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THE GENIUS AND THE COUNTY BUILDING: HOW
FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT CAME TO MARIN COUNTY,
CALIFORNIA, AND GLORIFIED SAN RAFAEL.

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THE GENIUS AND THE COUNTY BUILDING:
HOW FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT CAME TO MARIN COUNTY,
CALIFORNIA, AND GLORIFIED SAN RAFAEL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION
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PREFACE

Marin County has been written about as a place where charming Indian legends abound, where misty beauty evokes a breathless appreciation of natural wonders, where tales of the sea are told around cozy hearths, and where nostalgia for the old California of Mexican hidalgos and an exotic array of international characters finds responsive audience. Even today the primary interests of Marin chroniclers center on old settlers, their lives and their fortunes, and the exotic polyglot of ethnic groups that came to populate the shores of the waters that wash Marin.

This effort to analyze by example some of the social processes of Marin is in large part an introductory effort. What the researcher finds in abundance are memories.

I was warmly received and generally found enthusiastic cooperation. Few people refused to share their knowledge of Marin with me. I was privileged to examine family records and personal files, to browse through scrapbooks and to read old letters. I listened to reminiscences, angry recollections, bitter accusations, and elegant eulogies. I have tried to filter out bias, to account for prejudice, to be alert to vengeance, and most frequently to reduce to reality. I have deliberately sought antagonistic views as well as neutral assessments in order to
ascertain as fully as possible the "truth somewhere in between."
The inaccuracies in this work, whatever they are, can be laid at
the door of my inability to adequately judge or moderate view­
points.

To the following people I am most grateful for their generous
sharing of time and memory with me--some indulged me again and
again: Margaret Azevedo, Peter Behr, Alan Bruce, Bert
Broemmel, Marion Hayes Cain, Milen Dempster, W. P. (Doc)
Duhamel, Fred Enemark, Bill Gnoss, Aaron Green, Sally
Garoutte, Marge Hayakawa, Alice Kent, Ann Kent, Roger Kent,
Bunny Lucheta, George Ludy, Marcelle McCoy, Michael Mitchell,
John Oglesby, Kitty Oppenheimer, Al Pinther, Vera Schultz,
Robert Severin, Harold Stockstad, Mary Summers, and Fran
Warner.

And to the following people I am indebted for the privilege
of examining private records: W. P. Duhammel, Sally Garoutte,
Ann and Alice Kent, George Ludy, Vera Schultz, Mary Summers,
and above all to Harold Stockstad for his voluminous collection of
newspaper clippings. Jean Day, librarian for the Independent
Journal, was very helpful but Mr. Stockstad's private files
exceeded any other I uncovered and he made them all available
to me.

I owe a very special debt to Vera Schultz and Harold
Stockstad for their editing of my work. They sent me back again and again to further search for supportive material for the accuracy of my statements. There was always the risk that they or I would find their own memories fallible; but they were willing to be wrong and willing to let me make my own conclusions in the face of conflicting opinions. Vera's keen sense of justice was especially useful to me and when she questioned my assertions I knew that I would be well-advised to check again. Her own honesty kept me honest at times when I was footsore and brain-weary. Harold's willingness to be an adversary helped me to hone my facts and sharpen my prose. He played the devil's advocate for me, even to the point of making me hopping mad and therefore determined to know.

To all of these people, and to their beautiful county, which I came to know by searching them out in its hills, I owe much. I hope this work is adequate payment.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to show how a famous controversial piece of governmental architecture, the Marin County Building by Frank Lloyd Wright, came to be built in its present form at San Rafael, California. The form of the dissertation is a generally chronological narrative of the county supervisors' decisions that led ultimately to the contracting for and construction of the building, along with the battles of public opinion that were associated with these decisions. This narrative of the major social forces that provided the setting and the motivations for the decision to build is limited to the sources available to any researcher at this time. Future scholars will be better able to analyze in depth what I have attempted to do in this work when the papers of several key figures are released for study. Most important will be the papers of William D. Fusselman and George S. Jones. At present neither of these archives have been open to examination by any scholar. The task of this dissertation was made more complex by my inability to secure an audience with Mr. Fusselman. His weekly column in The Independent Journal is the only source now available to researchers through which one could evaluate his position on past as well as present issues. Since he often reminisces about the past in his column one can warily use it as a
checkpoint for information gleaned from other sources.

Marin County has not previously attracted the attention of scholars so that an analytical study at this time would have been premature. It is the "frame" for future research that I have attempted to provide here. A narrative style therefore seemed the more appropriate form for this dissertation to take. The reader will have to recognize the limitations placed on this paper by the dearth of literature available on the subject. However, much that will have to be more specifically explored at a later date can be examined from a general chronological perspective even today.

The social factors to be examined include the following:
1) the location of suburban Marin County across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, and the influence upon it of the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge and the invasion of the automobile,
2) changes in the nature of populations and residencies in Marin County as a result of the building of the bridge and the developmental influences of World War II, 3) changes in the political structures and styles of life in Marin County that occurred during the period of population change and increase, 4) re-polarizations of style of life and "taste" in Marin County as elements of the older social establishment mingled with certain elements among the commuter newcomers--re-polarizations that did much to
determine the nature of the controversies that preceded the construction of the building, 5) the personalities, views and actions of key leaders in administration and public opinion whose individual ideals and tastes conditioned their commitment to representative roles in the controversy--and whose influence was as much a determinant of the events as economic and population changes.

The narrative studies the way in which social and political factions and leaders, in a pluralistic setting, employed their powers and influence to determine the choice of architect of a public building which was held by almost all to be a supreme symbolization of the ethos of the county community. This study concludes with an epilogue showing how the Civic Center controversy not only produced a building but channelled Marin politics into new forms and stances. As a case study of a particular decision by a particular county--even though it involved the fame and reputation of one of the greater figures in American architecture--it parallels in some senses an experience that has been repeated in local governments across the nation. Thus the dissertation may throw new light on the processes by which, in the United States, a large symbol of civic pride and identity arrives at its location and ambience.
The Bridge and the Building

As early as the 1870's the idea of a bridge across the Golden Gate was implanted in the fertile soil of San Francisco's imagination by "Emperor Norton." In fact he "decreed" its construction. Mad though he was, indulged and beloved by San Franciscans who have always delighted in the bizarre elements in their population, his proclamation became a reality only half a century later in 1937. Before that date Charles Crocker, who was not mad, had designed a bridge to carry railroads across the 5,000 yard channel. But technology loitered behind his dreams and the bridge had to wait until a few years before World War II.

The men who built "Norton's Bridge" and who were brought together to do so, were representative of the character types who dream dreams and stubbornly see them through to fulfillment. As such, they could not have been more effective if deliberately assembled by design. They also demonstrated that there is no stereotype of the dreamer or the builder that is valid. The master planner was Joseph Baermann Strauss, a small man with a large vision.

Strauss was an inventor and an innovator. Every new bridge site was a challenge to which he responded with new ideas, some of which revolutionized aspects of bridge building. But the supreme challenge was yet to come.
One day in 1917 during a vacation tour from his home in Chicago, Strauss stood on the hill behind Fort Point overlooking the narrows of the Golden Gate. In front of him the ridge dropped steeply away to the old red brick fort which had once guarded the bay's entrance. Across a mile of blue-green water, the hills of Marin rose in sharp red escarpments hundreds of feet high. Here, where the ocean had breached the coastal mountains, was one of the world's most dramatic meetings of land and water. Here was the strait which had always been considered unbridgeable. Here, Strauss knew instinctively, he would build his greatest bridge.  

It took a decade of persistent effort for him to cajole and convince the city-by-the-bay that the engineering problems involved could be solved and that the costs would not be overwhelming. In 1930 the Golden Gate Bridge District was organized to encompass the six counties extending north from and including San Francisco County judged necessary to secure authorization for construction. That year, by a three-to-one vote, the people of this newly-formed District overrode the opposition of engineers, geologists, ferry-boat operators, military leaders and shippers and initiated the building of what had been "Emperor" Norton's madness, Crocker's dream and Strauss's reality.

The chief engineering designer of the bridge was Clifford Paine, a man much unlike Strauss, a man who was willing to work

---

outside the spotlight but who could quietly and efficiently deal with his temperamental chief. Strauss was volatile, he often estranged the very people whom he should have placated. Paine softened Strauss's commands into requests and harmony prevailed. Paine not only understood bridges but also men. He could translate Strauss's architectural and engineering plans into detailed blueprints, and he knew how far men could be pushed, unlike the demanding Strauss. The visual form, the artistic sweep of the bridge, and the grace of the twin towers were the creation of an architect far ahead of his time, Irving Morrow. Morrow insisted that travelers on the bridge should be able to see the bay and the magnificent hills surrounding it as they crossed. Hence the slitted railings, unlike the railings of all other bridges across the bay. Throughout the world the Golden Gate Bridge is regarded as one of the most beautiful structures man has yet produced. It is the union of the genius of these men and the faith of the people in their visions in a magnificent work of art. As a fact of transportation technology, the Golden Gate Bridge makes Marin County an extension of San Francisco and the Peninsula to the south.

The Golden Gate Bridge was completed early in 1937. Opening day, May 28, no vehicular traffic was allowed on the bridge so that a proud and loving public could minutely examine
every facet of the bridge, fill the roadway, see all it wanted to see to its heart's content. More than 200,000 people walked, skipped, or danced their way across their bridge. For the first and last time the roadway of the bridge was jammed with pedestrians. Many a traffic jam, all motorized, has ensued in the past three and a half decades, but only briefly, during World War II gas rationing, has auto and bus traffic been cut to a trickle.

Paradise was lost the day the Golden Gate Bridge was opened in 1937. This structural masterpiece made Marin accessible to the Developer. People discovered that they could live in that rural wonderland with deer cropping their lawns and raccoons munching their garbage and commute to the financial district in three quarters of an hour . . . 2

Let us examine what this reporter meant. Prior to the opening of the bridge, Marin County had been shared by distinct populations. There were those who lived and worked and had their being largely in Marin County. And there were those whose horizons spread at least as far as The City, and perhaps even beyond it as far as New England or Hawaii. Individuals in these two social worlds shared the same region in California and called each other neighbor. There were instances when diverse interests brought about confrontation but generally Marin County was serene.

The first mentioned group, the "Provincial Marinites," those whose economic, political and social interests centered on San Rafael (San Rá fell'), the county seat located on the bay side of the county midway between Petalumas Creek and the Golden Gate, were farmers, ranchers, Italian and Portuguese fishing folk, Irish and Italian railroad workers, the Chinese of China Camp, and the small businessmen of San Rafael. The other group, composed of the "Cosmopolitan Marinites" were the summer people who escaped the fogs of San Francisco to the cottages they built in such places as Ross, San Anselmo, Mill Valley and Sausalito, and in all the snug little valleys around Mount Tamalpais. They included also the wealthy elite that fled Chicago, New England, Canada and even San Francisco to live year round in beautiful Marin. Increasingly, they included the commuters who rode the ferries every day to go to work in The City.

The political activities of the county prior to World War II were largely in the hands of the Provincials. Always aware that they could be challenged by the Cosmopolitans, the Provincials were nevertheless secure in the knowledge that ordinarily the county was politically theirs. A highly personalized "Cracker Barrel" type of politics developed around the turn of the century. Individuals, from various parts of the county, made up a machine
that, although full of social contrasts, was solidly Republican. With its factions sometimes acting in unison, sometimes squaring off with each other, it ran the county. "The Courthouse Gang," the Cosmopolitans called them. Everyone knew which individuals were thus identified. This was the situation for over half a century. Then came that day in May, 1937, when the bridge opened and the rush to Marin began. The cozy social relations built up around the ferry-service were shattered, almost as soon as individual cars with mostly individual occupants became the great tie with The City. The crossing had once been convivial. It soon became the depersonalized aggression of rush hour traffic. Most decisive for the future of the county was the in-migration to Marin of San Francisco dwellers who could now reach their employment by bridge-and-auto.

