehrlichman: I hear what you're suggesting. Because George Murphy was involved, and also some of these other congressmen who were old friends of the president's from his congressional days, this is one I would have run by him in any case. Now, by October-November, Bob [Robert A.] Mayo, the director of the Bureau of the Budget, was in bad odor with the president.

Duddleson: By when?

Ehrlichman: By November. October, somewhere along in there, because we were at the really tough budgetary time, and Nixon was getting very sick and tired of Bob Mayo. So if I had simply forwarded him a memo and said, "Interior wants this, Mayo opposes it. What do you want to do? P.S. George Murphy's running for reelection," it was a foregone conclusion as far as I can see that he was going to come down on the side of picking it up and getting the money.

But I don't think I did that. I think what I did was have a private conversation with him. I don't see anything in the paper trail about a memo, and I don't think I wrote him one. I used to go in every day; I'd have eight or ten items that I wanted to cover with him, and I'd go down the list. And probably what I did was present this and say, "We've got a money problem in this. But, it's going to help Murphy. It's going to help these Republican congressmen. And, you're on the side of the angels." And he said, "Fine. Do whatever you need to do."

Duddleson: Looking on the angels' side here for a minute, was there more in it, we'll say, in your recommendation? Was there more in it than the Interior position, and these Republican members of the California congressional delegation? Was there more than that? Was it also your own personal sense of what was the--.

Ehrlichman: Absolutely. I had practiced law in this field of public land use for many years, and I was only in the White House job nine or ten months at this point. I came to it with a very strong bias in favor of open space, parks, public lands for public use, and that kind of thing. I don't recall specifically, but I'm sure when I read this business about the National Park Service advocating subdividing a portion of the allocated area to condos and golf courses, I probably flipped. It's preposterous, and I would have thought so and I still do think so. So I have a very personal attitude toward this. McCloskey had done an effective job of framing the issues in a way that appealed to me.

So yes, as far as my own personal bias, I would have given the president a real argument if he had come down on the side of budgetary restraints. But I don't recall that I had any problem with him at all. In fact, we had pretty much unanimity at the political level, so to speak, the appointee level in the White House--Whitaker and Krogh and so on. We all agreed that this was the right thing to do from the long-haul standpoint.

The Citizen Role: Peter Behr and the Save Our Seashore Campaign

Ehrlichman: Now, I'm aware that there was a lot of public sentiment in California.

Duddleson: That's just the next question I was going to ask. Were you aware of this background music, so to speak [the citizen Save Our Seashore campaign]?

Ehrlichman: Yes. Well, at some time I had met with Peter Behr, and he had explained to me the Save the Bay business and then this movement. I found him very persuasive as an individual, but also, I sensed--. I had been through a California campaign where freeways were a problem and land use was an issue in the gubernatorial campaign.¹ So I had some little background in California environmental politics, if you want to call it

¹In 1962 Ehrlichman worked part-time on Richard Nixon's staff during Nixon's campaign as the Republican candidate for governor. The incumbent, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, a Democrat, was reelected.--Ed.

that, and I was not unaware of the realities of that in terms of political force.

Duddleson: Do you have any recollection of the president getting mail and the petitions that were coming in?

Ehrlichman: Could have been. I'll tell you how that worked. Ray [Raymond K.] Price, the head writer, would take a dip into the public mail.

[phone rings, tape interruption]

Ehrlichman: Price would take a dip into the mail, and he would give the president and each of us samples, send us maybe ten or twenty letters that were representative. I may have gotten some Point Reyes mail, but I don't remember it now.

Duddleson: I think the petitions themselves were sent by Peter Behr and his legions, through Congressman [Don H.] Clausen and perhaps some through Senator Murphy, for them to "deliver" to the White House.

Ehrlichman: And they may well have done it; I don't know. Those things go to the mail department and I'd never see them again.

Duddleson: Do you recall being involved in any other national park system matter before Point Reyes? Was this the first of its kind?

Ehrlichman: I think it was the first. I got into some after, and I got into the whole George Hartzog¹ question, but that came later on.

Duddleson: Perhaps we can touch on that later. But Point Reyes may have been the first of this particular order--also of the hundreds, I dare say, issues? Was this your first introduction, in the sense of being brought to your personal attention, of something called the Land and Water Conservation Fund?

Ehrlichman: No, I was aware of that. When I was counsel in this preceding ten months, I had urged on the president the idea of inventorying all the federal government's real estate. It turned out that there was no inventory. GSA [General Services Administration] knew some of it and DOD [Department of Defense] knew some of it, but nobody knew all of it. We thought that what we could do, once we found out what we

¹Hartzog was National Park Service director from 1964 to 1972, when he was fired by the Nixon Administration and replaced by Ronald Walker.--Ed.

owned, was dispose of a lot of it that had a higher and better use than the federal government was making of it.

In conjunction with that, I met Doug Hofe [an Interior Department official, director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation] and got acquainted with the Land and Water Conservation Fund, and began to think about how we could combine the various public land activities of the federal government toward moving some of these things into better use. So that process had been going on for probably the preceding five or six months.

Aftereffects of Point Reyes Success: "Legacy of Parks" Program and The Two Gateways

Duddleson: Do you recall what happened when the Point Reyes crisis got handled? By that I mean the fact that subdivision had been going on, logging was going on and the resource was being lost, certainly degraded, for lack of funds to complete buying the land. Did that success have any effect at all on this longer-term approach?

Ehrlichman: Well, it did. Because as you've noticed in the paperwork, more or less as a result of the disparity in views within the executive branch [on Point Reyes], it became clear that there was a need for a public policy on parks. Whitaker began the process of developing such a thing about the same time that Ray Price proposed the cosmetic "Legacy of Parks" appellation. And we saw how that would all tie to this divestiture of federal lands for state and local use as parks.

Well, that actually happened. It didn't happen on the scale that I had hoped it would, but it did happen, and we moved a fair amount of real estate off the federal rolls as a part of that policy.

Duddleson: And was that what the "Legacy of Parks" label, mostly, was? The transfer from the federal government to states and locals of surplus federal lands?

Ehrlichman: Mostly, but not entirely. For instance, the Gateway parks in San Francisco and New York¹ were probably the most visible manifestations of that. But there's a little park in Mclean, Virginia, that was DOT [Department of Transportation] land and they weren't using it, so we just took it away from them and gave it to Fairfax County, and it became a park. So there are a lot of these little pockets around, and every one was a bloody battle because the departments and agencies fought us tooth and nail to hang onto their damn real estate. DOD was the worst of them, but we fought them and, in a number of cases, we won.

Impact on the President of "People Power" in Point Reyes

Duddleson: Do you have a sense of the impact, the consequence, of the Point Reyes experience, being a success--if I may assume that that was a success for you all--.

Ehrlichman: Yes.

Duddleson: And that it was well received. I'm wondering whether that had any farther influence on some subsequent events--

Ehrlichman: I'm sure it did.

Duddleson: --beyond the Gateways, like increasing the funding level of the Land and Water Conservation Fund?

Ehrlichman: Richard Nixon was not your natural, birds, bees, and bunnies man. He had to be persuaded that this was not only right to do, but that it had a payoff down the line in political terms. Point Reyes helped to demonstrate that, in unmistakable terms, to him.

Duddleson: And it was the first such demonstration?

Ehrlichman: I'm not sure it was the first, but it was the best, certainly. I'm sure he got mail and pats on the back and so on. But he never saw this many people mobilized in quite this way. And he saw these congressmen coming to him and saying nice things,

¹Gateway National Recreation Area, in the New York City-New Jersey harbor area, and Golden Gate National Recreation Area, in the San Francisco Bay Area, were both authorized in 1972.--Ed.

and all of that was helpful in persuading him that he was on the right side of this.

Duddleson: I noticed in the documents that for a while--and this would be early in 1970, after the Point Reyes success--there was a discussion in the White House about the Gateways. Whether these were appropriately to be federally managed and operated. Or, whether the federal lands which were the beginning land base for both of them, the surplus coast artillery forts, were more appropriately a state responsibility, that is, for their operation as parks. This was a point of view put forward, I think, by your staff, by John Whitaker and by you and by the Budget Bureau. There also was the consideration of the increase in size of the National Park Service employee staff. Do you recall how that played out, and how that was changed, and what the factors might have been on that?

Ehrlichman: No, the thing you described was policy. That is that we were going to push down to the state and local level as much of this park activity as possible. We contribute the land, and then we're out of it. So we began there in every case. I don't recall how the Gateways specifically ended up being federal rather than state and local. My guess is in the case of New York that probably Nelson Rockefeller just said he didn't have the money and kicked like a steer and we caved. But I'm just guessing now; I just don't recall.

