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Interviewee: Jeff Ingram (JI)

Interviewer: Tom Martin (TM)

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TM: Today is November 28th, 2014. We are at the home of Jeff Ingram in Tucson, Arizona. Jeff can you spell your name for me?

Jl: Jeffrey Ingram

TM: Thank you. Jeff can you tell me a little bit about your parents, about where you grew up?

Jl: My parents had both grown up in southeastern Pennsylvania and migrated to central New York because my father had a job as swimming coach at a small college called Colgate in the town of Hamilton which is where I grew up and where I went to school through graduating as a senior. Although we lived for a number of those years in a smaller hamlet 4 miles outside the main small hamlet. Hamilton at that time was only about 1200 people. In fact the size doubled when the college was in session. But was a very nice small town because of the mixture of college and town and rural kids. It was an interesting exercise in diversity whereas many of the other towns around us didn't have that. So I think it was a good growing up place. At least back in the forties and early fifties. Today it probably would be something different. Because it was a small town I was anxious to get out. I should say, my father was a swimming coach but then he went on to try and make a success in the business of selling recreational equipment to institutions like schools. And then later in life he became a proprietor of gift shops until he actually came out here with my mother in 1970-something. My mother on the other hand was more consistent. She was an elementary school teacher. I think she taught all grades except first, second through sixth over the years. She did that both in Hamilton and in a smaller town nearby called Earlville.

TM: Did your mother teach when you were growing up?

Jl: Yes

TM: Which was unique at the time. It seems that most women of that generation were the raisers of the children at home.

Jl: Good question. I was in fifth grade and my sister, who was the youngest, had just started fulltime in school. We took the school bus from our little hamlet, at that time we were living in a smaller town called Poolville. The school bus would come and take us into Hamilton. She began working once she could. She had taught before she was married. She graduated from what was called a normal school in

Pennsylvania. Then from the early thirties, when they married and moved up to Hamilton, to this year which was probably '48/'49. So she was. But you know even then she did part time work. My father was in World War II. Gone for three years. She had to work. She worked as a bookkeeper, she worked at the local hotel as a desk clerk. Remember, they graduated into the depression. They married in the depression. Two of their children were born in the depression. I guess you'd say three because my sister was born just before we got into the war which of course brought prosperity of a kind to the country.

TM: What year were you born Jeff?

Jl: '36

TM: OK. Older sister, younger sister then?

Jl: My younger sister was born in '41 and my brother was born in '33.

TM: OK

Jl: So I'm middle child. But in any case, they were renters through all those years. He was fully employed as a swimming coach and she was a housewife. Then, when he came out of the navy and tried to establish himself, at the same time they bought a house. Which is why we moved from Hamilton to this other little town. The picture of the house is right here. It was an old Greek revival that had been built in 1840. Terribly cold place in the winter, drafty. The pattern of my later years in school was set by my mother working full time. I think, no she worked fulltime. My father, what he did required him to be on the road trying to establish himself. Which was very hard. And was made harder because then came the Korean War and there was a big difficulty on that recreational kind of equipment. I don't know a lot of the details of all of that. But when you asked about my mother, she did both. She was a housewife, she was part-time employed through necessity in a hard economic time. And then she became a teacher and I think prospered. She was a respected teacher. And, now this will be tough because I won't remember the year she retired. She certainly taught into maybe the early sixties. From the late forties, through the fifties, and into the sixties. Whereas my father was always trying to establish some kind of business. So it was a kind of unequal division. When I decided that I wanted to go to MIT as a senior in high school it was of course noted not only for its difficulty and high standards but it's being very expensive. The tuition was a whopping \$900 a year. Very few people could take that out of pocket. So, that must have been hard on them to spring for that the first year.

TM: Jeff, did your parents encourage you to head out in the woods? I'm assuming this was rural living, did you get out of town and explore?

Jl: Fair enough. I think its right to say that there was not a culture of outdoor stuff the way we think about it today. Oh, I'm a hiker, I'm a backpacker. I live in Tucson that means I can go up in the mountains. That was not what we had. It was a rural but nevertheless settled part of New York State. There were patches of woods. There were fields. We could go and even stay overnight. Go out on walks. I remember us kids, not just the family, but people/friends doing this. When we bought the property in '48 it had 40 acres attached to it which were quite interesting to explore. I did some of that but not as much, now thinking back on it, as I wanted to. And I think, again, part of that was the orientation toward the other town. Going back and forth between the two towns was usually a matter of hitchhiking. Some bike riding but more often hitchhiking because there was no public transport or

anything like that. Because there were all the activities centered there, I think as the years went on I spent less time. But there were... I want to say... It was a kind of minor but integrated. So we might say to some kids, let's take a bike ride, let's go take a little walk. Or maybe we called them hikes, I don't know. But it was not an outdoor life as my grandchildren or even my children know about it because of the way they were brought up. So, I think that answers your questions. The other interesting thing that I always remember is while I was still in high school, because it was in the early fifties, I remember an article in Time magazine about the fight over Echo Park. I don't remember what my reaction was to it. I don't remember what the slant Time magazine had on it. But I wouldn't be surprised if it was scornful of the conservationists as they were called then. But other than that, there's nothing that I understand as being...

TM: So what were your interests in your high school years? Did you have any hobbies? Were there any extracurricular sports that you played?

Jl: I didn't play sports but throughout my high school years, for instance, I was what they called the manager. That is the go-fer/cleanup person for the football and the basketball teams throughout my high school years. I was in the drama society which did stuff during the year. Again, in later years I was editor-in-chief of the yearbook. Looking back on it, it was an active... both extracurricular and social, too. Because there were two fancy proms during the year as well as dances after all the games. So the social life was both informal, that is just getting together with your friends or with your girlfriend, and group/doing things together. Trying to think back to the period as a junior in high school and even earlier. But I don't remember a lot of that kind of organized extracurricular stuff. I think my mind is just blanking on what that was. But I've always thought about it as a... Look, we're talking about a school. The total population from kindergarten through senior was 600. My class was 40 plus or minus. So it was easy to do lots of things. It was easy to know as many people as you wanted to know in your class. You could still form cliques but nevertheless there were no strangers. I think about high school as my kids have gone to and my grandchildren are in, of these great huge things. How do you negotiate all of that? I didn't have any of that. It was much more in the control of the individual student. That is to say, you could be a big deal without a lot of effort. Make friends which lasted. I don't remember ever having any enemies. I can think back and maybe there were some difficult kids. But it was a benign atmosphere.

TM: What attracted you to MIT?