Population figures from the U.S. Census show that the decade of the 30's increased the number of Marin residents by only 27.03%. The decade of the 40's, despite the rationing of gasoline from 1942-1945, increased the population by 61.82%. The increase of the 50's soared to 71.48%. The in-migrants, as demographers stammeringly call them, were affluent, sophisticated, highly educated and articulate. Marin County today is not only the wealthiest county in California with the highest per capita income but her residents hold more academic sheepskins
than those of any other county in the State. \(^3\) The ratio of professional people and artists of note to her total population exceeds that of any county west of the Mississippi River. \(^4\) Mill Valley had long been the hearthside for newsmen from San Francisco. How much copy was actually written in Marin for San Francisco newspaper readers' consumption is an academic question, but certainly the Cosmopolitans of Marin were among the most well-informed of American citizenry. Often it was the preoccupation of the elite with the wide world beyond Marin that kept her two worlds from colliding more often than they did prior to the opening of the bridge and the building of Marin's "Main Street," Highway 101.

The natural beauty of Marin had attracted a wealthy elite to her hillsides as early as the 1870's and 1880's. The county's lordly eminence over the Bay, the Golden Gate, even the Ocean, had lured many to settle her forests and her valleys. They and their children and their children's children have had an unusually personal love affair with their land. It is the totality of Marin, not their private secluded nook, to which they are dedicated. Only the rawest of in-migrants would say they were from Mill Valley or lived in San Rafael, unless pressed for definitive address.

\(^{\text{3}}\)U.S. Census, 1960 - Average years of education: Marin - 12.6; California - 10.1.

\(^{\text{4}}\)U.S. Census, 1960.
They live in Marin. The newer Marinite soon closed ranks with older Cosmopolitan Marinites to stop further in-migration, or any further assault on "their" county. The last one in tries to shut the door--. The Provincial, for whom the exploitation of the land, his only resource, was a practical matter not an emotional trauma, soon found himself confronted by an increased number of adamant Conservationists. The very man who had eagerly sought and bought his corner of this little world cried out against further development to the bewilderment and chagrin of the developer.

The in-migrant also delighted in the cultural milieu he found, and plunged head-first into the artsy-folksy, gardeny, pageanty, little theatre world of culture that had grown up across the Bay from the San Francisco Opera House and the Palace of the Legion of Fine Arts. He was soon found happily seated with palette and brush along the streets of Mill Valley and or up in the woods of Marin or roaming the headlands, camera in hand, or rehearsing with one of the many little theatre groups such as the Ross Valley Players.

To the dismay of the Courthouse Gang the newcomer proved to be a latent political animal. With the nomination of Adlai Stevenson for the Presidency in 1952, the Democratic Party expanded dramatically and the Cracker Barrel Republican Party was jarred from its complacency. North of the Golden Gate a new
day was born over the socio-political corrals of Marin. It promised a showdown at noon. But no one knew at the time of the bridge-opening that it would center on a structure, bridging three hills in Marin, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.
CHAPTER II
PARADISE-ON-THE-FERRY

The Ferry-Connected Community

Bud Blum knew a lot of people. He took their tickets every work-day at the ferry landing at Sausalito. The commuters to Marin were a nice bunch. Housemaids and merchants, bookkeepers and brokers, deliverymen and dowagers, coming and going across the bay at all hours of the day and even late into the night. He knew that they developed many friendly ties with each other on the ferries. This, he understood, strengthened the sense of community in Marin. And Bud knew them and knew their problems. The "hill people" from the Tamalpais communities and the "flatland people" from San Rafael and the lowland communities beside the bay, but all Marinites!

There were the Chinese farmers who peddled their produce by horse-drawn wagon around Marin while at the same time their sons took special orders across by ferry to the restaurants in the city. There were the newsmen coming back late at night who made a press-club out of the ferries to Sausalito. There were the "Portagee" fishing folk who challenged the ferries at times for the right of way on the bay, but rode them to the city for festive occasions.

Bud Blum was gregarious and so were they. He soon
learned which commuter train each would take away from the ferry landing and at which stop they would disembark. People could build up something almost personal just in commuting. The Mill Valley station, for instance. This was the end of the line for the largest number of his passengers. This station was like a little clubhouse. Those people sure had a good time leaving crazy messages for each other on the chalkboard and tacking up notices. A lot of people got there early just to read the bulletin board. Same at Kentfield. Like the big sign someone put up that said, "First class mender of broken chairs. You call Missee Kent, she come."

The Kents of Kentfield, for example. Fine people. Old A. E. Kent came out from Chicago in 1871 and bought himself the side of a whole mountain. Wanted to own beauty and get away from business. Well, where could you find more beauty or get farther away than in Marin? Lots of those rich people, like the Dibbles, and the Dollars, and the Livermores, and the Kittles, and the Stinsons, had come to Marvelous Marin and had spread out over the southern half of the county. Owned large acreages, all of them, and loved every square foot of the county.

A. E. was gone now, died back in '01, and so was his son, William. William had been an only child, but he left seven fine children. Down to the third generation of that family in this
county, but their interest in Marin and all its people provided a continuity that made Marin a great place to live. They carried right on from where their Progressive parents had left off.

William Kent and his wife Elizabeth had had quite a legacy of public concern to live up to. Adaline Kent, William's mother, and her generation of Marin ladies, had tried so hard to create an integrated, classless world in Marin; and they were so earnest about it you could even forgive the snob appeal that was attached to all their efforts.

Adaline Kent started the first Woman's Club in the county in 1908. Next year the Kents decided to build a cultural center. Mrs. Kent gave twenty-nine acres of land across from the Kentfield Railroad Station, and she and William put up a "commodious clubhouse for community use."¹ It was to be a recreation center as well, so a full-time director was needed. "Reverent Ernest Bradley accepted the position of Dean and conducted clubs and classes for all ages. . . . There was a playground director, and the Tamalpais Centre Woman's Club was formed, which is still one of the leading clubs in the county."² Adaline Kent wanted all the ethnic groups of Marin

²Ibid.
there adding the richness of their cultural heritage to the Mid­western (and) New England flavor of the county. A large number of the plutocracy were Yankees and brought their Yankee simpli­city of life with them. A May Day Festival, with May Pole dancing and outdoor activities, was held the following spring and for years afterward. But the community was not ready for the Social Gospelism coming from the East, and the communitarian­ism required to see such a project through. The Cultural Center was never as all-inclusive as Mrs. Kent wished. Soon a piece of the land, including the playground, was given to the Kentfield Public School District, and in 1926 the remainder was given to the College of Marin.

In 1903 a reservoir was planned by the Tamalpais Land and Water Company that would drown Redwood Canyon. In order to save the stately trees, William Kent, at great personal cost, bought 300 acres of the canyon, thereby preserving for all time, Muir Woods. In 1908, after much discussion with Clifford Pinchot as to how to secure the forest in the future, he gave the woods to the government as a national monument to his friend, John Muir. Since there was no road to the woods, nor up his beloved mountain, in 1925 "The Muir Woods Toll Road" built in 1913 was incorporated and administered by William Kent and fellow stockholders.
The giant trees of Muir were not the only redwoods in Marin to be preserved by heroic action. In fact they were not the first to be protected. Mill Valley had been a center of logging during the nineteenth century. The lumber mill that had devoured so many of these wondrous marvels of nature, and around which the town of Mill Valley had first grown up, had left standing the grove of redwoods that shaded the mill. In 1902, having cleared the other nearest stands of trees, the lumber company began operation in its own woodyard. On the morning cutting was to begin, indignant ladies of the town encircled the trees in a living human fence and defied the loggers. They valiantly held the ground until the trains brought their husbands home that night to rescue them and the trees. The grove was saved.

Garden Clubs had existed since before the turn of the century and the ladies of Mill Valley vied with one another over gardening. Mill Valley was filled with enchanting gardens. It was these avid gardeners who saved the trees as they had earlier saved their gardens. Hikers and picnickers, headed back to the city after a day on Mount Tamalpais, were wont to gather armsful of flowers from the yards of Mill Valley before boarding the train for the ferry. Sunday was an anxious day for the gardeners of the little town. In desperation they appealed to the railroad when admonitions and pleas to the offenders brought no relief. The railroad
compliantly passed a ruling forbidding any vegetation to be carried aboard by Sunday passengers.

These two organized efforts convinced the residents that some continuing, organized effort was needed for the protection of their lovely area. Late in 1902 they formed The Outdoor Art Club. Immediately this club became a social focus as well as a civic arm of Mill Valley. Their annual "hi-jinks" at Christmas time was one of the gala events of the year. Today, this club is one of the most active and successful garden clubs in Marin County. The lovely gardens, the giant trees, the charm of the summer cottages made Mill Valley quaint and appealing even then.

Mill Valley was relieved when, in 1913, William Kent and fellow landowners built an auto road up Mount Tamalpais. Mount Tamalpais, until 1913, had been accessible only to sturdy hikers and for three decades to delighted passengers on "The Crookedest Railroad in the World," the Tamalpais Railroad.

There was even a jolly little railroad. Called the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais, proudly subtitled, "The Crookedest Railroad in the World," it wound up 281 curves and loops from the verdant village of Mill Valley at its base to a tavern near the top. The cars were of outdoor type, unwalled, with transverse seats, and the powerfully low-g geared Shay locomotive hauled the riders up with steam-whistle blasts that made the redwoods rustle their cones in Blithedale Canyon and left the bluejays speechless.

3Neill C. Wilson, Here is the Golden Gate, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1962, p. 211.
Then in 1913 the road for carriages and automobiles was constructed. It became a "Toll Road" only when maintenance became a very real financial burden to William Kent and the other landowners who had originally built the road and who had tried for twelve years to support it at their own expense for public use. During all that time they had pleaded with the county and the state for one or the other to take over maintenance of and responsibility for the road. The road had introduced more and more people to Mt. Tamalpais and had greatly increased the interest in conservation of the area.

The Parnassus of Tamalpais

Mount Tamalpais was the inspiration for the first outdoor pageant in Marin. It would never have happened if the hikers and campers had not swarmed over the mountain every Sunday, or any day they were free to come. Taking the ferry from San Francisco, and the train from Sausalito, they struck out up the trails from Mill Valley and swarmed over every inch of Tamalpais.

... it is a pretty thing. The idea of it was hit upon by three dedicated hikers, one of them an actor and dramatic coach, as they chanced to round a bend in the trail and came upon a natural amphitheater. Its backdrop was stunning--the Golden Gate and its surf-fringed headlands, and the blue Pacific. The wings were ready-made: echeloned clumps of pine, redwood, oak, manzanita and madrone. "What a setting for a play."4

4Ibid., p. 212.
In pageanty California—with its love for outdoor theatre, outdoor concerts, outdoor Art Fairs, outdoor living—the Mountain Play of Marin was to outdo them all. Only a hoof-and-mouth disease epidemic (1924) and the U.S. Army (1942-1945) have been able to interrupt the annual scheduling of performances since that heady day in May in 1913. Picnic baskets, parasols, frolicking kids and dogs—they came from the ferry landing on foot or by train to the lovely, natural bowl on the Kent side of the mountain and gloried in culture in the radiant sunlight. Tired, sunburned and content, they went back down the mountain hoping those theatre people would do it again. Do it again? That first pageant sparked an enthusiasm that will not die.

On February 25, 1914, in the offices of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, in downtown San Francisco, devotees of Marin, of Tamalpais and the theatre formed the Mountain Play Association, a catch-all of "aspiring talent." That organization has survived since then.

In 1970 Dan Totheroh, one of the earliest members of the Mountain Play Association, wrote:

At this time a historic event for the Mountain Theatre took place. Mr. Kent deeded the site of the amphitheatre to the Mountain Play Association in trust... There was no state park plan until 1927 to help protect this land. Therefore, it was notable that the Association, with foresight, drew up the following resolution on April 6, 1915:
"WHEREAS the Mountain Play at Rock Springs, Mt. Tamalpais, Marin Co. has become permanently established as one of the great annual outdoor dramatic events of California; and

"WHEREAS the Mountain Theatre, the scene of this annual performance is unrivaled in beauty and scenic grandeur, and peculiarly adapted for a mountain play, it should therefore be preserved for all times as a public park for the diversion and inspiration of all the people of California and especially the bay cities.  