Relations with Congress

Duddleson: Do you recall the relationships with some of the key movers and shakers in the Congress? I'm thinking, for instance, now of Wayne Aspinall, chairman of the House Interior Committee, a somewhat curmudgeonous man?

Ehrlichman: Irascible, I think, is the word.

Duddleson: And who was in a key position as far as the Congress was concerned. Do you remember--

Ehrlichman: I had no contact with him, to speak of. I think I met him twice. Whitaker had a lot of contact with him and I used to hear from Whitaker about this guy, but I had no personal experience with him, really.

Duddleson: Or with other members of Congress?

- Ehrlichman: Well, some with other members of Congress. Jackson, for instance. Quite a lot of contact. Different ones, but the "legacy" policy, giving away of federal lands, we kept very close to the White House. We didn't look for much congressional support. We discovered we could do this thing by executive order unless the Congress passed a law forbidding us, which they did in some cases. We got crosswise of [Congressman Edward] Hébert from Louisiana, we got crosswise with the Hawaiian delegation about Fort DeRussy, and they actually put amendments on bills forbidding us from divesting. But by and large, by executive order we did this thing, and sort of held the Congress at arm's length. It was like base closings.
- Duddleson: Going back, in a sense, to the [November 18, 1969] meeting in the Oval Office with Senator Murphy, Congressman Clausen, Congressman Aspinall, and John Whitaker, as I recall, this same weekend you went to California, according to the newspapers.
- Ehrlichman: That's evidently so. I know I wasn't there [at that meeting].
- Duddleson: The California papers carried stories, including your remarks about the fact that the government was supporting some initial money to begin to complete buying up Point Reyes. What is your recollection of the things that flowed from that--in Washington? I'm thinking now of Chairman Aspinall, for instance, who found himself there. . .
- Ehrlichman: As a kind of potted palm. He was really just a prop.
- Duddleson: Well, he, according to John Whitaker's memo, he came down pretty hard on the president for opposing funding to complete land buying for parks that the Congress and previous administrations had authorized.
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: He came out of that with a deal.
- Ehrlichman: Evidently.
- Duddleson: On more than Point Reyes. Do you recall those negotiations?
- Ehrlichman: No, I wasn't there, and I guess I was told about it afterwards. I really don't know.
- Duddleson: But it probably would have been John Whitaker.

- Ehrlichman: Whitaker, yes. Have you seen him, by the way?
- Duddleson: I haven't.
- Ehrlichman: You really ought to talk to John. Before you leave, I'll give you his phone number.
- Duddleson: Could we take a little break now?
- Ehrlichman: Would you like a cup of tea?
- Duddleson: I'd love a cup of tea.
- Ehrlichman: All right, then I'll get you a cup.
- [tape interruption]

Working on the Federal Budget

Making the Trade-Offs with Kissinger and Nixon

- Duddleson: Can we go back just a minute to the impact of the Point Reyes period?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: On the Land and Water Conservation Fund there were two events, as I recall from the material. One was a decision for full funding of the Fund program beginning in fiscal '70 and into fiscal '71, right after the Point Reyes experience. And there was a subsequent decision to raise the annual level of funding by 50 percent--.
- Ehrlichman: Yes, I saw that. [in the material sent by interviewer]
- Duddleson: From \$200 to \$300 million. Can you illuminate the process and what the Point Reyes experience might have . . .
- Ehrlichman: I just have the vaguest recollection of that. I really can't tell you. I guess that's the complete answer. I don't know. We had our problems. I don't know if you remember, but we balanced the budget the first year. The second year, we couldn't. And then from then on we were out of balance.
- Duddleson: There was a war going on.

Ehrlichman: There was that. There were a lot of things going on. Inflation and just a lot of things. So I think we all felt very keenly the need to keep that budget in balance the first year, and we could do it. The second year, I think everybody realized we couldn't do it, so there was a little more elasticity at some point. With a big deficit, the little debts didn't matter that much.

##

Ehrlichman: While the war was a problem, I used to sit with the president--

Duddleson: On the impact of these kinds of matters?

Ehrlichman: Yes. I was in competition. The domestic side was in competition with [Henry A.] Kissinger [Assistant to the president for National Security Affairs] and the foreign side. We would literally sit there, the three of us, and bargain out the line items in the budget: so much for him and so much for me. And of course, I was always on the short end. We did manage to add to some things that were sort of passionate, like Endowment for the Arts and things of that kind. Every year we managed to double that.

Duddleson: Was that your recommendation, your doing?

Ehrlichman: Yes. And I was backed by Nancy Hanks and Len Garment¹ and some people who really cared about such things. We managed to find more money for the Indians, we managed to--you know, incremental--those are not huge amounts of money. But we did manage to talk Nixon into a little more here and a little more there, and maybe this Land and Water Conservation Fund was one of those things; I can't remember right now. But the overriding need was the defense budget. It was hundreds of billions of dollars. And if [Melvin A.] Laird [Secretary of Defense] and the Joint Chiefs said they needed it, and Kissinger made the case, they got it, and that's all there was to it. And we just had to cut back in other places.

¹Nancy Hawks chaired the National Endowment for the Arts. Leonard Garment was on the White House staff as a consultant to the President until he was named acting White House counsel in 1973.--Ed.

Who Speaks for an Administration?

- Duddleson: If I can ask you to recapitulate for a minute here, the key factors in changing the administration's position on this matter called saving Point Reyes were, or included?--
- Ehrlichman: Let me quarrel with your question.
- Duddleson: Fair enough.
- Ehrlichman: As far as I'm concerned, the administration didn't have a position, because Interior went one way and Budget went another, and we really hadn't arrived at an "administration" position. The Mayo letter [of September 10, 1969] was the budget people's position.
- Duddleson: Even though in the public mind and in the press, and because the Budget Bureau was in the Executive Office of the President, it was perceived to be so [the administration position] by many people?
- Ehrlichman: Sure. And if you had walked in my office the day that letter was written and said, "What's the administration's position?" and shown me that letter, I would have said, "Hey, wait a minute. The president hasn't decided this. And when we have a conflict, we reconcile it and we arrive at a common position, and we'll do that, but we haven't done it yet." So it was an absence of a position but it was an apparent position because the Budget letter got a lot of currency.

What Turned Point Reyes in a New Direction?

Pete McCloskey's Pounding Started It

- Ehrlichman: And what turned them around? I would say but for Pete McCloskey pounding on me, it probably wouldn't have gotten turned around. Hickel didn't have the clout to elevate it to the level of a presidential decision. Mayo was content the way things were. Whitaker was new to the job. So if McCloskey hadn't intervened, Murphy and the others would have written a lot of letters and there would have been a lot of petitions, but I doubt that we'd have changed. We would have just let it sit there that way.

Duddleson: Very interesting.

Ehrlichman: And the fact that he caught my attention and I in turn got the staff to work on it, to my way of thinking, at least, was the thing that started it in the new direction.

Duddleson: It seems from the documents that this--the new direction--may have happened toward the end of September. And the Oval Office meeting was weeks away: November 18th.

Ehrlichman: And things were done by then. I mean, that's window dressing.

Duddleson: Right. On September 29th there was a memo from, I think it's Hullin, possibly to Krogh, saying that he--. Let me get this right. It's Krogh to Hullin. Krogh saying that he has asked [James R.] Schlesinger¹ at Budget, "How can we get additional funding for Point Reyes, which has received a higher priority in our thinking? It's necessary for us to do something dramatic." [see p. 325]

Ehrlichman: Because time is running short.

Duddleson: And then he goes on to say that "the BOB [Bureau of the Budget] memo is due tomorrow, September 30," in time for you to brief McCloskey. Does any of that come back to you at all? Why it [Point Reyes] had "received a higher priority in our thinking" by then--?

Ehrlichman: I think we'd made up our minds, and I had run it by the president and gotten his okay, and so we passed the ball back to Budget to figure out how to pay for it. But I think it's safe to say the decision had been made by that time, and that I had talked to Krogh and said, "Find out how to pay for this."

The Budget Bureau's Alternatives: The "Shrink the Park"
Option

Duddleson: And then October 1st there was a Schlesinger memo to you describing some options for funding.

¹Schlesinger was an assistant director of the Budget Bureau. Subsequently, he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Secretary of Defense.--Ed.