Jl: It was one of those silly things that kids do. I had no orientation toward why to go to college. It was an accepted fact that you went to college among our... With kids of the college faculty being one of the group's that was by and large the group I was part of, the assumption was you went to college/we were going to college. I was third in my class academically. Our math teacher, and of course the teachers we had, we had the same teacher for math all the way through, English all the way through, history all the way through. It wasn't large enough to have a variety of teachers. The math teacher was very good. She was very precise, very organized. She wasn't harsh, she wasn't a disciplinarian. But she was formidable, firm without being scary. So that may have been part of it. But sometime in my senior year I said, boy, I think math would be a good field to get interested in. Then the next part I remember explicitly. My father was a traveling salesman. He had to go to Boston or go to places which ended up in Boston. Of course all this was driving. He took me with him and we drove from central New York over to Boston. Much more of an adventure before there were anything like freeways. I visited the campus of MIT. I can't tell you quite why MIT struck my fancy. But I wanted to visit it. I wasn't

interested in Harvard or any of the other many, many schools in Boston. It wasn't that. It was something about MIT. I went and did the little thing. I think it was February, but anyway in the middle of winter. This MIT student gave me a tour. Since I was the only one there it was a very personal tour. I just said this is where I want to go. I applied to no other schools except MIT. How I got in, I guess it was just the recognition of natural talent. I certainly have always been pleased to have spent my college years there.

TM: What did you gain from that time at MIT?

Jl: What I think I gained is what I would call a respect, as well as an interest and enthusiasm, about what we think of as technical subjects, science particularly. I'm not much of an engineer. I was in math and very quickly found that I was not much of a mathematician. Then switched to a new hybrid course they were putting in which was a combination of a technical major and either economics or political science co-major. I chose, believe it or not, the political science side and that became more and more dominant. I took math throughout the four years and it did prove to me that I was not a mathematician. But nevertheless, the respect and to some degree the feeling that I had the ability to read stuff about the world around us and appreciate it. For instance, the debate about evolution seems to me to be nonsense. It would be interesting to have a debate so somebody could point out to me that I have a prejudice just like I think anti-evolutionists have a prejudice against this. Because their opposition is not based on what I would consider to be the same kind of rigorous understanding of the world as scientists do.

TH: Did you continue on after your undergraduate with a post?

Jl: Yep, by the time I was a senior I had made connections with the faculty. History, political science. Some good interesting, I mean MIT was good to attract that kind of people.

TM: Like who?

Jl: Herbert Markuze came for a year. His name is not much known but he was a leftist philosopher, historian, radical for anything that... In our time, remember this was 1954 to '58. You're pressing my memory aren't you? Another person I want to remember was a Czech émigré. [trying to remember the name] Deutsch, he was at MIT and then later he went to Yale and became noted. The thing I remember from him particularly was in a discussion. He said, you just wait. By the 1990s leaders of communist generations in the Soviet Union will have gone from the revolutionaries to their successors, who are still ideologues, to the third generation which is completely detached from that revolutionary period. They'll be more sophisticated, more educated in the world, they'll want to travel more, and you'll see the Soviet Union change and become more open. Now remember we're talking about the 1950s when the United States was hag-ridden by the McCarthy scare and other such anticommunist stuff. For some reason I just remember this session when he said that. Karl Deutsch, I think so. Anyway, his field was nationalism. There was another professor of the philosophy of history. Just so intriguing. Later on he went on to write a book about Nixon, an anti-Nixon book. There were others. A man named Robert Wood who was familiar both with the world outside academia so he could bring it in and talk about it. I'm not even talking about mathematics. I took a course from Noam Chomsky. That kind of thing was what MIT was about. It attracted names and cultivated them and helped them. But you asked if I went on to graduate school.

TM: Before I do that just a real quick, I want to go back. Do you remember the name of the math teacher you had in high school?

Jl: Hefferman, of course I remember it - Miss Hefferman. Did she have a first name? Probably. [laughing] Here's an interesting thing that will pin this in time. In my senior year our history teacher, Miss Gardner, told us sometime early in the year that a very interesting decision was going to be made by the Supreme Court sometime in that term, which would've run through the next June, about whether or not black people, negroes she probably would've said negroes, could go to school with white people. So that's how we were alerted to Brown v Board of Education.

TM: Just putting some names into high school as we put names into college.

Jl: Miss Faucet was the English teacher for six years. Mrs. Adams did the language. Mrs. Smith did science. She wasn't a very good science teacher. In our senior year we got a man, how unusual.

TM: Yes because you give me a name of women.

Jl: Absolutely. Shop was a man. Gym was a man. Basketball/football coach, same guy. The senior year we got physics from this person/this man who'd come in, brand new, and boy did we do a bad job. He taught physics. He didn't teach whatever it was that Mrs. Smith taught. We probably learned a lot of physics but it was much harder.

TM: So then at MIT you're finishing your 4-year degree. What attracted you to continue on in school?

Jl: That was easy because the question was go into a corporation. At MIT you would be interviewed. I remember being interviewed by Procter & Gamble. I wasn't interested in that kind of thing. You often had sponsors, that is to say people in the faculty of your administration. If you were active in school affairs people would know about you and they would naturally say, why don't you go and talk to this person. Because they probably had connections with that person. It could've been friendly I'm not saying it was all corrupt or anything. For me the key person was the political science I mentioned, Robert Wood who had connections/friendships whatever at Columbia University in a new program that had just started providing full fellowships for people who were willing to study/commit themselves to the study of not just urban affairs but metropolitan affairs. The whole idea that the United States was becoming a few huge urban conglomerations was very fashionable. So the idea was, let's get some people together who will become scholars of this and help solve all the problems of the cities and so on.

TM: The concept of urban renewal, was that part of that?

Jl: Absolutely. This was the time of Robert Moses in New York who was a great builder throughout the thirties and forties, bridges and so on. He got into urban renewal which for someone like him, and for many other places, meant going into some place, razing it the ground and building up these structures that later became hell's to live in. That was urban renewal. Not urban renewal so much the way it became in the sixties and seventies where the idea was... maybe it would have been even later... eighties/nineties? Anyway, where gentrification, the idea of people moving back into the city. The flight to the suburbs which was powering this megalopolis was still in force. It wasn't until that started to reverse that we get the kind of urban renewal we talk about today. Which still does some bashing around but is much more aimed at renovation and reuse/recycling, all of that. That was long after everybody had been distressed by the cluster of ideas in the midcentury. Bash stuff, build new, build high, build dense, whatever.

TM: So then did you go into that program at Columbia then?

Jl: I did, I was in it for 2 ½ years. At the beginning of my second year my future wife came and joined the program from Oberlin College. We were married a year and ½ later around Christmas time of 1960.

TM: What was her name Jeff?

Jl: Helen. She's a well-known, she's now retired. But she still writes. She and my daughter collaborated on a book recently with another person. A very important book, I think, because it considers the use of narrative in decision-making. Not to get off the subject. The fact remains, she was in that program. We got married in December of 1960 and I realized at that time after 2 ½ years, slow thinker maybe, that being an academic was not for me. It's not just that there was too little action. But so much of the action was within that closed circle of the faculty, of the department, that organization. And I thought, If I'm going to play politics or engage in politics, why not real politics?