So the movement was underway for the preservation and protection of at least a small part of the mountain. Totheroh went on to say:

Large numbers of active workers improved the trails and bridges, dug out poison oak, seeded grass and brought in water in large casks. What conservationists these early members were! Most of them not involved in the play itself were avid nature lovers and hikers. They set a pattern for future years which exists up to now among present Board Members, to preserve and guard the natural beauties of the treasured mountain.  

Many who were to become professionals in theatre either got their start in the Mountain Plays or gladly "lent their talents" to this annual affair. Many of them were members of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco. The Bohemian Club had been organized in San Francisco in 1879 by newspapermen and artists as a social club where they could talk shop, imbibe poetry,

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5 The Mountain Play, a history of that organization written by Dan Totheroh and Marion Hayes Cain, in 1970. Obtainable only from The Mountain Play Association.

6 Ibid. (unnumbered pages).
literature and their own impromptu performances, and escape the sober world outside. It was soon the center for intellectuals from all the professions. They called themselves "bohemians" and adopted the wise old owl as their symbol. It has become one of the most exclusive men's clubs in America and they carry on their tradition of "hi-jinks" at their annual encampment at the Bohemian Grove, 3,000 acres of magnificent redwoods on the Russian River eighty miles north of San Francisco. Dan Totheroh, a "Bohemian" like Garnet Holme and another of the founders of the Mountain Play Association, went on to write for the New York Stage and Hollywood; Totheroh wrote many of the early pageants presented in the Mountain Theatre. Later he returned to take over direction of the theatre until his retirement in 1970. Walter Plunkett, who designed the thousands of costumes for the movie, Gone With the Wind, learned costume designing through his work with the Mountain Play. Morris Ankrum, after an apprenticeship on the slopes of Tamalpais, appeared on the "boards" in New York with George Arliss in The Green Goddess. Virginia Whitehead, nationally famous dancer of the 1920's and co-founder of a dramatic and dancing school for children in New York, performed here first. Guy Kibbee, well-known actor in Hollywood, especially remembered for his roles in Shirley Temple movies in the 1930's, played the lead in Drake, the 1925 offering of the
Mountain Play.

Some citizens of the county and not a few students from the College of Marin were attracted to take part in minor roles or as members of the on-stage crowds always necessary to pageants. Great care was taken with costuming to make the event as colorful and authentic as possible. Eager volunteers made props and scenery, took tickets, policed the grounds and enthusiastically did whatever else was needed. So it is yet today.

The Artsy and Craftsy

They like it best in Marin when they can encircle both their loves—culture and conservation—in a single embrace. In 1903, for example, Temperance, Culture, and Charity, were the somewhat ambivalent objectives of a Festival. The Festival was the idea of Adaline Kent. There had been a couple of what can only be described as grape-arbor parties before on private estates. Why not make such an event a county-wide affair—and give it a purpose? Grapes abounded in California. A fire break of grape-vines had been planted around the Kent property and the Kents themselves had grapes beyond their need. The large number of Catholics of foreign extraction in the county had established wineries nearby. Mrs. Kent did not want Kent grapes made into wine. Why not demonstrate other uses of the grape? So it was that a group of the ladies decided to have a Fair, the proceeds to
go to the county's orphan's school. Although denominational, it was the only charitable organization then established in Marin.

Somehow the whole county must be brought into it.

She (Mrs. Kent) was on the first Board of Managers of the Presbyterian Orphanage, when it functioned in a simple home in San Rafael, about 1895. To this work and to the children, she gave unstintedly of her personal thought and motherly care, and was a source of strength to the Superintendent. She had a wise sense of the social importance of this project, as well as the warm-hearted longing to compensate these children for the lack of normal happy home life which should have been theirs.

The Grape Festival--historic in Marin County--was first held on her grounds in 1903 to raise funds for the Orphanage. From a small and rather personal Fair it has grown to be a great festival of colorful beauty enjoyed yearly by thousands of people. Carried on for thirty-two years since 1914 by her daughter-in-law, there is ever associated with it the remembrance of its first hostess, Adaline Kent, beloved by many.

Mrs. Kent was a caretaker of people and things, and throughout her long life there were many who shared her bounty. 7

Obviously a local expression of a national and international fad of "nobless oblige" it was, nevertheless, highly successful. Sunnyhill was the name of the orphanage and Sunnyhill Guilds sprang up throughout the county. Their booths of home-made cooking, baking, needlework, and art objects made up the Fair.

7Kent, op. cit., p. 25.
"Peacock Alley," the old clothes booth was among the popular attractions of the Fair. Expensive garments were disposed of for a song, and the purchaser could boast about which member of the elite had worn it first. Sunnyhill Guilds have even today an appeal to married women of the county. The loveliness of benevolence, when coupled with prestigious association, is irresistible, especially when enacted in the name of helpless children. When Mrs. William Kent died in 1950, Mrs. Thomas Kent, her daughter-in-law, stepped into the breach and the Grape Festival continues. The Grape Festival, in the minds of the Marinated, is the only Charity-based, county-wide activity that drew support from the entire population. Everyone enjoyed it.

But there were ladies, serious patrons of The Arts, that were not satisfied with the artsy-folksy, all-inclusive, doings willed fellow-creature-feelings that dominated Marin. They began to withdraw into exclusive gatherings of the "finer sort" to seriously consume the stuff of grand art and great literature. The ladies of Marin met privately for their own cultivation. Still alive is the "Thursday Musical." Organized in the home of Mrs. Alma Newhall around 1900, it is an "Invitations Only" society. Held to a membership of approximately seventy-five, it has been meeting every third Thursday since its beginning. Its members listen to invited guest artists or talented members of the group.
Tea is served, following the recital; this gives the hostess an opportunity to share the enjoyment of her fine crystal, china and plate silver. This adds a gracious note to the lives of women otherwise involved in public service and the rigors of doing good. Dress for the Thursday Musical has always been elegant. The sensibility of the Thursday Musical has somewhat expanded since 1900 but its numerical membership has not.

Consider also "The Reading Club." Shortly after the Thursday Musical was founded in 1901 by the wealthy, "The Shakespeare Club" was organized by a group of literate but indigent young school teachers and other ladies of learning to read great literature. Unlike the Thursday Musical they have branched out from the literary classics to tackle heavier stuff. Being more universal than the Thursdays, they changed the name of their group to "The Reading Club." Paradoxically, they have remained small, elect and serious.

At the other end of Marin's ethnic barbecue a folk festival was born in 1885. It was in Sausalito, on Pentecost Sunday, that Manuel Bettencourt re-established a festival on that feast day that he had known back home in Portugal. Confined for a quarter of a century to the Portuguese Colony of Sausalito, the "Portuguese Festival," or the Feast of the Holy Grail, became a public affair in 1910. It has been celebrated every year since then. Processions
proclaim it through the city of Sausalito. At one time a cattle auction was held in conjunction with the two-day event, and milking contests were part of the sport. Structured around gala outdoor contests and indoor dancing, The Portuguese Festival was a cross-cultural enrichment of Yankee Marin. The hill people came down to the flatland and joined in the festivities with gusto. This was the kind of temporary integration everyone loved. It included feats of agility and skill, demonstrations of strength and courage, consumption of great quantities of culinary masterpieces, dancing the charmarita, swapping stories and generally forgetting the differences they lived with through the remainder of the year. The Portuguese Festival created a warmer affection across class lines than did the Tamalpais Centre or the Grape Festival. The whole county loved it and those who know it, love it still. It has shrunk through the years to a small procession through the streets of Sausalito followed by an indoor affair held at Caledonia and Napa Streets.

**Earthquake and Population Wave**

The San Francisco Earthquake in 1906 propelled a wave of new residents into Marin who would remain and be followed by other fugitives from The City. The 1920's saw the number of commuters swell perceptibly until the county increased in population by 52.32% for the decade. These new people were more
sympathetic to Mill Valley culture than to county-community causes. Nostalgia tied them to nothing. They added a new dimension to the localism of the county accelerating the estrangement between the "hill people" and the "flatland people."

In 1932 the newer Marinites began two new cultural organizations, the Ross Valley Players and the Marin Music Chest. True to patterns established before their arrival, both groups located their passions in outdoor settings. On the Kent Estate, in a lovely grove, "The Woodlands" was erected. Since this was the first performing company to schedule its shows after dark, dramatic use was made of lighting. The effects could be ethereal, eerie, dramatic or beautiful as befit the plot as the lights shimmered on the trees surrounding the "theatre." Those who remember those years remember excellent drama under professional direction, but most particularly, the effects created by the skillful use of this new technique. The Kent Estate was broken up in 1936, and in the 1950's the Ross Valley Players purchased "The Woodlands" and moved indoors. The excellence of their choices of plays, the wealth of talent, the superb direction have combined to keep standards high and the Ross Valley Players still play to packed houses. The Mill Valley Players were organized at about the same time and offer equally fine theatre to the county. As with playhouses, so with concerts.
It started in 1932 when a group of musically-minded women in Marin County met with the late Mrs. Powers Symington and outlined a plan whereby the greatest music in the world could be brought to the greatest number of people at the lowest possible admission price.

Mrs. Symington, known in operatic circles abroad and at home as "Maude Fay," had long cherished a similar hope. That day the idea evolved into a plan, and the Marin Music Chest was born. The plan was to have a yearly membership drive from Sausalito to Pt. Reyes and no matter how small or large the amount paid for a membership, the member was entitled to an admission to each concert by paying 25 cents at the gate. Only the finest artists of concert and operatic stage were to be presented; the number of concerts depended on the amount collected in the membership drive. The organization would be non-profit, with no salaries, handled entirely by volunteer workers.  

The list of artists who have appeared before Marin audiences under the auspices of the Music Chest is a roster of the world's leading figures. They began at the top, as they always try to do in Marin. Their first artist was Ezio Pinza. The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra took the ferry to Sausalito to accompany Mr. Pinza and the house was sold out. Marin Music Chest concerts have since been a regular schedule for the San Francisco Symphony. To follow Mr. Pinza, Jan Peerce. To follow Mr. Peerce, Igor Gorin. To follow Mr. Gorin, Nelson Eddy. Each concert created a greater and greater demand for tickets until

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the starry-eyed Board of Directors was forced to change the location of the affair. On the ground of the Dominican Convent for Girls is a grove of trees where sunlight dapples the meadow grass and breezes move the branches overhead lazily to and fro. They call it Forest Meadows and here on a Sunday in June, July, August and September every year the Marin Music Chest presents yet another outdoor offering of Art. The Music Chest, like the Mountain Play, has been the debut point for many a musician, and scholarships have been given to Marin music students between the ages of 14 and 19 for many years.

The Marin Music Chest was not the first county-wide musical organization. In 1925 the Marin Symphony was formed. Made up of members of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and local amateurs of outstanding talent, it was the brain-child of Clinton Lewis, head of the music department of the College of Marin. His objective was to give young students of talent an opportunity to play with fine musicians, and to provide the county with quality performances by their own. Very shortly students from the Tamalpais High School were included as junior members, and later this experience was offered to students from San Rafael High School. During the 1930's, Tamalpais High School had one of the finest orchestras in the state. The Marin Symphony has always had a winter season, and except for special occasions, has
performed indoors at the College of Marin.

Within the next two years a sister organization began its own concert season at the college and Marin had a Choral Group all her own. The Marin Choral Group was organized by Dr. Alfred Huntgen, brother-in-law of Mrs. Norman B. Livermore. Mrs. Livermore, the outdoor girl from Texas with the unquenchable thirst for culture, came to Marin in the 1930's and made it Her county. Before her death, she played a leading role in all the activities to which she lent her energy and contributed her money. Her influence would extend even to the Marin County Civic Center -- but that gets ahead of the story. During World War II the organization of the Marin Music Chest added the professional dimension needed to put a capstone on the musical pyramid previously built in Marin County.

In Marin there are always other interests, voluntary associations form, disband, and reform as the kaleidoscope of shifting interests catches their attention. Changes in population centers, threats to some natural feature of the land, a new view of some nostalgic remnant of the past, an awakened awareness of the presence of something loved that is about to be lost -- all of these become the foci of interest. In 1943 all of that was brought to bear on a project that has become permanent in Marin.