- Ehrlichman: Now, that's kind of interesting to me because, you see, he doesn't send that memo to Hullin. I had Hullin and Krogh fronting for me in this thing to the bureaucracy. So when Hullin writes a memo to somebody, that's me, doing that. Schlesinger knows this game so he writes directly back to me.
- Duddleson: Right. His memo, now, described some options for funding Point Reyes. One is to double the National Park Service share of the Land and Water Conservation Fund?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: Another of those options includes shrinking the seashore. If, he says, there is a decision to make further acquisitions, there's a final option. He doesn't use the word "shrink," but he says: "to reduce the size to a manageable unit or to one or more manageable units." That is--.
- Ehrlichman: Separated?
- Duddleson: Right, and all distinct from the boundaries as authorized in '62. Do you remember that?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. I didn't really pay any attention to that. It wasn't a viable option, as far as I was concerned, it wasn't anything I was interested in. That really didn't get any weight. Those guys with the Budget [Bureau] were in the business of coming up with these sort of unrealistic alternatives, and you'd pick the ones that you liked and you'd dump the others.
- Nixon and the "Budget Boys": James Schlesinger and Robert Mayo
- Ehrlichman: You've got to get the larger context here, which is that Nixon was going through his first presidential budget with these budget boys. And Schlesinger basically was in charge of the national security budget. How he got into this [Point Reyes], I'm not sure.
- Duddleson: He was an assistant director? He was number two overall?
- Ehrlichman: But his side of the [Budget Bureau] house was basically Henry's side of the house, i.e., foreign and defense, rather than domestic matters.
- Duddleson: That's very interesting.

Ehrlichman: It wasn't long after this that he [Schlesinger] was sent to be director of the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency]. So he wrote this stuff, rather than Don [Donald B.] Rice, who was the next level down and the guy who was responsible. Incidentally, he [Rice] is now secretary of the Air Force. I took this memo as being the position of BOB's director, Bob Mayo, and Nixon's relationship with Bob Mayo by then was so bad that I didn't pay much attention to him, and Nixon didn't pay any attention to him. I was shuttling back and forth between Nixon and Mayo, because Nixon didn't want to talk to him. It was really bad. That persisted up through Christmas, until the final sign-off on the budget. I did all the talking to Mayo, and he couldn't get an appointment with Nixon. It was terrible.

Duddleson: Based on--?

Ehrlichman: Based on the fact that Nixon didn't like him. Mayo had a kind of supercilious laugh and a weird sense of humor, and they just didn't get along. They were just not suited for one another.

Duddleson: Do you remember, by any chance, a group letter from more than a dozen national conservation organizations addressed to the president?

Ehrlichman: No, I don't remember it.

Duddleson: That would have been Whitaker?

Ehrlichman: I would guess so. I don't think I ever saw it.

Duddleson: That letter asked for a higher level of funding for the Land and Water Fund. And it asked for rejection of the sell-off-for-subdivision proposal at Point Reyes, or any other unit of the National Park System. And asked for a meeting with whoever in the administration could speak on these matters. That was apropos of the Budget Bureau [Point Reyes] letter, as distinguished from the Interior Department position.

Ehrlichman: Who calls the signals?

Duddleson: Right. And subsequently, Schlesinger met with that group.

Ehrlichman: Really?

Duddleson: He met with representatives of that group and identified himself as "a member of three of your organizations." In view

of what you said about his principal portfolio being foreign and defense related, I'm wondering whether he was interested and asked for this?

Ehrlichman: He may have been personally interested. I really don't know-- that's an interesting question. Certainly as deputy, he may have been delegated this, in addition to the defense matters. I just don't know.

Duddleson: How did you find working with him?

Ehrlichman: Okay. He's kind of curmudgeonly in his way. Very smart. He's really an excellent number cruncher. Awfully good at that stuff. I was in awe of all of those guys--Rice and O'Neil and all of them. Really smart guys. We had a superb bunch of guys at Budget.

Duddleson: You didn't hold a meeting with these people until after a decision [on Point Reyes] had been made?

Ehrlichman: Yes, well, there was never really any confusion in his [Schlesinger's] mind about who was going to make the ultimate decision. That was true even in this most difficult time when Mayo was there. Everybody in that second level [at the Budget Bureau] knew that the political guys eventually would just have to rule on these things. I mean, that was the reality.

Duddleson: Did Mayo understand that? Was that part of his problem?

Ehrlichman: He never did. [laughs] I think he thought that ultimately he would deliver, complete and intact, an integral budget, and that Nixon would simply sign off on it and thank him.

Duddleson: That he [Budget Director Mayo] would have made the trade-offs?

Ehrlichman: Yes, and that isn't the way Nixon worked. He wanted to make the decisions.

[tape interruption]

Murphy's Changing Relationship with Nixon

Duddleson: Perhaps we could talk just a minute about Senator Murphy. In your book, Witness to Power,¹ I was interested when you said that by the spring of '70, Richard Nixon was seeking to dissuade George Murphy from running for reelection and was seeking to make a spot [in the Senate] for Bob [Robert H.] Finch.²

Ehrlichman: Correct.

Duddleson: And I wonder--there's an irony in this in a sense--is there anything in that that illuminates anything we've been talking about here?

Ehrlichman: Not really, no. I had the sense that Nixon did not take George Murphy seriously as a United States senator. And he wanted to find a spot for Finch, who was miscast in his [HEW] department. So he sent several emissaries to Murphy to try and talk him out of running. He would have made him an ambassador--he could do this or that. And it came a cropper, he didn't pull it off and he didn't have the desire to sit Murphy down across the desk and do it himself. And Murphy knew that, so it never happened.

But it then went on that Murphy was a guy who hadn't done what the president wanted him to, and that sort of colored their relationship from then on.

Duddleson: And Murphy's role in the decision on Point Reyes was--

Ehrlichman: --pro forma.

Duddleson: --was pro forma and perhaps the frosting on the cake in a recommendation that you made to Nixon based on what you thought was "the right thing to do"?

Ehrlichman: Yes, we had to win the seat. We would have had to win the seat for a Republican regardless of who it was, but George Murphy had no special clout with Richard Nixon.

¹Witness to Power: The Nixon Years (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982)

²Finch, a long-time Nixon aide and associate, and a former lieutenant governor of California, in June 1970 was removed as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and made a member of the White House staff as counselor to the President.--Ed.

II POINT REYES AND OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIONS OF THE NIXON YEARS

Other White House Involvements

Enacting the National Environmental Policy Act

Duddleson: I recall reading somewhere that you said at one time that you felt the Nixon administration's contribution in the field of environmental conservation was second only to the contribution in, I think, school integration.

Ehrlichman: I may have said that. But that goes back to the situation we found when we first got there. And then you were in on this, where [Senator Henry M.] Jackson [of Washington State] and [Senator Edmund S.] Muskie [of Maine, both Democrats] were deadlocked over the question of jurisdiction of their committees [over the legislation that became the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969]. We had to take a position, and we had to take one pretty fast, so for sentimental reasons as much as anything else, we came down on Jackson's side and worked pretty hard with his staff. And his jurisdiction was ratified, and his version of the environmental policy act was adopted. Then from there on, we were team players. We really got aboard and did a lot of stuff.

Duddleson: And you were involved in the taking of the administration's position on the environment policy act?

Ehrlichman: That's right. Jackson was my senator, from the state of Washington. I had known him for many years, so we got together early and sort of cut a deal. Nixon wanted him to be secretary of defense and he couldn't do that because of Dan Evans [governor of Washington, a Republican]. Jackson wanted Dan Evans's commitment that he wouldn't appoint a Republican to his seat in the Senate and Evans wouldn't agree to do that, so Jackson wouldn't give up the Senate slot. But, he was close

to Nixon and they saw eye to eye on a lot of things, and we worked with him.

Duddleson: That was a significant partnership, wasn't it?

Ehrlichman: Oh, yes, I should say it was.

Duddleson: Do you recall who took the initiative on it, how you two--

Ehrlichman: I can't recall if it was Russ [Russell E.] Train¹ or who it was that originally broached it with us.

Duddleson: Well, Russ Train had been working closely with Jackson?

Ehrlichman: Yes.

Duddleson: And Russ was working closely with you?

Ehrlichman: Oh, all the time. Yes.

Duddleson: Russ Train as Interior undersecretary, with the secretary above him, would not necessarily have dealings with you, with the White House?

Ehrlichman: Well, except that I found him a great deal more congenial, for one thing. [Walter J.] Hickel [Nixon's first Secretary of the Interior] was all over the place; I could deal with Russ. Russ knew a lot more than Hickel did, number two. So he was much more helpful, and somehow or other we just found each other. So we worked together pretty closely. Hickel was a developer, and my sentiments ran somewhat divergent from his, so between Whitaker and Russ and me, we kind of worked out what the administration policy was going to be.

Duddleson: Do you recall ever talking Point Reyes or parks with Russ?

Ehrlichman: Oh, I talked parks with him. I don't recall talking Point Reyes with him.

[tape interruption]

¹Train was, in the Nixon Administration, in succession: Interior undersecretary, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, and administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.--Ed.