So I dropped out of Columbia without getting a degree and went to work first for a judge. Which is a political patronage job in the sense that the leader of my particular political jurisdiction knew the judge and said, can you hire this person? And she did. That one lasted for a few months and I got a very educational job as a field investigator for Wages and Hours in the state Labor Department. The 1930s had been full of legislation to regulate things like overtime and what people were paid and how many hours they could work and when they had to have time off. A good aspect of what we think of as New Deal legislation to protect the working person, though we would have said the workingman back then. It had been growing throughout the century. The democrats coming to power is what enabled a great deal of it in that period. One other thing was that the Department of Labor had an investigative arm which operated this way. There were investigators many of whom had had their jobs since the depression. So they were older than me and been doing this job now for 20 years. At this time we lived in Manhattan because after leaving Columbia my wife continued at Columbia to get her degree. So we lived not too far from Greenwich Village in Manhattan.

I was therefore assigned to the district which was above 125th street, that is to say Harlem. Which at that time was as it is today. An area of mostly Negro, black African-American population. We worked alone. You would have a bunch of cards, 3x5 cards, and you would go to a street and you would go down that street and you would go into each store that showed on the thing and find out if they had any employees. They had to produce books which were filled in by hand. They could cheat all they wanted to for all I knew. We were to look at those books and see that things were being done. I don't ever remember any violations. But who knows. If it was an apartment building there was a superintendent. You'd go and find the superintendent, if you were lucky, and interview him about his own work conditions. Possibly we talked to workers, too, in the stores, it's a little fuzzy now. That's what we would do, is spend the day going down... After I had been working for a month or so, every month or two months or whatever, all the investigators for an area would get together and have a meeting. Mostly chat I'm sure. But I was charging along doing all these things and this one guy I remember as a canny Irishman took me aside and said, you know you're doing really great guns but if you keep this up you're going to make the rest of us look bad. So just do about blah, blah, blah a day. That's fine, nobody's going to check up on you because you're out there by yourself. Just do this many, turn them in and everything will be fine. So I could go out in the morning and work for two or 3 hours in the street and then come back to our apartment downtown and write up the reports. What can I say? I'm sure the laws made a difference. I'm sure the fact that people knew they were supposed to get a certain

minimum wage may have made it much less likely they were exploited than back in the 1910s and twenties. But you'd have to talk to somebody who knew the field better than I did. For me, I was having my eyes opened walking through the streets of Harlem. A place which 50 years/40 years/into the 1920s? was a place of white. There was a heavy Jewish population. Other white people lived up there. The streets/the houses, it was very desirable physically to live. But people had seen black people come into their area and they ran. We think of New York as a fairly liberal kind of place, but individuals were just as they are anywhere else. There are historians know a lot more about how all this worked. How much it might have been promoted/pushed and so on. I've often wondered what a shame it was that this area was in some sense out of bounds for people like me. Of course that was self-fear but on the other hand you didn't see any white families anywhere. So, that was that education and then we decided... Actually what we did was buy a Volkswagen bus early in 1962. Helen had completed everything but her dissertation in those same few months, in early 62. My oldest daughter Mrill had been born in 61 so she was not quite a year old. We lived in one room apartment with a little kitchen alcove. We said, if we're going to have kids and we want to stay here we've got to find a bigger place. So we looked. We couldn't find anything that was within our financial reach as we conceived it at the time. This is very interesting to me because had we been able to hang on until Helen perhaps had said, OK, I want to go to work now, September of 62. What would that have meant in-so-far as taking care of our daughter? Had she done that, with all that extra income could we have afforded someplace? Could we possibly have become an urban family?

TM: In New York City

Jl: In Manhattan because we didn't want to move out, we were snobbish. We didn't want to move out into the other boroughs. I can't answer that question because we didn't... Helen was not particularly happy in New York. She wanted to move west. And now we're getting to something that's relevant. I was enamored of the idea of going but west. I'd only been west once and that was to our wedding in the front range of Colorado, in Colorado Springs.

TM: So that kind of begs the question, was that where Helen was from, was Colorado?

Jl: Yes, she grew up in Colorado Springs. Her family was still there.

TM: So when you went to get married in Colorado Springs, that was your first time west of the Mississippi?

Jl: Probably, I won't say west of the Hudson. [laughs] No, that was my first time over the bulk of the country to the west, yes.

TM: So Colorado Springs, the mountain's heading up into the western sky...

Jl: The foot of Pike's Peak.

TM: And your thoughts at the time were, oh this is interesting or...

Jl: No, I wanted to go west even before we got married. And that's because... For instance my girlfriend in high school, her family had done this western tour. They packed the car and drove out there and visited the national parks. Maybe they camped out, I don't even know. So there was that semi-knowledge. But I remember when I was at MIT, one of my friends who was older by a year two, class or two, was interviewing for jobs. He had a job interview in Albuquerque, New Mexico and I can just

remember the sensation of - talk about far away, talk about foreign country. It was definitely that kind of another place that I didn't know anything about. But I must've had some sense of what was out there. That there was something out there. That was different from what I had. I should say that I wasn't unused to traveling. My father was a traveling salesman. Even though we didn't take those kinds of long vacations, we did a lot of driving around in the local areas. So it's not as if it was a matter of being in a small town and staying there. Travel wasn't a strange thing.

TM: Putting this together then, you met Helen. She had come east for education which is a huge shift for her going in the other direction. Was she OK with leaving New York heading west then?

Jl: Happy, happy to do so.

TM: OK

Jl: So we were both ready to go in the sense that New York was not obviously/immediately going to work out. Perhaps we got impatient. But I think it was just the excitement of new lands. That whole business about going west, go west young man and woman, was far more possible and attractive. Now I can't tell you what a 20/25 year old who lives in New York thinks today about doing that. But it certainly can't be the same as we did because we had two things. One, the sense that it was this place of possibility and the other that we would have no trouble going out there and getting settled. We did not fear economic distress or fear prejudice. It was all very positive. And then we had this Volkswagen bus so we could just pack up stuff to camp from and put our furniture in storage. We took off in the June of '62 and spent three/four months traveling the entire west. There were three big loops. Starting with Colorado Springs as the starting point. If you draw a map and draw loops to the southwest, to the west, and to the northwest, that's what we did. Looking for the place that we wanted to move to. I think back on it as a wonderful time. We saw so much. We stopped in the national parks. We camped there often. As well as the national forests. All free of course. Interestingly enough, the place that we came to on our second or third day, Santa Fe, ended up as number one on our list and where we finally did move to in February of '63.

TM: So the stop in Santa Fe was on the first loop of these three loops that you did?

Jl: Yes

TM: Can you expand on those loops? What else do you remember about those?

Jl: We started and went south. That took us through mountains coming down to Taos. You get a whole sense of the southern Rocky Mountains and Sangre de Cristo. Then you come out of the mountains and there's Santa Fe spread out below you. Then you continue on down to the southwest and you start going through the great huge reaches of the southwest. That immense space heading toward Carlsbad.

TM: The interstate highway was under construction or had... Where are we at with that?