An old magnolia tree, almost a centurion, that annually
attracted admiration was threatened by developers. Mrs. Livermore, in traditional Marin fashion, organized a campaign to save the tree and the gardens in which it stood. A member of one of Marin's many Garden Clubs, Mrs. Livermore set out to create a center for floral and plastic arts. The beautiful Marin Art and Garden Center was the result.

The Marin Art and Garden Center started life as a country estate. Originally part of a Mexican land grant, Rancho Punto de Quentin, it was owned by wine merchant James Ross from Inverness, Scotland. It was for James Ross the town was named. In 1861 Ross' daughter married George Worn and the couple built their first home on the property and did the first planting. Some of the planting is still in existence like the famous Magnolia tree in the center of the grounds. Planted as a seedling, it now stands 60 feet high and measures 40 feet across. Another tree is the giant Sequoia brought from Yosemite in 1880, also as a seedling.

Years went by and the house was sold to a family named Kittle. The original old house underwent several changes. In 1931, the roof was torn down and never rebuilt. In 1943, the Kittle family decided to sell the property. It was then that the anticipated sound of bulldozers shook the sensibilities of the Center's Joan D'Arc, the late Mrs. Norman B. Livermore, President of the Marin Conservation League. She envisioned the grounds, with its beautiful gardens and irreplaceable trees, as a Center dedicated to the development of the cultural and natural assets of Marin County. With this vision she organized her group and invited seven other groups to form a non-profit corporation to purchase the property. It was this impetus which led to the first fund-raising Marin Art and Garden Fiesta in 1945.
In 1950, through a lease arrangement with the Board of Supervisors, it became the site of the first Marin County Fair.\(^9\)

Marin, being Marin, could have no ordinary County Fair. Theirs is dedicated to art and flowers.

Annually, from 1945 until 1970, the Fair held in Ross at the Art and Garden Center was sublime in the beauty created there by eager Marinites who volunteered their services, gave free play to their imaginations, and devoted endless hours of loving preparation to reproduce the best of some other place, or some other time, or some fantasy taken from literature, mythology or the Arts. Every year's theme was to be more artistically presented than the last, they hoped. But no one could ever believe that they succeeded. Each was superlative. Samples: A visit to the "Bridge to Kyoto" in 1968, a moment in the "Realm of the Gods" in 1966, a walk through "Cherry Blossoms in July" in 1962, or a nostalgic "Summertime in 1900." The theme of the final Fair at the Art and Garden Center was "The Best of Our Years" a collage of them all.

The removal of the Marin County Fair to the Civic Center in 1971 does not end the history of the Art and Garden Center in Ross. It is still functioning as it did as a center for the visual arts and

\(^9\)From the 1970 brochure for the Marin Art and Garden Fair.
children's theatre. The gardens are as exquisite as ever and the entire property has been enhanced by a handsome red-brick, white-mortared serpentine wall that weaves around the perimeter of the grounds. That wall was built with voluntary gifts of love for a memorial to Mrs. Livermore. It is a fitting tribute to a woman who spent a lifetime protecting all that she could that was beautiful in her beloved Marin.

Private education has been frowned upon, by and large, in Marin's history. The egalitarian spirit of the early settlers permeated the bones of Marinites. True, the Selbourne School for Boys was established in San Rafael in 1882, but there wasn't a "city" public school then. The traditional one-room-township school house was all there was. And the Katherine Branson School for Girls was established in the 1920's. The Branson school was established to provide the new "progressive education" that had not yet filtered into the curriculum of the county schools. In order to prevent elitism from restricting the student body to the children of those few families who could not face democracy fully, scholarships were set up for deserving poor girls, and stringent efforts were made to secure students from all the high school districts of the county. The effort was and is at least marginally successful.

For the most part Marinites have shuddered at the thought of
separate class schools and the interest in public education has been intense. Parent organizations stand ready to do battle at all times for whatever they think is desirable in any given decision made by the school board. No teacher slumbers in Marin. The watchful eye of the community is seldom averted from the schoolyard. It makes it tough to be an educator in Marin with all those highly-educated parents noting every jot and jittle of curriculum planning, and every classroom performance. Sure keeps faculties on their toes. Consequently, quality education is the hallmark of Marin schools and always has been.

**Conservation the Highest Form of Culture**

The thirst for culture, if one had to decide as to priority, really takes a second place to conservation in Marin, however. THE LAND, and the preservation of its pristine beauty, have been hypnotic to the people of Marin from the beginning. The effulgence of a starry night over Mount Tamalpais is no more radiant than the glow on the faces of those who live in and love Marin when they begin to talk about their county. Sometimes an outsider wonders how much cultism is enmeshed in their reverence for their bit of earth. Certainly this ardor for Conservation has caused the conservationist to become politically activist again and again to prevent what Marinites term exploitation by developers.
The protectionist attitude was first focused on Mount Tamalpais, the majestic peak of the Bay Area that stands sentinel-like above the Golden Gate. Hikers from Berkeley and San Francisco began organizing Trail Clubs, staking out camp sites, clearing underbrush and generally making Tamalpais their own before the turn of the century. Pipeline, the oldest trail cut into the mountain, was well-worn by 1900. One of the first of these organizations, the Alpine Club, was founded by Dan O'Rourke, for almost forty years a constant visitor to the mountain and a leading conservationist. The membership of Alpine was made up almost entirely of hiking enthusiasts from outside the county. Al Pinther, charter member, recalls the good fellowship, the love of the mountain, the rugged outdoor weekend life that bound them all together. Once the Mountain Play was established, the Alpine Club centered much of its interest around that activity combining their devotion to nature and their enthusiasm for outdoor theatre in one of the first mergers of conservation and culture in Marin. They took tickets, provided members of the cast, passed out handbills and generally made themselves useful. For a time they brought water from Rock Springs to the amphitheatre—John Mazzer hauled two 50-gallon hogsheads of water by horse and sledge around the mountain to every performance for nine years.
Then in 1922 Max Rosenberg donated $1,000 to pay for piping water in from the Water District.

In 1912 the Tamalpais Conservation Club was organized and opened an office in San Francisco. This club constructed trails, it chopped out poison oak, it established the famous "Bootjack Camp" close to the top of the mountain. Seeing the "need for cooperation between the organized hiking groups, the occasional user and the owners of the properties of the Marin hills" the Tamalpais Conservation Club broadened its program and became actively engaged in the conservation movement. Considering the club the "Guardian of the Mountain," the members began a program that provided another agent for the movement to protect Mount Tamalpais.

Two of the "owners of the properties of the Marin hills" needed no urging; indeed long before the formation of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, they had been in the vanguard of champions of conservation. William Kent and Sidney Cushing--neighbors, nature-lovers, outdoorsmen of the highest order, and life-long friends--for years had spent hours discussing what could be done now to protect the future. Mr. Cushing had been of inestimable help in establishing Muir Woods by his open

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10 Tamalpais Conservation Club application brochure.
championship of the project. Neither man considered the land he owned a private preserve.

William Kent had spent his boyhood on that mountain. He knew it as no later day conservationist could. Marin was in his blood. He was Adaline Kent's son, and responsibility to the public for the public good had been honed into his fiber. He was the single most effective spokesman for conservation of the period. Although business, public and private, kept him away from the county a great deal of the time, he hovered over the land in spirit when not present physically. Elected to Congress from his district in 1910, he became a member of the Public Lands Commission in 1916. It was a work he delighted in.

Usually working in the background, letting other people take the limelight, William Kent was the decisive force behind most of the major efforts in northern California to place the land beyond the reach of private developers, and to plan for the most beneficial use of natural resources for the greatest number of people. He had an abiding faith in the public, but he feared the individual. "Few people have felt as keenly as I have the vile treason practiced against the public welfare by those who cannot see a piece of public property without seeking out reasons and means for its private disposal," he wrote late in life. ¹¹

¹¹Kent, op. cit., p. 404.
His attempts to unite the people of Marin behind issues dealing with the public good were made easier by the founding of the Tamalpais Center. The Men's Club of the center, while revolving around cultural and recreational activities, soon developed a strong civic interest as well. In 1908 the Tamalpais Improvement Club, an expression of this civic interest, addressed the following letter to:

THE IMPROVEMENT CLUBS

Ross Valley and Vicinity

In accordance with the motion of Mr. Schmiedell, Messrs. E. C. Chapman, William Kent and Charles Foster, were placed on the Committee with the view of setting before the Joint Associations, the affirmative reasons for consolidation into the City of Greater San Rafael.

It is impossible at such short notice to go into the detail of law or statistical figures. Our report is, therefore, in a broad, general outline which cannot, in our opinion, be escaped.

It is obvious that the bald outlines of County government which are adequate for a dairy community are utterly inadequate and absurd when applied to a thickly settled suburban community. Whether we like the prospect or not, an inevitable change is going on and the question as to whether the community will become steadily a worse place to live on account of the inadequacy of county government or, what is even worse, will be split up into small, hostile coin­ corporations, or whether, taking the situation in a large way we can treat our problems as a whole is the one vital issue.

The community, from San Rafael to the Corte Madera tunnel is necessarily one, in its most
important interests. The physical needs of this favored locality which must be supplied by the community as a whole, are sewers, roads, educational facilities, and police protection. These needs are immediate and pressing. In our opinion they can only be supplied by a large and coherent planning and by the cooperation of all the residents.

The ultimate great and vital issues, outside of the aforementioned, are the abundant supply of clean, good water at reasonable rates, and the establishment and preservation of a Park on Mount Tamalpais. Whether or not the proposed district should at once embody these features or whether the proposed political incorporation should exclude them, to take at some future time is, in our opinion, open to discussion.

Whether or not our districts are united to Greater San Rafael, there is absolutely no doubt whatever but that the Ross Valley watershed, from Fairfax to Corte Madera and with a view ultimately to take in Greenbury (sic) and San Quentin, needs, and must have a great, main sewer. The Ross Valley sewer was laid at a time when people were unable to realize the future of the district or to plan for the population that has since come into that territory. Even now the residents of the territory north of San Anselmo are being refused access to that undersized drainage.

At the other end of the district we find that the people of Larkspur have succeeded in having incorporated a Sanitary District upon which, at great expense, they are laying a sewer which doubtless is big enough for the needs of the district, but which offers no service whatever to a large part of the land taxed for its construction, and which has no present means of outlet nor adequate funds for extending it to the Bay or condemning an outlet on the marsh, which marsh outlet, as in the case of the present Ross Valley sewer, must soon be declared a nuisance and superseded.
There is no possibility of properly developing this needed function without the union of all who desire and must have its benefits.

POLICE. At present we have no regular police protection except what is supplied by private contributions. It would seem that such rules and regulations as are needed for this community, must be provided by a community, the needs of which are entirely different from the needs of the agricultural region lying beyond the suburban growth, and the officials to enforce such regulations are badly needed. It is impossible for us to be hospitable to those who should have the benefit of a gift to the country unless we are in position to enforce upon them respect for the rights of residents.

ROADS. The lack of organization in our road building and road maintenance under county government, gives us bad roads and thereby is a tremendous detriment to a country where riding and driving are naturally among the greatest enjoyments that we can have. There is no coherent plan for the construction of highways, nor any adequate system of keeping them up. It is more than absurd that our road system should in any way depend upon the election of any Board of Supervisors. Only by working together can we obtain and pay for a Department of Engineering at all adequate for this most important task.\(^{12}\)

Two issues stood out as being uppermost in this analytical assessment of the future, centralized government and conservation. Almost immediately a section of Ross Valley walled itself off from the greater public by incorporating as the town of Ross, and thus scuttled any hope of an area-wide political unit, or

\(^{12}\)From the private files of Mrs. Thomas Kent.
coordinated planning. The "big estate" mentality of a town largely cut up into small lots, even in 1909, prized exclusiveness. Ross was regarded then as being more "New England" than New England itself. How could you have a town meeting that included all that area and all those other people? With the disintegration of the hope for a political unit large enough and wealthy enough to take over civic responsibilities, the citizens of southern Marin were forced back onto private voluntary action.