Halting the Cross-Florida Barge Canal

- Duddleson: There was something that I think Ann Lage mentioned in her letter to you--this is outside Point Reyes for the moment, but within the environmental circle--and that was your role in the cross-Florida barge canal.
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: Which was a high profile environmental cause celebre.
- Ehrlichman: Right.
- Duddleson: Could you tell me a little bit about that?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. That came later, and it came at a stage where Richard Nixon had pretty well delegated all the environmental issues to me, in the sense, "If it doesn't cost jobs and it doesn't get me in political trouble, you handle it."
- Duddleson: Do you recall when that broader delegation began?
- Ehrlichman: I would say probably 1970. Whitaker brought this to me, and he said, "The Corps of Engineers, is doing this and I've had it staffed out." He had a file yea thick, and he said it was wreaking environmental havoc. The fellows at the Council on Environmental Quality had looked at it. He said, "The only way that we can do anything about this is simply to tell the Corps of Engineers to stop. Citizens have tried and failed, and it comes right down to that if the president is willing to tell them to stop, we can stop it." Water tables were going down, birds were dying, the game was dying.
- Duddleson: Didn't it impact Everglades National Park, so this was, in part, a national park issue?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. This was not an unfamiliar subject because the great Miami jetport issue had preceded it, and I had had a quick education on the whole water and ecological picture down there previously, I've forgotten how long before. So Whitaker and I talked about this for a long time, and he had a number of charts and maps and reports and so on. So I said, "All right, you've persuaded me. Now, what's the other side of this?" He said, "The other side of this is that large companies and the Florida Chamber of Commerce, and commercial interests are very anxious to have a canal in there to cut off the distance." So I said, "Okay."

I picked up the phone and called the commanding general of the Corps of Engineers. I got him on the phone, and I said, "General, the president wants you to stop this." He said, "Yes." I said, "It's doing terrific damage. The cost-benefit basis doesn't prove out to me. I've seen the numbers and so I've advised the president, and he concurs and you're to stop it. You're to stop it immediately. If you want it in the way of a letter, I'll be very glad to write you one." Which I did.

So that's how it got stopped, whereupon the shit hit the fan. [laughter] Richard Nixon went to Key Biscayne on a holiday, and Bebe Rebozo had lined up the president of every chamber of commerce from Key West north, and they all visited upon the president, and they all pounded his ears.

Duddleson: So it wasn't just Rebozo? He had a supporting cast?

Ehrlichman: Yes. And these were all fat cats. They were all the guys that had given money and so on. Nixon came back from Florida and just couldn't wait to push my button to get me down there. He said, "What have you done?" And I said, "Well, to really get a feel for this, you've got to read the material, you've got to see Whitaker's presentation. And, I said, for starters I'll bring you the file on this thing. And this could be in your weekend reading, and then we can go on from there. And if I'm wrong, well, that's fine; you can hang me out in the yard and reverse it, and we can start up again." "Well," he said, "If you've made the decision, that's good enough for me, but boy, it's hard on me to go to Florida." I said, "Yes, I probably should have warned you. But in light of my delegation, I just went ahead and did it, and I think we're right."

So that's where it sat. And of course, you know the ensuing story of all the lawsuits and the carrying-on and so forth. I saw a clipping that I sent to Whitaker six or eight months ago about the ultimate abandonment of the cross-Florida barge canal and we had a little celebration on the telephone. But a lot of citizens fought the good fight for a lot of years down there to keep that thing from going through.

Firing a Park Service Director

Duddleson: Earlier, you mentioned George Hartzog.

Ehrlichman: Yes.

Duddleson: Who was the director of the National Park Service who ultimately was let go. In Hartzog's autobiographical book,¹ he said he believes that Bebe Rebozo was involved in his ouster, that Rebozo had a permit of some kind from the Park Service, and Hartzog felt that he was being very responsive to Rebozo and assisting him and so forth. But for some reason, Rebozo didn't see it that way. I think it was a relative of Rebozo who had the permit.

Ehrlichman: Did this have to do with the jetport?

Duddleson: Possibly it had to do with Biscayne Bay [National Monument], where his relative had some land, an inholding requiring some sort of a Park Service permit.

Ehrlichman: I don't know about that.

Duddleson: There were no indications to you from the president or Rebozo?

Ehrlichman: There may have been. I had a lot of those, and some of them had to do with Rebozo's family and landholdings and so on, but I don't remember that one.

Duddleson: Not about George Hartzog?

Ehrlichman: No.

Duddleson: Could you tell me a little bit about Hartzog and how he--?

Ehrlichman: Yes. We just got increasingly disenchanted. It wasn't any one thing, but it was poor judgment, I would call it. Finally, Whitaker and I, I remember, had a conversation about it, and just agreed that in due course he would have to be replaced. Now, how that was engineered by John, I don't remember, but it was just a deterioration of confidence. It was not any one deal like that where Nixon said, "I want him out of there," as far as I know.

Duddleson: Was the president involved in that at all?

Ehrlichman: That would have been one of the things that I would mention to him. He would ask about it. As long as he personally didn't have to do the firing, he really didn't care--most of those. Boyd Gibbons [an Interior Department official] was involved in

¹Battling for the National Parks (Mt. Kisko, N.Y.: Moyer Bell, 1988)

this somewhat. He or Whitaker will have a very clear recollection of that.

Some Other Matters That May Have Been Affected by Point Reyes

Proposing Change in How the Government Tries Land Lawsuits

Duddleson: Can you turn for a moment to these two other matters that followed Point Reyes?

Ehrlichman: The branches?

Duddleson: The branches. Well, they either were branches growing from the Point Reyes experience, or they weren't. Well, one of them clearly was, and that was your initiative proposing change in how the federal government tries condemnation cases.

##

Ehrlichman: The background to this condemnation thing is that I practiced that kind of law. Not exclusively, but I spent a fair amount of time on it and knew the difference between somebody who knew what he was doing in condemnation and somebody who had little experience in it. So I just felt that we [i.e., the federal government] were not being well represented in some of these cases where, as the memos showed, the government was just getting killed by the juries. You don't go into a locality with some guy from Washington, D.C., to try a land case. Maybe you do that with a tax case--I know the IRS does that. But with a land case, you've got to have a local guy or you get surprised all the time. Because there's no way that a government lawyer can be familiar with the way the traffic works, and who used to live on the land, and all those kinds of things that keep coming up.

Duddleson: And perceptions of local people about a particular problem what might or not be worth--?

Ehrlichman: Who you wanted on the jury. Tillie Butz works in the drug store. Well, that doesn't tell you everything about Tillie Butz, because her father used to own land out here by the seashore, and she lost it in her first marriage. And all those things that local guys know that you don't know when you come in from outside.

- Duddleson: After you returned from California in November '69, you dictated a memo addressing the problem of how the government should go about securing the private lands needed to complete the park?
- Ehrlichman: Yes, to the attorney general, I guess.
- Duddleson: There was a copy sent to [deputy attorney general Richard] Kleindienst?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: Here it is, it was a memo [dated November 25, 1969] to John Whitaker [copy to Kleindienst] saying, "When I was in California I had a number of discussions with people interested in the Point Reyes acquisition. They tell me that we may be able to save substantial money depending upon how we go about acquiring the land." And then you go on to make your suggestion about the government hiring private local counsel. Do you remember who you talked with out there? In California?
- Ehrlichman: I don't know. No.
- Duddleson: There had just been, I think, a high jury award in a Point Reyes condemnation matter that scared the pants off the Park Service.
- Ehrlichman: That could have been it. I really don't recall who I talked to. It may have been at that environmental conference, I don't know.
- Duddleson: Were there any discussions there of any consequence?
- Ehrlichman: That's just left my mind completely. I just don't know.
- Duddleson: At any rate, you closed this memo by saying that you'd like to see these kinds of cases rigorously prosecuted and thoroughly prepared. And: "I think our best chance of getting that kind of result is with a skilled condemnation attorney on our side."
- Ehrlichman: I don't know if anything ever came of this. Did it?
- Duddleson: I don't know. There sure were a lot of papers going back and forth.
- Ehrlichman: A lot of that. Got some resistance from the Justice Department.