Jl: Where was it, yea, that's a good question? I don't remember much in the way of interstates. Everything was... This was stuff that was all left over from construction in the thirties, forties and fifties. We went over old La Vita Pass, which won't mean anything to anybody who doesn't know it. But if you do... It was a typical old time pass, winding, following many of the contours. Today if you go there, there is a multilane highway which just goes up to the top and comes down to the bottom. It was much more of an adventure in driving. There were some multilane highways I think even then between Santa Fe

and Albuquerque. Even now there's no interstate between Albuquerque and Carlsbad. How we got from Carlsbad over to Silver City and then on to Tucson? I don't remember whether it was freeway yet or not. The route was the same because the freeway came along and did it. But I can remember places like visiting Carlsbad, camping in Cochise Stronghold, those sorts of little things and then coming into Tucson. I'd like to say I remember a small, dusty little town but I don't think that would be quite fair. But we did drive around through a little bit. We tried to find the desert museum and didn't succeed. We camped that night in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in July. We did the loop the next day, drove around the... And the thing about that was that because we survived and really liked it, I think that's what convinced us that the desert was a viable place to live in.

TM: So you survived the heat.

Jl: Survived the heat and loved it. Loved the desert. Not necessarily the heat. Just loved the desert for its mountains and all the stuff. I don't want to go in to all that. And then we went on into California. Our attitude toward Los Angeles was so anti that we...

TM: So you breezed through the Mojave Desert in a VW bus in July really fast.

Jl: The thing I remember is that the Vaseline melted in the jar.

TM: [laughing]

Jl: It was hot, it was very hot.

TM: OK, so then you get to LA...

Jl: We basically drove through LA. Did we go up to Big Sur that time? I bet we did. Sorry I can't help you. We turned east, we didn't go to San Francisco because we planned that for the next trip. We turned east and went into the mountains and then dropped back out and went around again through the northern desert going to Kingman and going to the Grand Canyon. Here's the joke. When we were discussing how to go back from central California I was arguing for Bryce and Zion because those were really interesting places. Helen thought we should go to the Grand Canyon but I said, no it's just a big tourist trap. It's just a big hole in the ground. Remember, I probably had seen three pictures of the Grand Canyon in my whole life. That was all. But I was full of definite opinions. That one fortunately she won on. I won't say it changed my life because it didn't, it set the course of my life. It certainly did, there's no question. I remember walking out Mather Point holding my not-quite-one-year-old daughter in my arms and looking out there down the Bright Angel, the Hakatai Shale, that bright orange smack-in-your-eyes kind of thing. It was inexpressible in words. But then it's not an unusual reaction either. I'm glad to say both of those things because the intensity of reaction to the Grand Canyon is one of the things that defines it for the iconic place it is. The other thing is it's shared, not in the sense that you'd talk to somebody about it, but it is a reaction that millions and millions of people have. Which is not a bad thing, it's a good thing. Because if it's iconic then it has to appeal to more than just a few elitists like us. Even though I may have come to the words later, that's what defined its importance. The third element that did was at the time the road maps put out by Shell and the Gousha Map Company, best road maps that have ever been put out. As you looked at the map of northern Arizona there was the Grand Canyon. There was this little itty bitty park or maybe a great big park and down the stream from that was this little black line across the river that said Bridge Canyon Dam site. And I'm certain that even right then I said, a dam in the Grand Canyon? Now you could challenge me and we could have deep

psychoanalysis and hypnotism and I probably could not recall why I knew that that was bad. All I can say is that it was. I was convinced. I had not seen anything or there was no education leading up to it. It was just this map and seeing that place. That was enough to convince me that this was a very special park and was to be a very special part of my life.

TM: How many days did you stay there on that first visit?

Jl: Maybe two overnights. That would be my guess. We then continued on back up to Colorado Springs.

TM: Up through Monument Valley? How did you get back up that way?

Jl: No

TM: Route 66?

Jl: Let me think. It seems to me that's when they had just finished paving the road from Tuba City up to Four Corners. We decided to take a chance and go that way because on the map it was still dirt. But I may be wrong. It may be we didn't do that until a year or two later. We may have gone out... I guess that's right, we went out 66. I remember the dam power plant. It's still there that power plant. Anyway, and then we would've gone north on 666 maybe. Maybe we went to Mesa Verde at that point. That's all very hazy. I'm sure we would not have gone all the way over to Albuquerque. So we probably went to Mesa Verde and back to Colorado Springs on Route 50. That would've been my guess.

TM: And would regroup back in Colorado Springs?

Jl: We'd stay there and then head out again. Next time we drove over the mountains over Nevada and there's a funny story there, to San Francisco where we stayed a little while and had the devastating news... You don't want to know all this.

TM: What's the funny story?

Jl: The funny story is, we came in to the east side of Nevada and there are two, is it Ely on the east side? I seem to remember there was a national forest campground. So we camped there and then leave the next day and drove across the entire northern part of Nevada until we got to... a little town that starts with an F [thinking, guessing] in western Nevada on the road to Carson City. We stopped to get gas. I went to pay for the gas and my wallet was gone. It could not find it. It disappeared. And we had practically no money. What we had planned to do was go up to Lake Tahoe and the Sierra and spend a few days before going to some relatives of Helen's in San Francisco. But this was devastating. So we went into Carson City. Somehow we paid for the gas. I even remember using postage stamps. We got into Carson City and I had the bright idea, I'm going to go into the state police office and ask them if a wallet had perhaps been... [laughing] I have to laugh, I can't believe my motivation was really that naive. The fact is, I went into the state police headquarters/office, whenever it was in Carson City, in order to use the phone to call back to Helens... Remember, how were we going to call? There were pay phones. We didn't have any change. Thinking about it today it's as if all your batteries ran down. Anyway, I went into the office and there was that nice officer and he said, I understand, sure call back there. So I called and the person who answered was the aunt that we were on our way to visit in San Francisco. To shorten this a little bit, she got Helen's father to come on the line. He told me that Helen's mother had died of a burst aorta the day after we'd left. She'd gone to the hospital and died within the day. And I then had to go out and... She was sitting in the back of the bus playing with Muriel and I had to tell her

this. When we put everything together we decided the only thing we could do, since we had a full tank of gas, we could barely get to this place in the east bay where the aunt and uncle lived. The uncle was still there, the aunt was back. So that's what we did. We drove through the night, it was already 6:00, and coasted through the Sierra and dark. Arrived at the Calaveras Bridge. I didn't have any money for the toll. Here's one of those little stories. I came up and explained to the toll guy I'm sorry we don't have any money and we don't have any gas practically. He said, I can't help you go on over and talk to the sergeant in the office. Here's the picture I remember. I was through the toll gate and drove over to the office and got out and walked in there. There was the sergeant and I have a picture of a woman sitting in his lap. It must be apocryphal, surely I didn't really see that. I explained to him and he said, No, go back out. That was my welcome to California. Now, why the ___ didn't and I just get back in the bus and turn and drive down the road? I was through the gates. Would they have chased me? Come on. Anyway, I drove back through the gates. We went a couple of miles and found a gas station. I begged a quarter/dime or whatever was, went back and went through the gates. We did have enough gas to get... Back in those times Volkswagen buses got really great gas mileage. I think it was 30 miles to a gallon.

TM: Especially when you're coasting down the western slope of the Sierra.