Corte Madera Creek was always a problem. Barges came as far as Ross Landing but from there on the Creek was too shallow for water transportation. In addition there was heavy seasonal flooding along its banks. A beautiful, meandering little stream, much used for recreation, it was dear to the people who lived on its flood plain. But the winter rains sent it wildly plunging along until it spread out over the low places and the Corte Madera marsh. The Tamalpais Improvement Club thought something should be done about it. Messrs. Schmiedell, Chapman, Kent, Foster, et al, solicited local help without success. At their insistence the North Pacific Coastal Railroad, then preparing to build a railroad bridge over the stream, built a drawbridge so as to encourage dredging at a later date. The men then appealed in 1913, to the Army Engineers to create a shipping channel through the marshlands and to engage in flood
control farther up the stream. That too came to naught and the marshlands today are silted up and filled in for building sites.

Much later the automobile bridge that carries Highway 101 across the creek and the marsh was built beside the old drawbridge, which still stands, with no thought given to water freight and therefore no drawbridge was erected. The conservationists did not win them all then, either.

But the ones they did win were spectacular. Take the Water District fight, for instance.

William Kent had long dreamed of preserving Mount Tamalpais, a part of which he owned, for public uses, and this included protection of the watershed which he foresaw would one day be needed for a water supply for the entire district. The time had come to start making this dream a reality and within a year he was boldly advocating a comprehensive plan. It embraced the creation of a single water district to serve the entire area; the bringing of Mount Tamalpais and other watersheds under public control; the purchase of all private water companies; and the building of one or more reservoirs. With the necessary mains capable of meeting the needs of the district for half a century to come.

... On May 1, 1911, ... an act (was passed) permitting the organization of water districts by the process of initiative petition and vote of the people. Shortly thereafter a petition was launched proposing the organization of the "Marin Municipal Water District" which included a large part of the county --and had an area of some 125 square miles.

William Kent was then in Congress but he came home and made the keynote address at a large public meeting at San Rafael when the petition was launched.
At that time there were sixty saloons on the main street of the little city. His opening remark is characteristic: "The people of Marin County do not know how to mix their drinks. We have too much whiskey and too little water." 13

The Water District

When Kent saved Muir Woods from drowning he created a problem for Marin. The population pressure on the water supply was already critical. Creating a reservoir in the canyon would have alleviated the situation. Made aware of extremity of the water shortage by the howls of distress that rose from the flatlands, people like the Dibblees, the Boyds, the Rosses and the Kents, all of whom had water systems of their own at higher elevations, responded with alacrity. John Freeman, of Hetchhetchy fame, and other experts were brought in to assess possible solutions to the problem. Freeman had designed the Friant Dam to drown the Hetchhetchy valley north of Yosemite Valley to supply San Francisco with water. If he could solve the water problem for so large a population center, surely he and others could find a solution for Marin. The result was the proposed Water District. Not all of the large landowners were so public-spirited, however,

Marin County was heavily Catholic in those days. Two of

13Kent, op. cit., p. 313.
the largest landowners were William Kent and the Catholic Church. The Catholic priest in San Anselmo, zealously protective of church lands and the interests of some of his wealthier parishioners, was deadset against the Water District and preached against it. Day after day the cleric went from house to house to disparage the plan. This action, plus the broadsides issued by the two local water districts, threatened doom for the proposed new Water District. Kent went to Archbishop Hanna about the matter. The next Sunday the Catholics of San Anselmo, as well as the other parishes of southern Marin, heard from the pulpit that the enlarged Water District was in the public interest and they were urged to sign the petition.

By a 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 1 margin, the petition was approved by the people of Marin in spite of efforts on the part of the private water companies to forestall its founding. In 1913 the legal path had been cleared, the land condemned and a Board of Directors chosen. However obstructionist tactics by the officials of the Marin Water and Power Company and the North Coast Water Company, who would lose out to the newly-authorized Marin County Water District, made it impossible to sell the bonds in Northern California. These men, being highly placed in San Francisco financial circles, put pressure on the local banks and on private investors to prevent the acquisitions of the necessary
funds to begin operation. Finally William Kent and his friends appealed to Eastern bond houses and the necessary capital was made available. On November 1, 1916, the water district began operation. Kent had great hopes for the influence of the Water District on other county-wide problems.

"If Southern Marin County," he said, "is ever to reform and rehabilitate this mixed, wasteful and incoherent system of incorporated towns and county districts, it will inevitably be a rallying round the values and the good management of this water district." 14

The overt and covert action of vested interests to prevent the implementation of so far-sighted a plan for the water resources, was just as pernicious and relentless in regard to any attempt to block private consumption of the redwoods. The onslaught of the lumbering interests on the redwoods was unremitting. The need for massive checkmating by the public required perseverance and unsleeping vigilance. It was beyond the power of localized resistance to counter every thrust, every intrusion of large-scale industry into the primordial forests of the Pacific Northwest. The private sector was inadequate as a protagonist against the behemoth lumber companies. Voluntaryism would not work here, so long as efforts were sporadic and locally-based.

14 Ibid., p. 317.
In August, 1917, at the annual encampment at the Bohemian Grove, Bohemians Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, Madison Grant, Dr. John C. Merriam, Ralph Merritt, Horace M. Albright and other prominent men also interested in conservation, luxuriating in the splendor of their 3,000 acres of protected redwoods, discussed ways and means of preserving other stands of these magnificent, ancient trees. With the newly established National Park Service stimulating conservation consciousness perhaps the hour had come to take a giant step in that direction.

In January (1916) William Kent was ready for a heavy program of work on his bill to create a National Park Service, which he sponsored at the request of the American Civic Association... the bill, which passed on August 26.... They (William Kent and Stephen T. Mather, second appointee as head of the National Park Service) collaborated in the purchase of the tracts that bear their names along the Redwood Highway in California--tracts not notable for the great size of their trees but important in preserving the continuity and beauty of the roadsides. 15

William Kent was away again in Washington, D.C., but this was his kind of project. When, during the winter of 1918-1919, Dr. Merriam and Madison Grant put out a call for the organization of a state-wide "Save-the-Redwoods League" Kent enlisted the support of Stephen Mather and the two men gave the fledgling League $1,000 with which to begin. That first executive Board

15 Ibid., p. 282.
would have assured the success of any project. Franklin K. Lane, President; R. G. Sproul, Secretary and Treasurer; Board Members: John C. Merriam, Chairman, Madison Grant, Wm. E. Colby, George M. Cornwall, Wigginton E. Creed, William H. Crocker, William Kent, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Frank S. Daggett, Joseph D. Grant, Henry S. Graves, Stephen Tyng Mather, Ralph P. Merritt, Charles F. Stern, Walter Mulford, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Charles B. Wing, Wilbur L. Jepson.

Their objectives were: 1) to actively assist in the establishment of a Redwoods National Park, 2) to acquire for the preservation of scenic values the stands of Redwood along the highways then under construction, and 3) to obtain through gift and purchase groves of Redwoods threatened by lumbering operations. 16

In 1920 Stephen J. Mather and William Kent each gave $15,000 to the Save-the-Redwoods League, and secured another $13,000 from Mrs. James Hobart Moore of Santa Barbara. Humboldt County, through its Board of Supervisors, gave $54,000 and Dr. J. C. Phillips, Wenham, Massachusetts, gave $12,000

for a memorial to Colonel Raynal C. Bolling, the first American
officer of high rank to die in World War I. So the organization
was funded. Until his death Kent was a Patron of the League
annually contributing money and enthusiasm to the League. The
Redwood Highway was always one of his pet projects.

The Dedication of Mt. Tamalpais

As the automobile grew in importance to the nation, and the
reduction of the price of the Model T made it possible for more
and more people to extend their lives beyond their immediate
neighborhoods, the development of adequate roads into pre­
viously inaccessible places became a feverish preoccupation.
The annual vacation ceased to be an upper class institution and
an impatient public put priority on roads that led to beauty and
escape from the familiar. Conservation received a colosal boost
from this thirst to see the marvels hitherto only imagined. One
of the most unimaginable phenomenon to most travellers from
outside the area was the stand of mammoth trees of the Pacific
Coast. A highway north from San Francisco to Seattle through
these ethereal forests and along that wondrous coastline became
a must. It would cut through prime redwood stands. Efforts to
widen and straighten the highway met with obstinate resistance.
Wrote Kent: "This is the most unique piece of highway in the
whole country, and depends for its charm on the trees.
Everyone must realize that in order to get the benefit of it there should be curves and vistas, as the road is now laid out. "It is still a two-lane road through corridors of breathtaking beauty.

But a single battle does not win a war. No fight to save redwoods ever seems to be the final round. In 1928, Mill Valley again was called to arms. The small but magnificent stand of redwoods near old Mill park which had been spared the lumberman's saw in 1902, was about to be yielded up to the axe of the developer. The land was owned by Mrs. P. T. Barnum, widow of the circus magnate, and Herbert Thayer. A mass meeting of the townspeople at the American Legion Post on April 14th, chaired by H. C. Symonds, appointed a committee to consult Mrs. Barnum and Mr. Thayer in behalf of the town. Mrs. Barnum and Mr. Thayer agreed to retain possession of the grove until Mill Valley could raise the money for its purchase. The whole county was now alert to the threatened disappearance of these wonders of the plant kingdom.

That year the largest area of land in Marin ever placed in perpetual safety at any one time was set aside. The Mount Tamalpais State Park was finally established. Many people, through organizations and individually, had labored long to bring

17 Kent, op. cit., p. 414.
it about. In a letter written to Miss Beatrice Ward, Executive Secretary of the National Conference of State Parks from 1925 to 1928, William Kent had written on September 13, 1927:

As far as California is concerned, the two important things that occur to me are the progress of the Save-the-Redwoods League, which calls for a 6 million bond issue to purchase redwoods, and the establishment of a comprehensive Tamalpais park, which will join Muir Woods—something I have been working on for many many years. This Tamalpais region is the most varied and precious little outing country I know anywhere, and it is a matter of vital importance that it be rounded up and put in a permanent position.

and on the same day he wrote to Mr. Duncan McDuffie of San Francisco:

As soon as the commission is established (the Governor's Commission) I want to take up as far as I can, a sketch of the component parts of the Tamalpais plan—the additional lands to be obtained, a consolidation with the park features of the water district, and arrangements with the water district, which are absolutely essential if the Mountain top is not to be wrecked in the future by ambitious builders.18

The "precious little outing country" was just as greatly loved and defended by many others. Early the Tamalpais Conservation Club had made the establishment of this park its prime objective. The San Rafael Improvement Club had made the park a central theme in its program for years. The Trailmakers, The Alpine

18Ibid., p. 416.
Club, all the hiking clubs in fact, had been urgent in their petitions and letters to the state. The last major drive was led by Mrs. E. G. Stetson, president of the San Rafael Improvement Club. At last it was done. Over 10,000 acres of their cherished mountain, as well as the neighboring watersheds, were turned over to the public for safe-keeping and enjoyment. The Alpine Dam had been built and the long Pine Mountain water tunnel had been bored back through the mountain to the little settlements that needed the water so desperately. From then on not only would hikers, weekenders, vacationists and just plain picnickers enjoy the beauty of the park, but the water supply for Marin municipalities was forever guarded.

Tamalpais brought the first federal project to Marin during the Thirties. Even today that expenditure of federal funds in Marin gives a lift to the spirit of democratically-minded, nature-loving humanitarians who must live in the real world but who look to higher motivations and aspirations for reassurance. That idealistic program for youth, the Civilian Conservation Corps, was employed to build the stone terraces of the Mountain Theatre. As one sits high above the Bay and looks out across five counties, few people realize that those stone tiers that curve above the natural stage were constructed and financed by federal funds. A new dam was needed on the slopes of Mount Tamalpais. Whose first
inspiration it was to have the stone removed to create the dam removed to the Mountain Theatre for improvement of that site is a matter of conjecture today. The result however was to join a utilitarian project to an artistic and esthetic cause.