- Duddleson: From the Justice Department, and also, I think, some resistance from the Interior's solicitor.
- Ehrlichman: Although he wasn't quite as strong as the Justice Department.
- Duddleson: Then you wrote a memo to Kleindienst following up on this.
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: And the [Interior] solicitor suggested, rather than private counsel, a cadre, a flying squad of in-government experts in this field who would go anywhere in the country. But that really wasn't responsive to your perception?
- Ehrlichman: No. That's the tax pattern. They have tax prosecution people that go out around the country, who get to be very good trial lawyers, and in the tax field it doesn't really matter. But I think it does in these land cases.
- Duddleson: The local knowledge?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: Incidentally, as far as the [National Archives] record shows, a supporter of this was George Hartzog, who not only responded to Whitaker that he was enthusiastic about it, but provided some evidence relating to recent park cases where experience with unexpectedly high jury awards would support your suggestion.
- Ehrlichman: Yes. I got caught in a conflict between the Interior solicitor and the Justice Department in another area--I don't know if it was before or after this--involving the Indian trusteeship. The solicitor represented Indian tribes, sometimes adverse to the Justice Department, and it was never resolved where the line was between the two of them. There was always a lot of jurisdictional conflict. And finally, there was a bill in the Congress to straighten that out, and it languished, and it still languishes as far as I know. It was never moved. [Senator Daniel] Inouye [of Hawaii] had hearings not too long ago on this. There are these thickets in the federal government where you run into that kind of stuff.
- Duddleson: No, I don't know what came of it, but it was a very interesting suggestion. I think what impresses me is that here was something that you came back from the coast with, based on knowledge about the Point Reyes situation, where the real problem was land cost escalation.

Ehrlichman: And there was leakage, I thought, in that. We could have saved some of that.

Encouraging Park Action Elsewhere

Duddleson: There's another thread or branch that seems to flow from the Point Reyes experience. And that was--or it may not have been, we'll see--its role in setting in motion, perhaps, or raising higher on the agenda, the whole question of administration policy on parks and recreation.

Ehrlichman: Raising higher, I would say. I think, in fact, there's a memo in there from somebody to Darryl Trent asking him to take this on.

Duddleson: From John Whitaker. In April [7, 1970] right about the time of the signing of the Point Reyes bill.

Ehrlichman: Okay. Darryl Trent was already hired to do the inventory of federal lands and to begin to move some of those federal lands to state and local control. This just gave that impetus, so I would say it was, as it were, kind of two vehicles going down the same track in the same direction.

Duddleson: And this is just the week before there was testimony before [Senator] Jackson on increasing the Land and Water Fund from a normal level of \$200 million a year to \$300.

Ehrlichman: Yes. I don't think we were co-conspirators on that. I think that somebody in the Congress must have pushed that up. I doubt that we would have been involved in that.

Duddleson: Yes. But you supported it.

Ehrlichman: We supported it.

Duddleson: Going back to the circumstance of a departmental report, in this case from Interior, going up to the Hill on the Point Reyes funding increase authorization bill in May of '69 with a favorable recommendation, and the Budget Bureau, instead of its normal, standard, closing clearance paragraph, saying that "the separate views of the Bureau of the Budget will be forthcoming"? Had that ever happened, in your experience, before?

Ehrlichman: No. It hadn't. And it escaped my notice at the time.

Duddleson: That was pre-Pete McCloskey "pounding" on you?

Ehrlichman: That's right.

Duddleson: I thought it was unusual. And then subsequently, as you know, the Bureau of the Budget, in this letter signed by Mr. Mayo in September--this is four months later--finally came forward with that negative statement of its "separate views."

Ehrlichman: I wonder if there wasn't some internal discussion within the Bureau of the Budget on this, where they couldn't reconcile their views. That would be one reason to talk to Don Rice, to see if maybe there was a conflict below Schlesinger, and the various examiners and the assistants and so on, that they couldn't arrive at a position.

Duddleson: One line of inquiry that is suggested in the Mayo letter of September is that there's an ongoing effort in the Budget Bureau to agree and assign criteria for evaluating whether--.

Ehrlichman: Yes, to send out a pro forma magic formula. Excuse me.
[phone rings, tape interruption]

Providing Political Credibility

Duddleson: May we pick up on this matter of what happened after the Point Reyes experience, on which the Point Reyes experience may or may not have had some kind of an influence? One of these was on the developing of administration policy on parks and recreation, and the other was this "Legacy of Parks" program. Do you have any further thoughts on that? On whether there was any causal relationship here?

Ehrlichman: To the extent that I mentioned before, that it gave what I'll call political credibility to the park effort. That was very important to us in securing the president's approval on things. He got very enthusiastic about some of these things. On the little park in Fairfax County [Virginia], for instance, his wife went over and dedicated that, at his specific urging. I went over with her. He had a kind of personal commitment to this close-in park business. He went out and dedicated the Gateway parks personally; both New York and the Golden Gate, he did personally. So the whole public recreation lands issue

was cemented as respectable and viable and politically useful and all those good things. And I'm convinced that Point Reyes played a part in it.

Educating a Decision-Maker

Duddleson: A kind of breaker of a trail, so to speak?

Ehrlichman: That's right. Exactly. And showed that a lot of people, a lot of politicians, a lot of newspapers--because we got some good newspaper copy out of it--approve of this kind of thing. We even put some stuff in some polls later on because we had some hard cases, environmental cases where [cracking down on] heavy pollution would close a plant, put five hundred people out of work, and then we hear about that. So we did some polling about jobs versus clean air, jobs versus clean water, jobs versus parks, all that kind of stuff. And it didn't turn out completely favorable to the environmental cause, but there was enough in there that we could show him that we weren't blazing a lonely trail, that there was a respectable body of public opinion that supported these things.

Duddleson: And congressional opinion?

Ehrlichman: Well, needless to say, yes, but he was concerned about the popular vote question. We had this oil spill, for instance.

Duddleson: Right. Santa Barbara?

Ehrlichman: Santa Barbara. We went out and looked at it, and walked around and got our feet dirty. And then we did some polling in California about offshore leasing, and that was very influential, as it turned out. So, you know, this was a constant process of educating the decision maker.

Duddleson: Do you recall who might have done that poll? Was there any evidence that may still exist?

Ehrlichman: Sindlinger did it. It was a private poll. It was never published.

Duddleson: I see. And might be in the White House materials [in the National Archives].

Ehrlichman: It could be in the archives.

Working on the Property Review Board

- Duddleson: On the Ray Price--I'll call it the Ray Price memo [proposing a "Legacy of Parks" program]--you described earlier his role in sampling White House mail and perhaps phone calls?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: He may not have been aware of other things going on in your office and Whitaker's? Is that possible?
- Ehrlichman: It's entirely possible.
- Duddleson: Then, perhaps, based on his own sense of what he was hearing, and his sense of public reception, he came up with his own memo of July [28, 1970], a memorandum for the president, subject: the Nixon "Legacy of Parks." Do you recall this at all?
- Ehrlichman: Oh, sure. You bet. Because that was then repeated as a catch phrase on through this process of divesting federal lands and creating state parks.
- Duddleson: So this was sort of a label that went on a train that was already on a track?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. Admittedly slow moving at that stage. The inventory process took a long time, requiring a little staff, beginning to sift through--. We used to meet weekly, as a committee called the Property Review Board.
- Duddleson: Were you on that?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. I was chairman. And we had Darryl Trent come in with ten picks of the week--pieces of property that were under-utilized or that could be better utilized in some other way. Like the coast artillery base in Hawaii, Fort DeRussy, right on Waikiki Beach. So we shed a lot of blood to get that one into state jurisdiction because the military was in the process of building a hotel on that land. Well, bless their hearts, they were going to build their hotel parallel to the water instead of perpendicular to it like every private land developer, because real estate was a free good to them. So we got the hotel turned around and then moved way down to the end of the beach, and then we got a state park. That took a long time, but battles of that kind went on through this Property Review Board, and at times I would walk from the Roosevelt

Room, where we were meeting, over to the president's office and say, "You're going to have to help us. You're going to have to call Secretary So-and-so and tell him to let loose of this. He won't take it from me." We got into a huge struggle over the Mall in Washington, D.C., that had temporary Navy buildings.

Duddleson: Since World War I, as I recall.

Ehrlichman: Yes. And then Nixon had himself been posted in those buildings in World War II. But those kinds of battles went on all through this period of time starting back with the original Darryl Trent assignment to begin to inventory the land.

Duddleson: There were eight or nine people on this Property Review Board in the White House? Or were you bringing people in from the departments?

Ehrlichman: I don't know where he got them. [laughter] Maybe from the departments. I don't know. But he had people doing kind of inventory things where we would each be sent these ten nominees for action with a lot of backup material and maps and appraiser's opinions and all that kind of stuff. There was a lot of staff work going on.

Duddleson: And you just used the executive authority to do it?

Ehrlichman: We just had the president sign something.

Impact of Point Reyes' Local Advocates, via Citizen Behr and Congressman Clausen

Duddleson: Can we take a retrospective look here? You've seen these documents, and we've been talking a while here. Coming back, now, to focus on Point Reyes and that experience, do things come to mind that we haven't covered? Or that the documents haven't discussed?