Jl: [laughing] Yes. Anyway, Helen went back to be with her family for a little bit. Muriel and I continued and we went up the northern coast and up the Oregon Coast and then came back over to Portland where we met Helen who had rejoined us. I think we went to Seattle on that trip. I know we came back down the Willamette Valley. Went to Ashland which we found very attractive and turned out to be our second choice. I'm not sorry we didn't move there. It's still an attractive town even though it's grown and all the rest of that. Back across the hinterlands, the back country of Oregon and northern Nevada, into Colorado. The third trip was north from Colorado, up into Wyoming... [thinking] I'm just having a little memory conflict here. In any case, it was a trip to do the mountain west. We drove across Glacier, got as far as Glacier National Park.

TM: This was August/September so it was getting cold now?

Jl: Not really. It was probably almost certainly August.

TM: OK

Jl: It's hard to imagine we jammed all this travel in.

TM: That's a lot.

Jl: It was a lot, but we came back and made the mistake of thinking we should go back east and check out things. Instead of... It was just one of those...

TM: Check out things meaning?

Jl: At home. My parents lived in New York still and the idea was we'll go back there and use that as a base and we'll see if there's anything that we can decide. We'll turn this over in our minds. We must not have been quite committed. Maybe we felt the money had just... and we didn't have a job. I think back and it was just confused. We went back and stayed with my parents for a little time and said wait, this is not it. So then, and that must have been November by that time, we drove back taking a southerly route and went back to Santa Fe because that was their first choice. We thought we'll renew our

acquaintance, which we did, and maybe check out a few things. Unfortunately we got caught in a snowstorm. The car broke down in the snowstorm so we had to go back to Colorado Springs on the bus and then find a way to rescue the car.

The upshot of all that was that in January... [thinking] does that sound right? I guess it must be. No, there must've been a period/somewhere in this period... I remember me as going to Santa Fe in January of '63 to find a house. But at some point I had gone and prospected for jobs. I went to Albuquerque to find out if the university had any jobs. They liked the idea that Helen, even though she didn't have her Ph.D.... I just walked into the offices of the thing and the chairman of the department was there. We sat down and chatted. I told him our situation. It's amazing, amazing. He was a New Englander. Maybe sympathetic about people who come from the northeast to the southwest. He said, your wife sounds like even though she hasn't got her dissertation she can come here. We can give her courses. She can teach so she can earn money and she work on her dissertation. And then we'll see what develops. At the same time, somewhere in there, I went and applied at Los Alamos. I remember trying to check out the state government and whether there was anything in Santa Fe. Santa Fe was not a good place to find jobs/find work. But Los Alamos was. I ended up with three job interviews. All of this had to have been done in that time, in the fall of '62. Unfortunately I didn't keep a journal then so I'm never going to reconstruct those dates. I did interview and was given a job offer. So we were able to move from Colorado Springs to this house that I'd found in Santa Fe. Helen then, we went on down and I found her an apartment. She would teach and stay in Albuquerque during the week. Then either she would take the bus up or I would go down and pick her up or take her home or whatever. We did that for a term. Muriel, who was a little over one, was in a preschool. Now that may not be so strange. But at that time we were very lucky to find a preschool who was willing to take a child still in diapers. In January when I came to find a house and rented it, spent overnight there and there was nothing in it. I slept in my sleeping bag.

The next day I drove to Grand Canyon and went down the Bright Angel Trail. In the wintertime, with the snow, in my rubber buckle galoshes because I didn't have hiking boots, nothing like that. No pack. No food. No provisions. No water. Fortunately I was smart enough to go to Tipoff/Plateau Point and not down to the bottom of the river because coming back was... The only thing that saved me was being able to eat snow as I was climbing up because that's all, as I say I had no food or water.

TM: In your galoshes.

Jl: In the rubber buckle galoshes. [laughing] I had to wear those because the shoes I wore were moccasin's. What we used to call moccasins based on our perversion of Indian footgear. They had no traction at all.

TM: Did you have long hair at that time?

Jl: No, no, no, no, long hair was a '60s thing.

TM: OK, I'm just thinking here's the couple with the child in the VW bus.

Jl: But VW buses were middle class vehicles.

TM: Interesting.

Jl: Outré middle class, people who make their own bread, which as it turned out in a few years we started doing that. They were still for middle class families. There was no hippie stuff. That was only a couple years later. I shouldn't get so carried away. We were 1950s people being projected into... We slid through the 1960s in a different way. Had we been five or 10 years younger it would've been quite different. For us with a child already. I could avoid the Vietnam War/the draft, which was very active, because I was married with a child. So I never had to be educated in that way. We were settled in Santa Fe in 1962 with a child and a nice place to live.

TM: What was it about the Grand Canyon, suddenly everything seems set. Muriel is taken care of in the preschool, Helen has a job. I'm going to go to the Grand Canyon.

Jl: Right. Because what do you do when your life changes? When there's this huge magnet. I was in Santa Fe and the Grand Canyon was right over here. The thing was we settled on Santa Fe. We loved the physical appearance of Santa Fe when we first drove in there. And I still think that what we loved about it exists, it's just not down in the center anymore. That's sort of overrun. But once you get back away from it... I wouldn't want to argue that point. Santa Fe has its critics. But for us, we said this is the place we want to come. It was only later, after having been to the Grand Canyon, that I realized hey it's really close. And I knew by that time, having spent the whole summer driving around the west, it was clear to me that distance was a matter of putting your foot on the accelerator and keeping going.

TM: Did you get any blisters on that hike?

Jl: Can't remember. But I sure must've had aches and pains because I was staggering. It was dark. By the time I got out I was climbing up through the dark. Snowy, icy.

TM: No flashlight?

Jl: No, up the Bright Angel trail.

TM: So, Tipoff is on the Kaibab.

Jl: Oh yea I read, so it's not the Tipoff its Plateau Point.

TM: Right.

Jl: Where you go through Indian Gardens and you keep on going on the top of the Tonto Platform.

TM: Got it. No worries.

Jl: I could see and hear the river. That only confirmed me that this was a magnificent place. That I... words fail. Then I drove back to Colorado Springs and we made our decisions and packed up and very quickly went to New Mexico where we settled down.

TM: So that was it then? No return to Grand Canyon?

Jl: Not true. The summer of '63? [thinking] My sister came to visit us one summer and that was either '63 or '64. I think that must've been '63 because what we did with her was to go to the north rim. Yes that was certainly true because I remember how excited I was to be going back. I just pounded down the little trail that leads to look off points on the north rim at Bright Angel. I won't say I was disappointed but I was disappointed. Because the north rim and the south rim are very different places. It was part of my education. Anyway, we went from there on to Zion and Bryce and Cedar Breaks. We

did that little north loop. That was when we took that road up to Four Corners and then back down to Santa Fe. That's a possibility. Old Route 44 in New Mexico.

TM: Then, in the spring of '63 did you get a job?

Jl: Yes, I had a job at Los Alamos. I was a technician of some kind working on quality control of the production of fuel rods. Long carbon rods with uranium embedded in them. It was a very tricky thing. The whole purpose of producing these rods was to power a reactor which could be used for space travel. It was such a difficult thing that the program was terminated after three or four years. And we still have never, and quite possibly never will, follow that line up. It makes technical sense from some points of view, particularly once you get in deep space away from the earth to travel great distances. I don't even know if anybody's working on it. At our time it was a very hot item in one section of Los Alamos. I worked at that for a couple years, in that position.