By now State Park Conservation work was involved in strong activity and the National Park Service maintained a camp headquarters in Muir Woods. Emerson Knight, with the help of Stanleigh Arnold, had secured a friendly interest in Washington and the Civilian Conservation Corps work had been extended to the theatre site development to carry out his plans. Close cooperation now existed between the State Park Commission and the Board Committee under Arthur Blake. Over a period of years until 1940 the magnificent present stone surfacing was accomplished. The theatre stands as a tribute to the major efforts of dedicated Mountain Play members, the cooperation of government agencies, and the labors of those workers in the C. C. C. who dug out and placed the heavy native materials.¹⁹

The C. C. C. could not be used for private projects so the Mountain Play Association had to turn over deed to the land to the State in order for the work to be done. One million dollars was spent in four years on the site. Nothing of value is gained without loss. The Mountain Play had long been a source of enthusiasm and a repository of much voluntary effort for Conservationist organizations, outdoor clubs, and theatre lovers. The State of California took the theatre into its park system and removed it from local control and voluntary effort. The Mountain Play

¹⁹ The Mountain Play.
association now leases the theatre each year for its annual production and conservationists have had to look elsewhere for projects to take its place.

William Kent died in 1928. It is a wonderful but tragic fact that all of the major work he did for conservation bears the name of someone else. He gave the Mountain Play its land, and the theatre was named for his beloved friend, Sidney Cushing. He gave Muir Woods to the government and saw to it that it bore the name of the great naturalist and was a memorial to John Muir. He, more than any other single person, made sure the Redwood Highway was built through those cathedral-like groves and thus were guaranteed perpetuity. Most of his portion of his beloved mountain was given to the state, but the Kent name is remembered only in the naming of a small like for his son Thomas who served on the Water District Board until his death.

Only at Tahoe does California remember. Because Lake Tahoe was practically all privately owned and the public shut out from the lake, he deeded "twenty-three acres of beautiful forest land, with a lake frontage of nearly 200 feet to the United States. It was designated U.S. Public Camp Grounds. In 1949, at the request of the Forest Service, the name was changed to William Kent Public Camp Ground."

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20 Kent, op. cit., p. 363.
The New Conservationists

Fateful October 29, 1929 diverted the whole nation from whatever preoccupations it had engaged in before, and it was not until 1934 that any further efforts were made in behalf of conservation in Marin. That year Mrs. Norman B. Livermore—she who picked up the torch laid down by William Kent—Mrs. Albert J. Evers, Mrs. John Forbes and Mrs. Helen Van Pelt, members of the Ross Art and Garden Club, organized "The Citizens Survey Committee" and raised $2,500 which was given to the county to pay for a planning study. Hugh R. Pomeroy, planning consultant, was hired, and with a crew of chartographers and draftsmen employed by SERA, a State agency, produced the first set of planning maps owned by Marin County. Accompanying the maps was a set of recommendations to be used by the county in planning for its future. The pressure of the anticipation of the hoards of new residents projected once the Golden Gate Bridge, then under construction, was opened demanded that something be done to prepare for the invasion. The conservationists braced themselves to do battle to protect the land before the harvest of the developer could be reaped. "Open Space," as a policy for planning urban growth, could be traced back to the establishment of Central Park in New York in 1858, but in the 1930's it had just come into vogue as a major emphasis in urban planning.
Out of that set of recommendations was born the Marin Conservation League, the most popular and powerful organization in Marin County today. Membership drives succeeded in building an organization large enough to take definitive action to preserve the land in the face of stubborn opposition from land developers. Between 1935 and 1938 the League was able to add 531 acres to Mount Tamalpais State Park.

Its first test of real strength came in 1939 when Mrs. Evers, president of the organization, began urging the Board of Supervisors to buy a stretch of beach at Willow Gap, a part of Stinson Beach, from the Fitzhenry family to be used as a county park. The Conservation League, through letters to the Board of Supervisors, public speeches, handbills, and letters to the Editor of the San Rafael Independent Journal, the county's major newspaper, exerted enough pressure and the property was purchased for $20,000. The Marin Conservation League had proved itself. Since that crucial decade the MCL has been the repository of faith by the public that THE LAND can and will be protected. That the legacy of that towering generation who regarded the land as a public trust and were faithful stewards of that which they had obtained will be preserved. It is a trust that has been well met.

In 1941, the first woman executive of the county was hired. Hugh Pomeroy went into military service and left the newly
created Planning Commission without a director. Mary Summers, fresh from a similar post in Contra Costa County, crossed the bay and began 20 years of service to that office and to the county of Marin. She resigned in 1961 as Planning Director, but she has continued to serve the county in non-salaried capacities since. Mary Summers would have built a serpentine wall of her own around Marin so that the moment in time she loved could be preserved forever. She fretfully watches the tide of in-migrants flowing across the bridge and worries about what they will do to Paradise.

**Split Personality Integrated**

This review of Marin County's social and political life deals with the period when it was connected with San Francisco only by ferry. Before Marin County joined the Golden Gate Bridge District and pledged herself to help finance the bridge, and before the bridge was built, Marin was protected from some of the major industrial and urban forces of the 20th century. Yet no one could pretend that this relative isolation had produced a regional society in which complete harmony prevailed. Indeed, the county developed lines of political rift in the "ferry period" that continued into and influenced the "bridge period."

The chief divisions reviewed in this chapter are related to the regional, economic, social and cultural classes of Marin.
By and large the "ferry period" was one of economic and cultural, if not political, dominance by a wealthy residential middle class which regarded itself as the trustee of the county, its beauty, and its life-style. This class drew a large part of its income from the very county in which it resided, and the extent of its land-ownership in the area made it feel as if it were "the committee-of-the-people." When its pastoral image of Marin was threatened, it responded with all the force of its cultured sense of superiority to the smaller middle-class and the working people. It even went so far as to combine a high spirit of public interest in the protection of the county's natural beauty and amenities with a desire to set a precedence that would have to be considered in the future after they were gone. To accomplish this they gave munificent gifts of land, such as Mount Tamalpais.

Resistance to this was to be found, of course, among small farmers, small businessmen, certain vested interests, and certain politicians. This resistance might be summarized as coming from the "small-bore" economizing wing of Marin politics--composed of those who wanted to put off road-building, school-building, water improvements, and other capital investments whenever they felt threatened with indebtedness or increased taxes.

This relatively innocent period of local battle over small
financial issues was brought to an end by Marin's decision to support the bridge project. There was almost no anti-bridge sentiment. All segments of the population looked with anticipation to the future the bridge would bring to Marin. Pleased with its own low cost-involvement in the bridge, Marin comfortably entered the period of the bridge without realizing how inflexible some of its social and political customs were to prove in attempting to deal with changes that followed the bridge. . . .
CHAPTER III
COW COUNTRY AND CRACKER BARREL POLITICS

The Rural Roots

In contrast to the world of the Marin plutocracy the business and agricultural folk functioned along lines familiar to students of rural county society. What has always made Marin attractive to the investigator of the social process, has been the duality of cultures, the twining in one geographical location of two diverse social systems. The sophistication of Southern Marin, contrasted with the folksy simplicity of the remainder of the county, arouses interest, yet this can be hazardous to any understanding of what Marin was like before the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge.

The overlay of a commuting population has obscured the remarkable similarity between the political life of Marin County and that of any typically rural county of any midwestern state during the same time period.

Wilson County, Kansas is a good example. Rock-ribbed Republican, agricultural, Wilson County had its plutocracy also. The Pratts, the Crockers, the Strykers, the Ervays and a handful of other wealthy families lived in Wilson County and drew much of their wealth from the land. They sent their sons and daughters to colleges outside the state, travelled widely, owned lovely homes in and around the county seat of Fredonia, but they rarely
were involved in county politics. What was different is the fact that unlike Marin's plutocracy they took no cultural interest in the life of the county and made little effort to know anyone outside their own small circle. As for conservation, they spent their energies in Colorado where they had summer homes. The administration of county affairs was exclusively in the hands of the businessmen of Fredonia and Neodesha, the county's other market center, and the smaller ranchers and farmers of Wilson County.

"Historians" of Marin—such as Jack Mason of Inverness who has written three volumes of local history—have been beguiled by the romantic history of the early Mexican land grants and the great rancheros, and the subsequent takeover by the quick shrewd immigrants from England, Scotland and New England. They have generally ignored the fact that under all that glamorous surface lay a county made up primarily of immigrant farmers and fishing folk from all over the world. These tenacious, stubborn people had moved into an agricultural area fortunately contiguous to a rapidly expanding market. Separated from San Francisco only by the Golden Gate, blessed with a climate that did not produce droughts, prolonged winters, severe cold or extreme heat, the sturdy farmer pioneer had chanced upon a favored spot to begin life anew. Marin is also bounded by
water on three sides and has the longest shoreline of any county in California. Fish were abundant then, and like the farmer, the fisherman found a ready sale across the bay for every day's catch. On the bay side of Marin, around Sausalito, a colony of Portuguese fishermen planted themselves and developed fishing fleets and a cannery. With profits from the harvest of the bay they entered the real estate market as well.

To these people, as in every other county whose primary economic interest was either in the harvest of the sea or of the land, "The City" was exotic, foreign, and a place only for doing business. They lived and worked in Marin. They were uncomfortable in San Francisco. They developed their crossroad centers, their lodges and their county government as did rural people everywhere. Bolinas to Petaluma and back again to San Rafael, they lived apart and thought apart from quixotic Southern Marin. Even those members of the business community of Marin who had stores and offices in Southern Marin felt more kinship for their counterparts in San Rafael than they did for their customers, the commuters. There was no pulling of the forelock nor was that expected. The agricultural community, in general, looked with disinterest, not disdain, at that other world of Marin. So long as their City-oriented neighbors tended to their business in San Francisco and let them mind the store in
Marin, there was room for all. Let the City people build their parks, their theatres, and their resorts, that didn't hurt anybody. Not until the use of the land for those purposes began to encroach on plans the "local" populace had for the same areas was there conflict.

**Personal Politics**

In such a setting county politics was highly personalized. The State Constitution adopted May 7, 1879, had not been welcome in Marin. The vote cast in Marin had been 670 against the new constitution, 581 for it. The powers of county governments had been too circumscribed by the new constitution to satisfy agricultural Marin. It thwarted some of the more free-wheeling practices of an earlier day. And it did not remove the constricting power of the courts to exercise judicial review of political decisions. In 1862 an entire Board of Supervisors had resigned en masse over a quarrel with the judiciary. The governmental act of 1879 established Boards of Supervisors. The limitation of power given to the Board of Supervisors was the reason for the defeat of the constitution in Marin County. According to the Constitution, as summarized in *The History of Marin County, California*, published in 1880 in San Francisco by its authors, Alley, Bowen and Company, the powers of the Board of Supervisors were:
Each supervisor must be an elector of his District and must have been such one year before his election, and shall be elected from his District and not at large.

The Board of Supervisors has jurisdiction as follows: To oversee the conduct and standing of officers; to divide and change townships, road and school districts; to supervise all election matters; to lay out and manage roads, bridges, etc.; to provide for sick and indigent and have a farm in connection with a public hospital; to purchase or receive real or personal property, . . . to erect public buildings; to sell county property. . . . It is their duty to levy taxes. . . . to issue bonds. . . . to pass ordinances relative to the trespassing of cattle, . . . ; to equalize assessments; to direct prosecutions; to grant licenses, to collect tolls on roads, bridges, etc.; . . .

Additionally, they could not indebt the county for more than twelve months without a 2/3 vote approval of the electorate.

Broad as these powers were they did not touch the judiciary and the Board of Supervisors still found themselves circumscribed by the courts and the grand juries which, by law, sit every year to scrutinize county government. Over the ensuing fifty years legislation and experience had added to, and the passage of time had subtracted from, the original construct of county government. By the Depression days of the 1930's there was little need to "pass ordinances relative to the trespassing of cattle," but the authority to "lay out and manage roads" had become a paramount function of the Board. The county poor
farm and hospital had long been established at Lucas Valley. During a period of national economic disaster, these facilities required minimal supervision; there was no money for expansion and the farm produce kept expenses low. As for overseeing the conduct of standing officers, that power was either ignored or over-rigorously applied, depending entirely on the offense.