Ehrlichman: Peter Behr played a part in this, just because he personified the local effort, the citizen effort, and really sold me on the bona fides of this. I'd take McCloskey's word for it, but McCloskey is kind of a wild hare; he'd come up with things at times. Behr sort of cemented the respectability of this for all the people that he represented, by the way he presented himself. He came to San Clemente, as I recall, to a meeting.

So that's one thing not to lose sight of in this whole thing. He played, I think, an important part. It wasn't just a bunch of Washington people cutting a deal.

Duddleson: Do you think that meeting might have taken place at San Clemente?

Ehrlichman: I think so. Somewhere in California.

Duddleson: Is it possible it didn't take place until you went out there in November '69?

Ehrlichman: That's possible. He may have been at this environmental conference thing if I did that, and I guess I did. We may have had a meeting there. I don't remember. I just have a recollection of how favorably he impressed me with the merits of his case. So there's one thing. And, I sort of brushed over the congressman from that district.

Duddleson: Don Clausen?

Ehrlichman: Clausen. Clausen came to see me at one time.

Duddleson: Oh, he did?

Ehrlichman: Yes. And he was very persuasive on the merits, and I thought did some good work. I hadn't known him before, so that's an impression that persists.

Duddleson: Did you ever have a face-to-face discussion with George Murphy on Point Reyes that you recall?

Ehrlichman: I don't know. I'd been to his office a number of times. It may have been for that reason; I just don't know. I kept waiting for the movie screen to come down when I went into his office. [laughter] He had a built-in movie screen, and then he'd push the button and it came down, and he could watch the movie.

Now, I don't think I have a lot to add beyond that. McCloskey was very effective and, from my standpoint, deserves a lot of credit.

A Car Pool for a Conference?

Duddleson: One of the memos--by Krogh or Hullin, perhaps, of your staff--

talked about having asked the Budget Bureau how to get more funds for that Point Reyes which has "a higher priority in our thinking" now, and that we want to "do something dramatic," and that Schlesinger will get a memo back with some funding options in time for your briefing with Pete McCloskey. [Memo of September 29, 1969, to Hullin from Krogh, p. 325] Do you recall if that briefing ever took place?

Ehrlichman: I don't think it was a formal briefing as such. I think it was just that I knew I was going to see him and that we had set some kind of a deadline in our own minds of when this thing had to be done in order to keep the trees from being cut and all that.

Duddleson: And you wanted the Budget technicians to spell out options?

Ehrlichman: Yes. We felt that we'd just pass the burden back to them to figure out how to pay for it.

Duddleson: The conference with McCloskey may have taken place as you were driving to work?

Ehrlichman: In the car, maybe. Yes, it could well have been. It could well have been. But we used to socialize a lot, and his then-wife and my then-wife were great friends, and we used to see quite a lot of them and their kids. So there's no telling when I was set up to see him. It could have been dinner at our house.

A Space Shot for a Park?

Duddleson: I'd like to ask you about a great line in a memo from John Whitaker, I think to you. I'll see if I can find it. This is before the Oval Office meeting with the president.

Ehrlichman: I saw that after that meeting Whitaker sent [William E.] Timmons up to see John Saylor [a congressman from Pennsylvania, and the senior Republican on the Interior Committee].

Duddleson: Yes. Do you remember John Saylor--the Saylor role at all?

Ehrlichman: Yes. I remember Saylor was mad. Timmons was the head congressional liaison guy [for the White House].

- Duddleson: Mr. Saylor was not included in the group that met with the president [on November 19, 1969].
- Ehrlichman: Yes. So this was in the nature of damage control, I guess.
- Duddleson: Right. He [Saylor] may have been upset at that initially. But the line he took was, in this report, Interior Committee minority report, that his real concern was that an unfair exception was being made for Point Reyes.
- Ehrlichman: Yes, that the Californians were getting the preferential--
- Duddleson: That only one park in California, in the president's home state, was being funded in a way that appears to be designed to benefit a senator from California running for reelection, while parks in other states were going down the drain. Saylor said, "What's good for the Bear State is good for the country!"
- Ehrlichman: And I read that to mean that Saylor had already promised money to a bunch of other guys in Congress and he was afraid there wasn't going to be any. That may be unfair, but that's what I heard.
- Duddleson: He took the tack that he was going to oppose funding for Point Reyes, for which previously he had been very enthusiastic, very supportive, until--.
- [tape interruption]
- Ehrlichman: What did Whitaker say that you remember?
- Duddleson: This is a memo--.
- [tape interruption]
- Duddleson: This is a memorandum [November 13, 1969] from Whitaker in which he's toting up the costs of an early supplemental appropriation for Point Reyes, and said that the Interior will come up with a million and a half of it and it's up to the Budget [Bureau] to come up with the rest of it--the \$7.1 million [fiscal '70 appropriation] for Point Reyes. Then, in closing, he said, "If it's indeed true that we have already exceeded our [\$192 billion] budget for the fiscal year--."
- Ehrlichman: Cut out the space shot.
- Duddleson: Yes. [laughter] If there's no money left in the budget, then do something--e.g., cancel a space shot! [see p. 332-335]

Ehrlichman: Right. And it went through my mind that on that date there may have been a satellite or a bunch of guys in space or something of that kind. It would be interesting to correlate that with what was happening at NASA right then. Yes, I get a kick out of that. It's off the wall.

Duddleson: That seemed to certainly reflect a firm commitment.

Ehrlichman: Oh, yes. I think we all had the attitude, Whitaker and I and some others, that the Budget guys had money put away, in the sock, for just such political pressure, and that we didn't have to cry too hard for that. If we said we absolutely have to have it, or if I had to go to the president and say, "You must write me a memo to that effect," that they could come up with it. They'd find it somewhere.

##

Happy Results and Anniversaries

Duddleson: Off the tape I asked if you'd ever been to Point Reyes.

Ehrlichman: I never have.

Duddleson: And, I expressed the hope that you'll be able to visit there one day.

Ehrlichman: Oh, I hope so too. I'd really like to.

Duddleson: Because you had a role in making it happen.

Ehrlichman: Well, anniversaries are happening and I get invited to anniversaries. The Indians up here at Taos are having a twentieth anniversary celebration of having gotten their sacred land back, so I'm invited back to the reunion. Maybe Point Reyes will have a reunion some day.

Duddleson: I wouldn't be surprised if that happened. But this part of its history has never been told before.

Ehrlichman: Yes. There are a lot of these nooks and crannies with very, very happy results. One of these days I'll get out there and we'll go camping.

Duddleson: It's all walk-in camping. No automobiles campgrounds.

Ehrlichman: Yes. That's the way it should be.

Duddleson: Well, I hope you do it, and I hope you'll like it.

Ehrlichman: I'm tempted.

Duddleson: You mentioned the Taos Pueblo. Was that Blue Lake? While you were in the White House, didn't you turn around the Forest Service on that?

Ehrlichman: Well, kind of turned around the Congress is what we did. We rolled Henry Jackson. [laughs]

Duddleson: It was Clint Anderson, the senator from New Mexico, who wanted to go with the Forest Service and with the grazers permittees?

Ehrlichman: Ranchers, yes.

Duddleson: And you turned it around?

Ehrlichman: We confronted him. The tie-in is that Clint Anderson's secretary became Mrs. Henry Jackson, and there were a lot of very tight relationships between Anderson and Jackson. And of course Jackson was chairman of the committee. We had to roll him in order to do this. And there was another one of those phone calls I got from Richard Nixon saying, "What have you done?"

Duddleson: You made a commitment using your delegation license?

Ehrlichman: Exactly. And as a matter of fact, I turned the White House lobbyists loose on this. So we had some people from my staff and some people from Interior and the whole White House cadre of legislative guys up there. And we managed to help to get-- there were a lot of people working on this, of course--but I think we turned a few people around.

Duddleson: So that one actually was decided on the Senate floor by a vote?¹

¹In 1968 and again in 1969 the House passed legislation to grant title to 48,000 acres in the Blue Lake area of the Sangre de Cristo mountains in Carson National Forest to Taos Pueblo. The Indians were objecting to Forest Service leasing of livestock grazing rights to non-Indian ranchers, and said the area was a ceremonial site sacred in their ancestral religion. The Senate didn't act until December, 1970, when it voted, 70 to 12, to pass the legislation--after rejecting an amendment supported by Jackson and Anderson that would have kept the area in the national forest for use only by the Taos Indians. The Nixon Administration supported the bill that was enacted. Title was conveyed in 1971.