TM: So '63-'65 tie in to Bryce/Zion. And then did you keep traveling out to the west during that '63, '64, '65 time?

Jl: We did a lot of traveling, a lot of driving around. Living in Santa Fe we could go north to Taos or into the mountains or over to Chaco Canyon was another one we did. I think it was the next summer. '64 we went back to the Grand Canyon and that was the one where better equipped and in the summer time, I went down the Kaibab and along the river and back up the Bright Angel. I still was pretty beat up by the time I got out. I remember that.

TM: In a day?

Jl: Sure. [laughing] We camped at Desert View. We slept outside, Muriel was sleeping in the car. We didn't use a tent. It's interesting to me to think I didn't use a tent, even in backpacking, for many, many years. Now I wouldn't think of going out without it, in the '90s or whenever I did those things. I can't figure out if the climate's changed and therefore you are more likely to be rained on at night now. Or whether I was just lucky in the early years not to get rained on at night.

TM: Or, was there such a thing as a lightweight backpacking tent?

Jl: I'm sure there was. We eventually bought a tent. Some years later we bought two tents a heavy one and then a light one. I remember fairly early in my Sierra Club years we went backpacking in Colorado and had two lightweight tents.

TM: I was just thinking about the gear and gear advances.

Jl: Those were happening at that time. Those things were being done. Kelty packs were a sign of prestige. If you had a Kelty you were very lightweight and advanced, fitting/conforming to the body and all that stuff. Where we were camped at Desert View, Helen and I were sleeping outside/out of a tent. She woke up with a shriek. And I have to tell the story, she used to wear a white hair net on her head. She reached up and it was gone. She said, something hit me on the head. It was dark and we saw the white thing off in the distance. Weird. So I looked at her head and there were a couple of marks on the top of her scalp. So what? Who knows? So what else could we do, we settled down to go back to sleep. A few minutes later whack on the top of my head. This time we were not asleep. I had a flashlight there and I shown it and there were eyes of a coyote just a short distance away. Who knows what the coyote thought. First of all the white thing and then another head.

TM: Rabbits.

Jl: Rabbits? The psychology of coyotes I leave to others. We got real worried. Was this a rabid coyote? So we went to the doctor the next day and he said you don't want a deal with getting injections. I don't know what we would've done if we started getting sick because the thing for rabies is terrible. But I think he may have said, I don't think we're worried about rabid coyotes around the campgrounds. Who knows, he's a doctor for the park service. Was he independent and therefore wasn't a bureaucrat? Or was he just a bureaucrat?

TM: This was at the clinic?

Jl: Yea.

TM: In 1963ish? '64?

Jl: '64.

TM: Independent contractor.

Jl: So, in any case we did not get rabies. But we had a little adventure and I went down to the bottom of the canyon and did those trails.

TM: So at this point had you heard about the dams and the dam journey?

Jl: Oh yes.

TM: Had you met Brower?

Jl: Oh no, no, no.

TM: When did all that start spooling?

Jl: At that point I was still completely ignorant of other people's efforts/of any effort to do anything about the dam. But I must have been fooling around looking for stuff. Here's another point that I can't pinpoint the date of. Could it have been '63 or did it have to be '64? Somehow I came across *The Place No One Knew* by Eliot Porter. What that did was not only show me Glen Canyon. [thinking] We came west in 1963. We drove over Glen Canyon Dam then in either '63, let's say '63. So I could have, had I known, gone up to Hite and come down the river. But I didn't know and that's the name of the book. And here comes the book and I buy it. I think I still have it, goodness isn't that terrible. Cause I certainly haven't looked at it in a long time. But it is a book with beautiful photographs. It is a great place. Was a great place. It's still a great place, it's just covered by a lot of extra water. It has a momentary flood in it shall we say. In the back there was a description of the Sierra Club and fact that Glen Canyon had been done and Grand Canyon was threatened. That's what I remember as the introduction to that world. Reading this and getting excited about the fact that there were other people who didn't like the idea of a dam. I don't remember even then doing anything because this was either '63 or '64. May depend on when the book was put out, it's possible I got it new.

In November of '64 was the conference in Santa Fe put on by the Rio Grande Chapter of the Sierra Club, right after the election I remember, on conservation issues. Living in Santa Fe I went. Brower and his wife were there. He spoke in the evening. I don't remember a lot of what other people talked about. There must've been something about Forest Service because at some point I spoke up and asked a

question or challenged one of the Forest Service bureaucrats. Somehow in the morning I introduced myself to Brower and his wife because he invited me to lunch with him. Eliot Porter was there. Certainly the chairman of the chapter was there and maybe a couple other people. We went to the Palace Restaurant and we had lunch. He was obviously impressed. I don't want to push the word too hard. It's just that I sat next to him and he talked to me. He was treating me like an adult and that became very important that evening after I heard him give his speech. As you may not know or experienced, he was a great public speaker. He did not speak from a prepared text but usually had notes. He had themes and he had lines. He could weave this together into a talk which was at times funny but always inspiring. He had that 19th century oratorical gift. These were not long speeches, possibly half an hour or something like that. I don't mean he went on for two or 3 hours. But it was inspiring and that's what a heavy part of his charisma/the transmission of his charisma was about. His ability to speak to an audience and enthrall them. So I got that that first night and I think the conference was just a day long. I don't remember a second day.

So that was my introduction personally to that world of activists and activism. His advice then was, you want to work in the Grand Canyon? Start writing letters, keep in touch, talk to Elliott Porter who lived in Tesuque then. He was another northeasterner transplanted to the southwest. In his case with money. They had a very nice place in Tesuque north of Santa Fe. I think Brower got him on the board of the Sierra Club. This was the time when Brower was trying to bring the Sierra Club out of the more narrow... It's not that it was not a conservation organization from the beginning but a lot of the people who were on the board were people who got their fame/notoriety in the Club among the many, many, many California members who knew their names from treks and hikes and stuff like that. So there were people there who were sympathetic perhaps but not fully in touch with the modern age of the 1960s. Not activist in the proactive sense of getting out there and fighting. I don't want to make invidious comparisons but the point was that Brower tried to upgrade this and that's the time when he got Martin Litton to go on the board. He got Eliot Porter, I hope that's right, on the board. Also John Oakes was the editorial writer of the New York Times and of the family who owned it and who was highly attuned, as the Times was, to conservation issues. For instance there was a fight at that time which was in the courts and went to the Supreme Court over the power utility Con Edison in New York wanting to build a pumped storage power plant up the Hudson in a very scenic part. My point is that the Times was editorializing against this. They were aware of things. So it was a natural choice. So these three people came on the board. If I remember right both Eliot and Oakes only lasted one term because the board is just... I don't have time for this. Four times a year/a whole weekend spent listening to squabbles of the things that people on boards have squabbles about. Namely procedure.