Like the political world in any other rural county, every supervisor and standing officer was neighbor to his constituents and to his fellow office holders. In 1930 the total population of Marin was 41,648 so that, if population was at all equally divided, each Supervisor related to approximately 8,000 which makes up a small constituency. Also typical of rural politics, a man's word was his bond. In short, householders in Marin trusted their neighbors until they could no longer do so. The spirit of politics was one of trust extended to a friend. Out of this, a kind of paternalism developed between that group of people wielding political power and those for whom they used it. It was personal and depended on continuing good will. Cosmopolitan Marin remained aloof from cow country, cracker barrel politicians but maintained a guardianship attitude of its own toward the county.

Because supervisors and county officials were people the average man knew by name, whom he met on the streets or in
the cow lots, or at the auctions and the fairs, people with whom he hunted and played cards and told tall tales, they were individuals to whom he took his grievances and from whom he expected redress. Supervisors, especially, had the power to grant favors or withhold services. Because there was no bureaucracy, impersonal and efficient, that which they willed into being they were free to dismiss or rescind. In the intimate world of provincial Marin long tenure in office was the habitual practice and long tenure did create a machine. There was a Courthouse Gang. An exhaustive compilation of the membership would fill a book.

Members of the "Courthouse Gang" would coalesce today and fight tomorrow. Personal animosities were almost as influential as were alliances. The perpetual antagonism between William D. Fusselman, councilman in San Anselmo, and George Hall, county assessor from 1934 to 1958, was a matter of amusement for most of the years George Hall assessed the county. Bill Fusselman arrived in Marin County from the state of Washington early in the 1930's. At that time William Fusselman was a candy salesman travelling for a national candy company, but he decided to settle down in Marin. He and his wife, Ada, began a candy manufacturing operation of their own in San Anselmo branching out to operate a small
restaurant next to their candy kitchen. Around 1936 Bill Fusselman became the Executive Director of a Chamber of Commerce promotional organization called, "Marvelous Marin."

In 1940 Fusselman was elected to the city council of San Anselmo and in 1942 to the Board of Supervisors. He remained on the Board of Supervisors until 1964 and was the leading voice of opposition to the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Civic Center.

There is an interesting parallel between Mr. Fusselman's career and that of the leading proponent of the Civic Center, Vera Schultz. Mrs. Schultz arrived in Marin a few years before Mr. Fusselman did. She began her political career on the Mill Valley city council and was elected to the Board of Supervisors in 1952. Thus the two figures playing the leading roles in the Civic Center controversy were in-migrants to Marin at approximately the same period of time and followed much the same path to power.

To return to the period of personalized politics, another well-known intrafaction antipathy existed between Judge E. I. Butler and Young Jordan L. Martinelli, descendant of E. B. Martinelli, state senator from Marin--a lawyer with a certain disdain for old-time legal practitioners. These personal rifts, however, did not alter the overall continuity and cohesion of the county's Republican machine.

Until 1958 Marin was a Republican County. The practice
of cross-filing in primary elections permitted in California until the 1960's helped to keep the county in Republican hands. Republicans regularly voted in Democratic primaries to defeat threatening candidates; it was a rare Democrat who was elected to office in Marin, and that dominance of one party still exists, though much weakened by the Adlai Stevenson candidacy and the rallying behind John F. Kennedy. Besides being Republican, most of the members of the inner coterie were members of Saint Raphael's Catholic Church in San Rafael, members of the San Rafael Elks Club and members of the Marin Rod and Gun Club. Though other parishes were represented, members of the "machine" were generally Catholic and belonged to Saint Raphael's. Many of them belonged to the San Rafael Chamber of Commerce, or the Sausalito Chamber of Commerce as well. Thus the Courthouse Gang played cards together, hunted together and worshipped together.

The most individualistic members of the power group came from the Point Reyes area and were separated by distance and line of travel. Not until the 1930's did the Co-op in Petaluma become less important as a social center as well as a political club for ranchers from the Point Reyes area than San Rafael. But Point Reyes was great hunting land and camp fires are good places to talk politics. Thus political leaders from that lonely
region were held to the politicians from the other side of the county by good fellowship as much as by common interests.

Since each supervisor was the road commissioner in his district, the power to "locate and maintain" made the supervisor a very powerful figure in his home district. The 1930's was a period of extensive road building in Marin and the supervisor could determine whose property was to be best served by the location of the roads. He could also let contracts for building and maintenance as long as fellow supervisors agreed. The power to purchase lay with each department head in San Rafael, thus giving that individual great leverage in the business community. The power to assess was no less pregnant with political potential for reelection. The right to register and license, to deposit and withdraw, to recommend and to deny all rested with the county clerk and made that individual exceptionally powerful. How beneficially each official dispensed his favors for the public good depended on the man himself, and the continuity of his tenure in office depended on the public's satisfaction with his performance.

The Big Wheels

"The most powerful man in this county was Ed Butler." That statement is never challenged. Butler came to the county as a boy. His family settled in Mill Valley. He worked as a stable hand in Oakland to put himself through law school and was graduated in
1902. His first public office was that of councilman in Mill Valley. When he was elected to the State Assembly he hand-picked his successor on the council. After a term in the Assembly Ed Butler was appointed to the Superior Court Bench. From 1912 until 1951 Marin County lived under a personalized brand of jurisprudence. Trials were short and justice administered summarily. He kept court costs low.

The sheriff of Marin County was Thomas Keating. Sheriff Keating was elected by his farmer friends and kept his faith with them. "It was the kind of county where you could always get a ticket fixed, that is if you ever got one," is a common expression of the casual kind of law and order that prevailed in Marin under Keating and Butler.

Bud Blum was the probation officer. As ticket taker in Sausalito he was in close touch with the county. Every night at 8:45 Bud put in a phone call for Judge Butler--someone always knew where the Judge was--and reported on the moral conditions of juveniles in the county for that day. He and Judge Butler discussed what was to be done about any given problem and the Judge then contacted Keating. Thus the run-of-the-mill juvenile problems of Marin were also summarily resolved, usually to everyone's satisfaction.

George S. Jones, in the same period, was the most powerful
man in the county next to Butler—or in spite of Butler. It all depends on whether the interviewee still remembers Judge Butler. Records are brief. Meager in detail, the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Supervisors kept by Jones are sterile and harmless. Whatever went into making a decision is not recorded. Unquestionably George Jones was Ed Butler's boy in his early days as county clerk; and unquestionably they remained kindred spirits to the end. The county clerk's office was on the first floor of the courthouse, and after Judge Butler's retirement in 1951, he maintained a desk in Jones' office. It gave the old man a sense of continuity. Judge Butler could maintain the essence of a personal relationship with "his" county.

George Jones, as clerk of the court as well as county clerk, sat in the chair of a veritable political boss. George Jones' papers are held by his widow and will not be released until her death. Other personal files are held by families of the old "machine" and are not available for research.

The county surveyor from 1922 until 1958 was John Oglesby, a graduate of Alabama University and immigrant to Marin in 1912. He was first employed as city engineer for the town of Larkspur. He was a good friend of Ed Butler's and through Butler's sponsorship was elected to county government. Oglesby worked closely with supervisors and county officials as he laid
out roads and established bench marks in the county. No one knew Marin better than he. During the late 20's, the 30's and the 40's he developed subdivisions and shopping centers. His salary as county surveyor was $100 a month and he had to provide storage for all the county equipment out of that. In 1958 the county equipment was moved from his garage and all the maps with which to begin operations in the newly-established county Engineer's office were supplied by Oglesby.

At Sausalito the Perry brothers reigned over a city machine which paralleled that of the county. Their father was a Portuguese gardener at the time. He worked for a leading family in the town and seems to have been a good learner. With frugality and shrewdness he acquired a great deal of town property before the turn of the century. His two sons, Matts and Fritz, built on the foundations prepared for them by their father. Matts went into city politics and became the Fire Chief of Sausalito. Fritz managed the estate his father had built up and became an appraiser for the city. Together they increased the family's holdings and maintained all the properties themselves. One of their boyhood friends, George S. Jones, always maintained a close tie with Sausalito. Jones believed in nepotism and for him that included friends as well as family. George took care of his own.
George Hall was an outsider who got in and stayed in until 1958. Elected as county assessor in 1934, Hall had no institutional ties to bind him to the Courthouse Gang. He was not a member of Saint Raphael, he was not an outdoorsman, he had no family entree into the inner circle. But he attended all the card parties, he sent out thousands of birthday cards, and he was gentle with assessments. He emceed baseball games—-one could hardly call his commentary on the plays sports reporting—and he auctioneered at bake sales. He attended supermarket openings and high school commencements. Wherever anything was happening George Hall was there with his pockets stuffed with practical jokes, funny cards, and cigars. Everybody handed out turkeys to the poor at Christmas, but never so many as George Hall. He visited the hospitals more frequently than any other political figure. Not until 1948 did his mishandling of assessments get him into hot water, and not until 1958 was he rejected at the polls.

It was those post-World War II in-migrants that did not find him amusing. They wanted efficiency not fun, and equalization according to the book, not according to the whims or machinations of the assessor. He did not measure up to the standards of the "good government kooks" who took possession of the county during the 1950's.

William D. Fusselman never thought George Hall amusing.
Fusselman, like Hall, was also independent of traditional ties with the "Courthouse Gang." His associations with the "machine" were individual associations. A booster of the Chamber of Commerce approach to politics he found much in common with many individual members of the political ruling group. He and his wife lived pretty much unto themselves. Mrs. Fusselman became a respected leader in educational circles and for years was a member of the Board of Trustees of Marin College. Childless, the Fusselmans loved children and their store became a social center for the kids. Theirs was an unusually warm relationship. Today Bill Fusselman writes a weekly column on county politics for the Independent Journal, the county's leading newspaper, and his loving references to his deceased wife are touching.

Fusselman's experience as a small town businessman and a small town leader colored his approach to government even after his election to the Board of Supervisors and throughout his career. He became a close associate of the county clerk but was never under George Jones' thumb. He could and did split with the county clerk over specific issues. Philosophically they were agreed that personalized government was the only sure way to secure the best government at the least cost.

They were both practitioners of the art of cracker barrel politics. The poverty approach to government characteristic of
Fusselman throughout his long tenure on the Board of Supervisors he brought with him, and stubbornly refused to modify. Fusselman was an ambivalent personality, he could be charming and he could be cruel. Anyone in need was sure to get an audience with him. As for women, stenographers and female clerks could always approach him and appeal to him directly about hours and wages and working conditions, but women in positions of authority or decision-making were anathema to Bill Fusselman and he openly abused them in debate. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that this investigator has not been able to secure an audience with him or look into his reportedly voluminous archives. He had an antipathy toward expertise and an aversion to Conservationists with a capital C. Only Caroline Livermore among the conservationists was spared his animosity. Perhaps he equated her with his beloved Ada.

The Coming of the Bridge

Until the 1930's no project had sufficiently caught the attention of both worlds in Marin enough to successfully knit them together, even momentarily. The Golden Gate Bridge District began the process of realignment that would cover the next three decades and continues still. Joseph Baermann Strauss' plans to span the Golden Gate were eagerly followed in Marin County. In 1930 a great celebration was held in San Rafael to give vent to
their joy that a new tie would bind them to San Francisco. Commuters and provincials alike were enthusiastic about the glowing prospects the bridge offered for growth in Marin County.

The Bridge District was a coup for Marin and her four sister counties north of the Golden Gate. It was due to San Francisco's willingness to assume the major risk for the bridge that Marin, Sonoma, Mendocino, Humboldt and Napa Counties—all of the coastal counties that would now be tied to The City in a very special relationship—had been offered the rich benefits to be derived from joining in the Golden Gate Bridge District. All six of the member counties had had to mortgage their properties to cover the costs of the surveying work, but 85% of the assessed valuation lay in San Francisco County. The Bridge Bonds were thought to be revenue bonds, but they could only be sold on an ad-valorem basis which was set at 15% of property values of the entire District. This meant that if tax levies became necessary to support the bonds San Francisco would have to raise 85% of the capital. Even today any levy needed for the bridge would make San Francisco liable for 83% of the money. Two levies have been necessary but fortunately the major portion of the service of the Bonds has come from tolls. San Francisco's willingness to risk so much made the bridge possible. But anyone looking at the tremendous growth of the coastal counties north of the bridge
cannot be blind to what the economies of the northern five counties owe to that bridge. Their economic growth in the past three decades has outstripped that of all of northern California in growth rate.