- Ehrlichman: Yes. Because the Senate committee recommended against the restoration to the Pueblo of these lands.
- Duddleson: Right. I'm wondering whether that good experience, from your point of view, had anything to do with your deciding to come to Santa Fe?
- Ehrlichman: No, it really didn't. I came here to write a book, originally, on a temporary basis. I had the use of a guest house. I guess it just transpired to be a good place to be.
- Duddleson: Had you been out here when you were interested in Blue Lake?
- Ehrlichman: I'd been here, not on Blue Lake, but I'd been here to see Dave [David F.] Cargo one time when he was governor, and then I'd been here one time when I was in the service, so I knew about it. And it was a good place to write a book.
- Duddleson: Which one was that?
- Ehrlichman: That was the first one, called The Company.
- Duddleson: The first novel?
- Ehrlichman: Yes. I wrote two novels before I wrote that memoir.
- Duddleson: Witness to Power?
- Ehrlichman: Yes.
- Duddleson: What are you doing now?
- Ehrlichman: I'm supposed to be working on a novel.
- Duddleson: And you can get back to it as soon as I let you go.
- Ehrlichman: Well, I better. [laughs] No, I've been doing some consulting work too, some environmental stuff and some other consulting work.
- Duddleson: Thank you.
- Ehrlichman: A pleasure.

Transcriber: Elizabeth Kim
Final Typist: Kian Sandjideh

TAPE GUIDE--John D. Ehrlichman

Date of Interview: June 11, 1991

tape 1, side A

347

tape 1, side B

359

tape 2, side A

371

tape 2, side B

382

INDEX--Saving the Point Reyes Seashore

- Alioto, Joseph, 125-126
 Aspinall, Wayne, 23, 32, 33,
 35-37, 40, 41, 46, 53-55, 66,
 68, 75, 77, 78, 81, 86, 87,
 114, 116, 132, 136, 137, 246,
 248, 310, 316, 356-357
 Azevedo, Margaret, 117, 167-199
 [interview with], 216
- Baar, Louis H. [Bud], 246
 Barbour, Tom, 122
 Barnard, Jean, 117, 180
 Behr, Peter
 as California state senator,
 182-184, 221-224
 and Point Reyes National
 Seashore campaign, 29-31, 38,
 44, 49, 53, 64-66, 90, 91,
 113-149 [interview with],
 173-174, 178-180, 194, 196-
 197, 207-210, 212-215, 243,
 352, 378-379
See also Save Our Seashore
 Besig, Ernest, 148-149
 Bible, Alan, 35, 36, 54, 80, 89,
 90, 95, 239, 241, 246, 247,
 248, 249-250, 268-269
 Boerger, Frank, 97-98
 Bolling, Richard, 17, 18
 Broemmell, Bert, 172, 245-246
 Brown, Margaret Burke [Mary], 62
 Bruce, Preston, 100-101
 Bumpers, Dale, 99
 Bunnelle, Hasse, 180
 Bureau of the Budget, 23-26, 32,
 34, 40, 45, 46, 54, 55, 68, 69,
 86, 89, 90, 114, 116, 307, 347-
 348, 351, 360, 361-364, 375,
 380
 Bush, George
 as congressman, 302-303, 304-
 305
 as president, 313-314
- Butler, Lewis, 293, 294, 295,
 303-304, 348
- Cahn, Robert, 27
 California attitude, 44-46, 74
 Canby, Anne, 43-44, 68
 Cape Hatteras National Seashore,
 16
 Castro, Walter, 138
 Chapman, Howard, 99
 Clausen, Don, 35, 36, 69, 70,
 76, 77, 89, 114, 132, 136, 269,
 306, 312-313, 314-315, 379
 Cohelan, Jeffery, 21, 35, 37,
 38, 44, 69, 309-310
 Collins, Daniel, 174
 Collins, George, 6, 8, 46-47,
 65, 68, 70, 124, 170, 174, 233,
 235
 Congress, U.S., 317
 environmental interests in,
 294-299, 303, 312
 relations with executive
 branch, 347-84 passim
See also House of
 Representatives Interior
 Committee; Senate Interior
 Committee
 congressional wife, role of, 12-
 14, 57-60
 Conservation Associates, 46-48
 Coro Foundation, 120, 207-208
 Corte Madera Creek, 218
 Cranston, Alan, 35, 62, 89, 90,
 100, 114
 cross-Florida barge canal, 368-
 369
 Cullom, Jim "Truck", 289-291
- Daly, Charles [Chuck], 17
 Democratic Study Group, 16-19
 Department of the Interior, 44,
 348, 360, 367

- Drake's Plate of Brass, 125-126, 219
- Duddleson, William, 15-17, 20, 21, 25-27, 30, 34, 35, 37-41, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, 56, 61, 71-73, 75, 76, 82, 84-86, 88-91, 93, 98, 99, 301
- Earth Day, 1970, 296, 297-298
- Eastman, Barbara, 22, 65, 171
- Ehrlichman, John, 42, 43, 68, 88, 147-148, 212-214, 292-317
passim, 343-384 [interview with]
- Elias, Judith, 62-63
- Environmental Action of West Marin, 99
- environmental law, 294-295
- Evers, Sepha, 190-191, 231-233
- From the Door of the White House, 100
- Gatov, Elizabeth [Libby], 117, 181
- Giacomini, Gary, 140-141
- Gibson, Florence, 63
- Gilliam, Harold, 27, 28, 37, 53, 122, 224
- Gilman, Emma, 117, 181
- Gnoss, William, 138
- Golden Gate Bridge District, 176-177
- Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 96, 98, 269
- Governor's Conference on the Changing Environment, 127, 147-148, 209-213
- Grader, William, 171
- Gregg, Harold, 29, 30, 34, 44, 65, 117, 181
- Gubser, Charles, 24
- Gustafson, Joel, 143-144, 171
- Hansen, Julia Butler, 35, 37, 38
- Hartzog, George, 21, 33, 34, 72, 75, 76, 89, 115, 131-132, 135, 369-371, 373
- Heims, Edward, 238
- Hickel, Walter, 34, 35, 39, 44, 45, 89, 125, 360, 367
- House of Representatives Interior Committee, 40-41
- Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 21-22, 75-76, 131-132, 246, 248-249, 301
- See also Aspinall, Wayne
- Hullin, Tod, 301, 349, 350, 361, 362
- Independent Journal, 91
- Island in Time, 122-123
- Jackson, Henry M. [Scoop], 356-357, 366-367, 383
- Johnson, Harold T. [Bizz], 22, 23, 38, 40, 44, 63, 69, 70, 76, 81, 82, 86
- Johnson, Huey, 121
- Johnson, Katharine Miller [Katy] 1-101 [interview with], 114, 116, 118, 122, 128-129, 146, 187
- Johnson, Lady Bird, 44-45
- Johnson, Stuart, 20, 21, 25, 33, 34, 40, 52, 59, 63, 83, 101, 128-129
- Jones, Perkle, 122, 125, 126
- Kahrl, William, 120-121, 147, 149, 202-226 [interview with]
- Keene, Barry, 182-184
- Kent, Roger, 235-236
- Kissinger, Henry A., 359
- Krogh, Bud, 301, 307, 349, 361, 362
- Kurtz, Ed, 251
- Lake Ranch, 38-39, 115, 125, 130, 145-146, 262-264
- Land and Water Conservation Fund, 24, 40, 71, 79-81, 87, 89, 114, 116, 353-354, 374