And of course that was the atmosphere which was steadily drifting. When we talk about me getting involved in '64 and then '65 and we talk about Brower being chucked out in 1968 or '69, possibly '69 but running for the board in '68. So there's a period of three or four years. Probably a prescient understander of organizations could say, you've got this dynamic leader and you've got these people that he sees are resisting him. He's gonna keep pushing and their going to keep resisting. You've got an immovable object and you've got irresistible force. Somethings gonna happen. And it did. All of that was also building up inside the board at that time. To some degree, therefore, his effort to enlighten and liven/modernize the board probably was something of a failure. But there were good people on the board so it's a tough call. There are historians of the Sierra Club who could probably do more with that. From my point of view in '64 after that conference, David Brower was the Sierra Club and the Grand Canyon was the issue. That's when I began doing things like writing to the Bureau of Reclamation,

Federal Power Commission in our naive way we did back then to say, you know this is a really bad idea. Wouldn't you like to try something else?

That turns the page into 1965. The fight had begun. Without rehearsing history, Arizona was ready to ask Congress to authorize the Central Arizona Project in 1965 and had begun putting together legislation which started in the House. It contained both dams, that is to say Bridge Canyon Dam and the dam up in Marble Canyon. The forces of Reclamation, both the agency and the structure throughout the west which called themselves reclamationists, were gearing up and joining together for a big effort. Because this was going to be a big bill. In the 1950s, as you know, the same kind of effort had been made for the upper basin. It's the one that contained Glen Canyon Dam and also the effort by the reclamationists to get Echo Park Dam built in Dinosaur National Monument which failed. But the legislation with Glen was passed. But it was passed over the opposition of California and Arizona. In that sense that was a bitter enough fight that the pivotal figure in the House, the chairman of the House Interior Committee, a Coloradoan named Wayne Aspinall who was important in getting water projects for Colorado, was now sitting as chairman over this lower basin project. He wasn't against it, he just wanted to protect all this water rights and water law. Meanwhile there sat California already having grabbed a good deal of the lower basin water, in its own way, as it had grabbed the water from Owen's Valley and water from northern California. Los Angeles/Southern California was, and is, a very thirsty place. And a powerful place at that time. The question was how do you shape legislation which will give you the Central Arizona Project and California does not get something out of it and the upper basin is protected with whatever.

And you're gonna have to do something because in the senate is Carl Hayden, sitting as chairman of the Appropriations Committee. He's been there in congress since Arizona was made a state. He is determined to get a Central Arizona Project and he has a clever enough, even though he was 90 maybe/late 80s, power resides in seniority. Particularly in the senate. Power resides, as it does not today, in the friendships that you make because you are a senator of longstanding and you're seniority and you're chairman of the Appropriations Committee. That makes a big difference. So you were not going to escape from having to do this by saying, we on the Colorado Plateau/we in the upper basin we've got ours but we don't wanna give you yours. And California is saying, we've got ours and we don't want to give you yours. Because Arizona was sitting there not only with that senior senator but also with the Secretary of Interior who was Stewart Udall and a sympathetic president, Lyndon Johnson who had been majority leader of the senate, a long-time senator, a very good friend of Carl Hayden's, no doubt. At least a political friend. Who knows what friendship is among people like that. Both houses were in democratic control and the president was a democrat. So that helped. It's important to think, too, that this was a juggernaut. The Reclamation juggernaut had been founded in the beginning of the century. Projects had been built. Hoover Dam was a great success. So this thing was coming down the tracks and now it was picking up all these people and saying, you've got to shape yourself up/you've got to get together. If we are going to produce this bill for the Central Arizona Project with these two dams in we're going to have to work together.

So Udall as secretary. His brother Morris represented the southern part of Arizona at that time. There were only 2 districts when that started. Then it was redistricted and there were three. The person in the northern district/the Grand Canyon district was a negligible quantity. Phoenix was represented by a republican, John Rhodes, who was on the Appropriations Committee. A long time good fellow, well connected, powerful in the House. Morris Udall, who among democrats as a liberal and forward thinker,

an activist and all of that, was important as a democrat and also he was on the Interior Committee so therefore was Arizona's spokesman. So everything was all set up for this juggernaut to go. They first started out (I say they in a very loose way)...

TM: So hang. I'm just going to step back a second. You've met Brower. Very inspiring speaker.

Jl: Yep

TM: And you were working for Los Alamos.

Jl: Yes

TM: And started to write letters, started to learn more about what was happening on the CAP project as it was coming together.

Jl: The dams particularly, more than the CAP. Learning about the dams and what hydroelectric dams were.

TM: And this is '65?

Jl: This grades into '65, yes.

TM: And you still work for Los Alamos?

Jl: Yes

TM: OK, just wanted to make sure that I understood where you were during that time.

Jl: Yes that's right, I was doing these 2 things together. I'll get back to that but what I want to do here is say, here is this Reclamation juggernaut ready to do something. Saying, how to we do this? The first move/the big move is you leave it up to the administration. They come up with this specific southwest water plan which was a great huge thing that includes all kinds of stuff. The centerpiece being that we will provide you water but there's not enough water in the Colorado to take care of all the needs in the upper basin and California, which is already overdrawn, and Arizona. So we need water from somewhere else. Somewhere up north where there's lots of water and not very many people. Down here there's not much water and there's lots of people. So we deserve that water but we have to pay for it because Reclamation law, so clever of them, says yes the Federal government will help you by building these things but you have to pay for them. The interest rate may be .001%, or something trivial like that, and we're going to have all kinds of things like flood control. Flood control is not something you have to pay for that's a national cost. Hoover Dam is flood control. So a large part of Hoover dam was not paid for by power users or the people who buy the water. The upshot is you need something to generate money. What to hydroelectric dams do? They generate electricity which people sell. In fact you can sell it at peaking power rates which means it's a real gold mine. So we need those dams because, and our calculations show this, that after we pay for the CAP from the proceeds from those dams, then we have a treasure chest which builds up and builds up and after a while we'll be able to go and build things like from Northern California and maybe even the Columbia River. Bad move, bad move.

The Reclamation juggernaut hit the northwestern wall. Because, and I'm talking politics, on the senate side the chairman of the House Interior Committee, on which Hayden sat if I'm not mistaken, was Henry Jackson of Washington. Not as long as Hayden but a longtime senator and a democrat. Since comedy is

what they do in the senate/did in the senate then Jackson was going to say, hey Carl, this is your project. How do you want to do this? What Carl said first is, let's let the house start the legislation. We won't do anything over here. Let's let the house go at it and settle a lot of these issues. The congress 1965-'66 was going to be a house arena. The house was going to be the arena for fighting out these various issues as they tried to put this together. The administration put out its proposal. Morris Udall and Wayne Aspinall, the Coloradoan, and other players, people from California. The Interior Committee in the House was stacked with these people. They were going to work together and they were going to get a bill and everybody was going to be happy enough.

Interestingly enough on the Interior Committee as well, on the republican side, was a congressman from Pennsylvania named John Saylor who was not only a longtime congressman but was a longtime conservationist as we called ourselves back then. He had, I think, been involved in Echo Park. He was certainly involved in the Wilderness Act. Therefore he saw himself as what we would call a conscience for the environment. A conscience for the western environment from Pennsylvania. Part of that made those westerners mad because what is this guy from Pennsylvania? [laughing] He had seniority. He was a big man. He had no qualms about asserting himself, surprise, surprise. He said these dams are a bad idea. And not only there's some other stuff which is a bad idea. So they knew that there was a point for opposition. So now I have to go back from the 1950s. You're getting history here that is not mine but which became part of my heritage. So, they fought Echo Park over a dam which was to be built in a national monument. That was a no-no. Therefore there was a lot of opposition from what we would now call environmentalist groups.

[phone interruption]

Jl: The fight over a dam in Dinosaur National Monument was one that was joined by lots and lots of groups that believed in the integrity of the national parks. There was already a provision in law that you could not build private dams in the national parks. But here was a federal agency, Reclamation, coming and saying to Congress, authorize a dam. Which Congress could do. So the fight was over whether or not there was to be a dam authorized in a national monument/a part of the national park system. That fight was fought in the early fifties. Glen Canyon was then found to be even more devastating and it charged people up by saying, and you can find this in Brower's letters/files, where he gives credit to the people who were involved in the Echo Park Dam fight. He gives credit to them for educating him and others to you don't fight for a single piece of a river system for instance just because it's the only one in the national park. You take a look at the whole thing and say, this is what we want to save. If they had done that saying, this is the upper basin, what do we want do? They would have supposedly fought against Glen Canyon. That's a fight I wouldn't even want to have predicted how it would come out. The result of the Echo Park fight and the loss of Glen Canyon was at the vision of people who were concerned about dams and the Grand Canyon and the whole idea of rivers. All that was opening up a vision.

Now the story goes and I wasn't there, but it was in the earlier sixties, that Brower induced Martin Litton or Martin Litton induced Brower, or whatever, to make a presentation to the board of the Sierra Club. Not to just oppose the Bridge Canyon Dam/the fact that it backed up into the national park, but to oppose it period because it was in the Grand Canyon. And to oppose Marble Canyon which didn't even affect, of course it did, but was not in the national park. Just say no dams in the Grand Canyon at all. The reason why that's a little bit interesting is because back in the late forties there had been an attempt by Arizona to build the Central Arizona Project and Bridge Canyon Dam. The Sierra Club at that

time moved by other voices. Actually came out with a compromise plan that said you can build the dam but you have to have certain restrictions on it. So we have to wipe that away and you have to turn toward this more open/more expansive view. What we do is we protect natural places whether they are in parks or not. The natural place here is the Grand Canyon and we're going to fight for the whole thing. That course was set in the early sixties. I wish I had the dates but that was not part of my history. By the time Brower was making that speech in 1964, by the time Glen Canyon: The Place No One Knew was introduced and then Time and the River Flowing, which was the next big book from the Sierra Club about the Grand Canyon itself. By the time those books became part of what I knew and I got involved, say 1965, that was a settled issue. There wasn't any question then of what you were fighting for. You were fighting to save Grand Canyon. That's the way it was set up in 1965.

So, you had the Reclamation juggernaut focused on the Interior Committee led by some very powerful and intelligent and skillful legislators who were putting together a package to do this. You had opposition on the committee focused on John Saylor and you had us on the outside. When I say us, I mean all these conservation groups who didn't think it was a great idea to do any dams. And you had Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior who had been the first environmentalist secretary (would that be a nice way to put it?). He and his brother, after all, had done things like Indiana Dunes, comfortably far away from the southwest. Oh and Canyonlands, too. Canyonlands may have come in under Udall when he was Secretary. But the point was he had these leanings. So in the discussions in the administration they said, we see Bridge Canyon backs into the national park. We see people don't like that so let's just set that aside for the moment. We'll introduce an administration bill that doesn't have Bridge Canyon in it but it has Marble Canyon Dam in it. That'll supply what we need to do and get the legislation on its way. Reclamation didn't agree with that decision but they played along. They said, oh sure. Because they knew once they got to Congress, which is exactly what happened, the bill that was introduced had both dams in it. The only way this whole package could hang together was if these two dams supposedly... Who knows what really would've happened if they were in operation today, who knows. The only way their package could work was if they had these dams generating cash at the center of it. They knew they had to do the two dams. They knew they had to pacify California and pacify all the basin states and get this great big thing going. They held hearings in '65. I was not at those hearings. There was testimony from people back in the southwest who were brought by the Sierra Club or whomever paid for their way. They came and testified that the Grand Canyon is a great place don't you dare put dams in it. Brower testified and so on. So in '65 you can see all these things being set up. These are the forces, how are they gonna play out?

I had been writing letters and educating myself. I left Los Alamos in the spring, maybe it was June, of '65. We spent the summer in Colorado where Helen finished up her dissertation. That was the reason we did this. We said, let's cut loose from Los Alamos so we can concentrate on you getting your dissertation. Then we'll go down to Albuquerque where you can work full time as a faculty member and I can go back to school and get a better degree and improve my prospects. So that was our plan. We were in Albuquerque, I was going to school and Helen was teaching, by November '65 when the Rio Grande Chapter held the second Santa Fe conference. I went from Albuquerque up to attend it. At that time I had grown a beard. I wonder why I did that. Any way that was my beard time. I walked in to the lobby of the place where the conference was to be held. Brower came in at the same time and I introduced myself. La, la, la, glad to see you, and the beard, and let's go sit down. So we went in and sat down. We started chatting and somehow the subject of the northwest representative... How did the Sierra club work, what did you do? I don't know the conversation line. But the position held by Mike

McCloskey at that time, though pretty quick Brock Evans became northwest representative after Mike became conservation director. So I was saying what does a northwest representative do? Or maybe he said, we've been thinking about doing this in the southwest. So I said, what does the southwest representative do? I can't remember how it went. But he took out his pen with green ink and on a piece of paper he wrote down the things that a southwest representative would do. At the bottom I think he wrote are you interested? So, that was my job offer. I have that piece of paper by the way. It'll be in the files when I finally give them to somebody. Or if somebody wants them, who knows, maybe nobody will. That got me very excited. I said, yes of course I'm interested. And then I called my wife and told her what I'd been offered and I was interested. I'm sure she was excited and pleased. I went home the next day and from then until the end of the year it was sort of suspenseful because Brower wanted this and he went back and he argued for it and I think there was some resistance. I remember talking to Eliot Porter on the phone about it – how was it doing, is it going to work? They did finally approve the position. I think that was in December because I remember going to work early in January of '66.

TM: So, you started for the Club in 1966 in January as the southwest rep.

Jl: Yes

TM: Jeff we have been at this a little over 2 hours. Thank you this is just the sort of stuff I'm looking for. Maybe now is a good time to say let's pick this up again tomorrow at this spot. Things that I'm interested in hearing a little bit more about are Brower. What he was like as a person/to work for. And how did your relationship with Grand Canyon continue to grow in the second half of the sixties. Your first river trip. That's more journeys for tomorrow. Thank you very much.