- land condemnation law, 295, 371-374. See also Point Reyes National Seashore, costs of land acquisition
- land ethic, 253-259
- Land Investor's Research, 129-130
- Larkspur-Corte Madera Cooperative Nursery School, 13
- Law and the Environment Conference, 1969, 301-302
- Legacy of Parks program. See Nixon administration
- legislative taking, 114
- Lemmon, Warren, 64
- Leonard, Doris, 46, 47, 64, 65, 68, 70, 71, 85
- Livermore, Caroline, 171, 186, 189-191, 231-233
- Livermore, Norman B. "Ike", 211
- Livermore, Putnam, 47-48
- London, Betty, 29, 65
- Lucheta, Bunny, 117, 146-147, 174, 179, 181-184, 194-195, 196-197
- McCarthy, Bryan, 242, 247, 249, 266-267
- McClain, Aline, 117, 135, 185-186
- McCloskey, J. Michael, 29-30, 34, 44, 64, 65, 73-74
- McCloskey, Paul N. [Pete], 40, 42-44, 68, 83, 213, 285-317 [interview with], 348-349, 350-351, 360, 361, 378-380
- McElvain, Lee, 32, 40
- McKeown, Joseph, 124
- McNamara, Steve, 121, 122, 127
- Mailliard, William, 35, 306
- Marin Agricultural Land Trust, 141
- Marin Conservation League, 29, 30, 90, 117, 118, 233-234, 237, 270
- Marin Council for Civic Affairs, 168, 176-177
- Marin County
- land planning, 138-141, 168, 189-193
- ranches and ranch lands, 95-96, 141-142, 233-234, 240, 253-257, 260-262, 265-266
- Marin County Board of Supervisors, 16, 83, 115, 137-138, 171, 246
- Mayo, Robert H., 40, 43, 48, 71, 89, 115-116, 351, 360, 362-364
- Meyer, Amy, 96
- Miller, Clem, 139, 198, 312
- campaign for Congress, 10-13, 169, 191, 235-236
- campaign to establish Point Reyes seashore, 7-9, 15-16, 170-172, 235-236
- letters, 14, 58-59
- personal background, 1, 2-7, 168-169
- Miller, Katharine. See Johnson, Katharine Miller
- Miller, Thomas W., 5-7, 12, 36
- Mount Tamalpais State Park, Steep Ravine cabins, 221-224
- Murphy, George, 22, 31, 35, 77, 78, 86, 89, 114, 124-125, 132-134, 149, 213-214, 306, 314-315, 350, 351, 360, 365, 379
- National Audubon Society, 127
- National Environmental Policy Act, 295-296, 366
- National Park Service, 33, 34, 40, 47, 71-72, 89, 90, 92-95, 97-99, 238, 241, 246, 249, 251-253, 254-257, 352, 369-371
- Neasham, Aubrey, 233, 235
- New Haven, Connecticut, police reform in, 205-206
- New York Times, 26, 38, 87
- Nixon, Richard M., 24, 31, 37, 71, 75, 77, 78, 86-89, 90, 101, 132-134, 148-149, 302, 304, 309, 312, 315, 350, 351, 355, 363-365, 366-367, 369, 370

Nixon administration

Legacy of Parks program, 354-355, 375-376

Property Review Board, 377-378

See also Ehrlichman, John

Oakes, John, 26

Pacific Gas and Electric Company [PG&E], 84-85

Pacific Sun, 48, 69, 87, 121-122, 127

Phillips, William G., 17, 19

Pierce Point Ranch, 129-130, 135, 145

Point Reyes, personal experiences, 8-9, 170

Point Reyes Citizen Advisory Commission, 89-90, 96-98, 270

Point Reyes National Seashore campaign to establish, 8-9, 15-16, 78, 113, 170-172, 235-239

costs of land acquisition, 16-17, 45, 49, 82-84, 86, 134-135, 142-143, 172, 240-242, 246-247, 309, 371-372, 374

land management in, 254-256

proposed reduction in size, 69-71, 91

proposed subdivision of, 21, 34-35, 38-39, 71-72, 88, 115, 131-132, 134-135, 352

ranchers' attitudes toward, 237, 239, 241-253, 259, 265-267

wilderness legislation, 92-95

See also Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970 campaign

Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970 campaign

congressional vote on, 88-90

coordination between Washington and California, 44-49, 65-67, 144-145

impact of campaign success, 87-89, 132-133, 316-317, 354-356, 371-377

lobbying Congress, 24-28, 32-33, 35-38, 52-55, 68-71, 79, 82, 87, 246-250, 269

lobbying executive branch, 33-35, 68, 71-72, 301-315

passim, 352-353, 355-356

petitions, 76-77, 119, 120-121, 132, 144, 196, 352-353

publicity, 24-28, 31, 35, 37-39, 41-42, 52-53, 69, 86-87

strategy, 21-26, 32, 54-55, 79, 82

See also Save Our Seashore

Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, 143-144, 171

Polsdorfer, Joan, 117

Pomeroy, Hugh, 189

Price, Ray, 353, 377

Reagan, Ronald, 48, 125, 127, 209-212, 214, 215

Rebozo, Bebe, 369-370

Redwood National Park, 83-84, 114

Rennert, Leo, 27, 76-77

Rice, Donald B., 363

Riznik, Charlotte, 120, 130, 194

Roth, Joan, 30, 64, 128

Ryan, William Fitz, 71, 72, 76, 88, 90

Ryken, Ed, 186

Salin, Lothar, 186

Samuel P. Taylor State Park, 232-233

Sansing, John, 95, 96, 251-253

Save Our Seashore [S.O.S.], 29-32, 39, 54, 65, 69, 76, 79, 80

campaign strategies and events, 118-130, 136, 175-180, 195-196, 209-213, 219

executive committee, 117-119, 174-175, 180-182, 185-188

funding, 119-120, 135-136

political context, 209-215, 224-225, 352-353

reasons for success, 136, 213-215, 217-218

- Save Our Seashore (cont.)
See also Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970 campaign
 Save San Francisco Bay campaign, 45, 174, 176, 177, 243
 Saylor, John, 33, 77-82, 86-89, 132, 316-317, 380-381
 Schlesinger, James, 307, 361-364
 Schultz, Vera, 167-168, 170, 171
 Senate Interior Committee, 40, 89-90, 241, 246, 249-250. See also Bible, Alan
 Sierra Club, 26, 28-30, 32, 37, 45, 63, 64, 72-74, 86, 94, 122-124, 128, 237, 246
 Skubitz, Joseph, 23, 45
 Soil Conservation Service, 255
 Southerland, Clarence A., 1-2, 51-52, 55, 56, 57, 60-62
 Southerland, Katharine Virden, 1-2, 50-51, 60-62
 Stanford University
 1982 Big Game, 289, 291
 Law School, 292-293
 Starr, Elvis, 127
 Steep Ravine cabins. See Mount Tamalpais State Park
 Stewart, Boyd, 36, 89, 95, 125, 231-270 [interview with]
 Stewart, Joseffa Conrad, 231-232, 239, 258, 264
 Stewart, Samuel James, 234, 254, 258
 Summers, Mary, 139, 189-192
 Sweet, William, 39, 91, 115, 134-135, 145-146, 262-264
- Taos Pueblo, 383-384
 Taylor, Roy, 22, 35, 40, 75, 76, 247, 248-249, 268
 Teapot Dome scandal, 6
 Thurber, Scott, 27, 53
 Train, Russell, 37, 367
 Trent, Darryl, 377-378
 Tupling, Lloyd, 63, 72-74
- Udall, Stewart, 118
 United States Army Corps of Engineers, 218, 368-369
 University of California, 1982 Big Game, 289-291
 Upton, William, 186
- Varian, Dorothy, 46
 Vietnam War
 impact on domestic policy, 358-359
 opposition to, 302-305, 307-308, 315-316
- Watergate break-in, 307-308
 Watkin, Becky, 185, 187-188
 Wayburn, Diana, 126
 Wayburn, Edgar, 96, 126
 Weinberger, Caspar, 221, 223
 Welker, Francia, 121, 208, 216-217
 Wellman, Grace, 186-187
 West Marin master plan, 138-139
 Whitaker, John, 310-313, 348-350, 356-358, 360, 363, 367, 368, 370-371, 373, 374, 380-381
 wilderness legislation, 92-95
 Williams, Jim, 120, 207-208, 216
 women in politics, 12-14, 16-19, 33, 55-60

ANN LAGE

**B.A., University of California, Berkeley, with major
in history, 1963**

M.A., University of California, Berkeley, history, 1965

**Post-graduate studies, University of California, Berkeley,
1965-66, American history and education; Junior
College teaching credential, State of California**

**Chairman, Sierra Club History Committee, 1978-1986; oral
history coordinator, 1974-present**

**Interviewer/Editor, Regional Oral History Office, in the
fields of conservation and natural resources,
land use, university history, California political
history, 1976-present.**



BILL DUDDLESON

Student, UCLA, and copy boy, Los Angeles Times, 1939-1941.

U.S. Navy. Enlisted 1942, commissioned 1943, served on destroyer in Pacific, 1943-1946.

B.A., UC Berkeley, with major in journalism, 1948.

Editor and manager, weekly newspapers in Oregon and California, and reporter, San Francisco Chronicle and Santa Rosa Press Democrat, 1948-1958.

Legislative assistant to Congressman Clem Miller, D-California (North Coast), U.S. House of Representatives, 1959-1962.

Staff member of non-profit organizations concerned with conservation of land and other natural resources: American Conservation Association, 1963-1965, and The Conservation Foundation, 1968-1978.

Policy analyst and program developer and manager, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1966-1968 and 1978-1989.

Free-lance writer, 1990- .

Author of articles in Sierra, Wilderness, Environmental Action, Sunset, American Land Forum. Author or co-author of several books including Space for Survival (Pocket Books), From Sea to Shining Sea (President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty), National Parks for the Future and Protecting the Golden Shore--Lessons from the California Coastal Commission (Conservation Foundation).

~~207859~~

BANC/MISS

93/128

c

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C046343137