Harry Lutgens, owner of the *Independent Journal* until after World War II, was the Bridge District Bond campaign director in Marin. He had little difficulty demonstrating to both rural Marin and city-bound residents how little of the burden would actually fall on Marin should the bridge project fail. Nor how high the stakes were if it should succeed. Local alienations faded into the fog as persons from both worlds opted for unification behind an issue of such great portent for Marin County. To be awarded a seat on the Board of Directors is and has been a political plum eagerly sought by many, and has been used in mysterious ways in local politics ever since.

With the Bridge District formed, the bonds floated to finance the bridge had to be sold. 1930 was a poor year for selling a bridge. Finally Strauss turned to A. P. Giannini, founder and president of the Board of the world's largest bank, The Bank of America. Imagination and daring had built a bank, now it built a bridge. The Bonds were sold and on May 28, 1937, the bridge was opened to an already proud and loving public.

One of the people who would ever after remember the walk
across the Golden Gate Bridge May 7th was Vera Schultz. Resident of Mill Valley since the 1920's housewife, daughter of a Nevada rancher--who could have imagined that day that less than two decades later this woman, who had yet to take her first step toward political office, would lead another crusade, this one for a building that would require the same kind of effort on a smaller scale than had been necessary to build the bridge. Her crusade would center around another genius and his architectural masterpiece, Frank Lloyd Wright and the Marin County Civic Center. Or who could have imagined what the bridge would do to the composition of the population of Marin? The flood of migration that crossed that bridge in the next decade and a half turned Marin's face irrevocably away from the past where political battles were small and population dividing lines clear. The new Marin would engage America's foremost architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, to create an exceptional building for their exceptional county. The political battle to achieve that end would be the anvil on which the new political alignments would be hammered out that would replace the old divided world of pre-bridge Marin.
CHAPTER IV
THE GOLDEN HORDE
Of Ships and Welders

World War II created the same kinds of social dislocation in Marin that it did elsewhere in the nation but with a special twist due to her bay site position and the absence of industry in the county. Men went to war, gas rationing throttled traffic across the Golden Gate Bridge, the proximity of so much of the Pacific Fleet and the boom in ship building gave farmers and ranchers more market than they could fill, wives were under special pressure to enter wartime employment, and an influx of outsiders flooded the county. The personnel at Hamilton Air Force Base was increased tenfold, and families of San Francisco military personnel preferred rural Marin to The City. San Francisco Bay was crowded with ships at anchor. Ferry boats, overloaded with the increased labor force needed in a major port city, with commuting service men and with city-based employees of Marinship, ducked in and out of warships as they plied back and forth from Marin to The City.

In 1942 W. A. Bechtel and Company, a Seattle-based ship-building company, was awarded a contract to build Liberty ships somewhere in San Francisco Bay. K. K. Bechtel, to whom the project was assigned, decided to locate the yards at a place called
Sausalito in a county called Marin. Said Bechtel:

We knew that most of the developed waterfront area around both San Francisco and Los Angeles was already very congested. On the other hand, Marin County was uncongested, and so that night I talked to Fred W. Boole, Harry B. Allen, and F. Somers Peterson. They were old friends, long-time residents of Marin County, familiar with its resources and needs. . . . A project like this would have to have community support and I felt it was very important that we know ahead of time whether the community would like to have a major war industry. They all felt that a good site could be found and that the community would welcome a shipyard. ¹

By 1942 the manpower shortage had already hit the Bay Area. Like Southern California, whose manpower supply had been depleted by the aircraft industry hurriedly built there, Northern California was too sparsely populated to support with local labor the demands of the shipyards springing up in Alameda, Richmond, Hunters' Point, and Oakland, to say nothing of the labor needed on the docking facilities in Oakland, San Francisco and Treasure Island. Now Marinship would make further demands on an exhausted labor supply.

The location of Marinship in relation to local labor supply presented some obstacles. Workers from San Francisco must pay a toll in crossing Golden Gate Bridge, plus added time in commuting to and from work. . . .²

¹Marinship, Compiled and edited by Richard Finne, San Francisco, California, 1947, p. 3.
²Ibid., p. 39.
Marinship began running buses of its own across the bridge and then converted to contracting with Greyhound lines to bring the labor force to the yards. But providing transportation does not solve the problem of supply and demand.

First, you had to get the workers. Recruitment in the Midwest from St. Paul, Minnesota to Galveston, Texas in the deep South began in the summer of 1942. The response to such wage offers brought many hands off farms in those regions; men who had never known that kind of income hurried by bus, train or rattletrap to that place called Sausalito in the county called Marin. Marin looked aghast at this multitude to be housed—temporarily, of course. Hopefully, once the war was over, they would take their money and go home. And hopefully, their families would keep the home fires burning and not follow their husbands and fathers to Marin. The latter hope was blasted immediately; few families remained at home, even temporarily.

Immediately Marin had a housing problem so severe that the usual big-city solutions were totally inadequate. No winking at zoning ordinances by the Marin County governments, and the chopping up of single-family residences into multiple dwellings would begin to supply the housing units necessary to meet the need. "Marinship," under hasty construction at Sausalito, would employ 20,000 people before they terminated their contract with the
government. It was a task beyond the resources of Marin to solve. Whatever surplus housing there had been in northern Marin had been taken by the families of Air Force personnel at Hamilton Air Force Base. Southern Marin would have to open its doors to the deluge. Summer homes, cottages, fishing shacks, old garages, servants quarters, abandoned filling stations, every standing building with a roof on it in the county was occupied and it was not enough. Marinship turned to the Federal Housing Authority for help. "Temporaries" were purchased by the FHA from abandoned CCC camps and brought in. Additional "temporaries" were built. Space for approximately 1,500 families and dormitory space for 1,200 single men were thus located in a cul-de-sac north of Sausalito and west of Highway 101. The floor of the cul-de-sac was a lovely meadow at the foot of the mountains that form the north escarpment of the Golden Gate. Ten miles from downtown San Francisco, adjacent to Marin's Mainstreet, the Federal Housing Authority took possession of some of Marin's most expensive and desirable property and thus was born Marin City.

Contrary to popular belief the work force of Marinship was never more than 43% Black. Negroes from Oklahoma, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana lived side-by-side with Whites from the same states. It was, at first, a frightening
experience for both. But the transition was easier than expected, the harmony in "Marin City" was remarkable. Negro children and White children went peacefully to school together, Negro youths and White youths had almost identical juvenile crime rates. Sociologists who were sent by the Federal Government to study the project were surprised and guesses ranged from the effects of patriotism to the inhibiting effect of the Whites on the Negro population.

By 1943, when the extreme situation caused the Federal Government to relax its restrictions on home building in the area and make materials available to contractors and 4% loans available to Marinship employees, many of the White residents in Marin City began to move out. But the Blacks were not able to break through restrictive covenants and racial prejudice and thus escape.

In May of 1945 Marinship launched its last ship and closed its doors. There was no further employment for Blacks in Marin. Marin County hastily pulled down the shipyards, remodeled some of the buildings for other purposes and abandoned the rest. Anti-industry reasserted itself and Marin returned to its Commuter-Pastoral status as of yore. But Marin City did not go away. Unwilling to return to life in the Midwest and the South, these wartime immigrants, White and Black, stayed on. Post-war
housing shortages kept many there who were gainfully employed now in peacetime construction enterprises and domestic service. Many stayed because they now knew Marin City as home. Others stayed because they preferred Marin City to San Francisco's ghetto areas. And some stayed because they had no place to go.

By 1950 Marin City had become an unincorporated island of 3,000 to 4,000 stranded people and was about 73% Black. The "temporaries" were literally wearing out. The recreation hall and store still stood, but obviously not for long. Discussion about Marin City continued because of the coverage given the area by the Independent Journal, the county's only daily newspaper. The I.J., so referred to locally, kept Marin mindful that a ghetto was developing in their midst and should be torn down. Marin City became an agenda item for most of the civically-interested groups in the county, particularly the League of Women's Voters. Vera Schultz, member of the Mill Valley chapter of the League, became interested. Rumors were current that the Federal Housing Authority contemplated relinquishing the land. If the Federal Housing Authority abandoned those people, where could they go? Many Marinites did not relish a return to lily-white days and many wished to have a vertical social structure in Marin. But social conscience demanded that if some way could be found to make the Blacks of
Marin City a permanent part of the population, then they must be provided with a better environment than that which they had known since World War II. A poverty-ridden Black ghetto would be as burdensome to conscience as a deliberately segregated county. For two years they mulled it over and over but nothing was done.

**Vera Schultz and Marin City**

Then, in 1953, soon after she took office as the first woman supervisor of Marin County, Vera Schultz went to Washington. At her own expense she attended a meeting of the Housing and Home Finance Committee where Marin City was to be discussed. The Board of Supervisors had requested that Marin City be turned over to the county. Vera went to speak for the Board on the "Relinquishment of Marin City." Mrs. Schultz was seated next to the counsel for the committee and before the meeting formally began she saw on the stack of papers before the counsel a letter bearing the signature of George S. Jones, County Clerk. The letter was written on Marin County official stationery. Vera leaned over to read the letter and the counsel obligingly allowed her to do so. Mr. Jones had requested the committee to ignore all correspondence from the Board of Supervisors regarding Marin City. He further requested the committee to put the land on the open market assuring the committee that he had several developers who would pay top dollar for it. Private development
would return the land to the tax rolls of Marin County, said Mr. Jones. Mrs. Schultz sputtered and talked and must have been persuasive for Marin City was relinquished the following year to the County of Marin. Upon her return to Marin Mrs. Schultz indignantly reported the incident in open session at the next Board of Supervisors meeting. George S. Jones was admonished for using County stationery for private correspondence.

In 1956 the County Redevelopment Agency was organized, the first County Redevelopment Agency in the State of California. A County Housing Code was written and adopted and Marin was ready to redevelop Marin City. Marin City is a misnomer for Marin City is still an unincorporated area, a fact that is often lost on the Marin City Council itself. Marin City is directly under the county.

There are two separate developments in Marin City. That confuses many people, even newspaper reporters. There is the public low-rent housing project at the south side of the area. Across from that, across a great expanse of open space, at the south and west sides of the cul-de-sac is the redevelopment land. Priority was given to the public housing. In 1958 Aaron Green, San Francisco architect, and Bay Area representative for the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, was employed by the county to design eight five-story buildings for the public housing project.
Those five buildings are exceptionally well-designed and fit the terrain harmoniously.

In 1958, Mary Summers and the Planning Department of the county prepared a Redevelopment Plan upon which, after FHA approval, bids were taken. In January 1959, the California Development Corporation was awarded the "sponsorship" of Marin City Redevelopment. In April of 1959, after public hearings the land was turned over to Mr. James Scheuer, head of the California Development Corporation, but on condition that it be developed as approved. Both the county and the FHA sat in supervisory relationship to the project. In 1960, De Mars and Reay, architects who designed the Scheuer plan, were given the seventh annual design award presented by Progressive Architecture.

Specifically, the following residential units were called for in this scheme: 100 modestly priced homes for sale to former residents--price range of $12,000 to $16,000...; 100 modest rental garden apartments for rent to former residents of Marin City--$95 to $125 per month...; 38 homes for sale on open market--$20,000 to $25,000...; 300 additional apartments in 6 to 12 story towers--$150 to $250 per month.³

³Marin City's ideal location coupled with the lure of modestly-priced housing was thought to be irresistible to middle-class

in-migrants to Marin who would help to build a truly integrated community there. Eventually a few White liberals did move in. There was a surge of hope in the resident community of Marin City and in the community-at-large. Tamalpais High School District bought 32 acres of flatland in the center of the bowl and began planning a third high school for that location. Nine acres were set aside across from the high school site for commercial purposes and in 1967 Standard Oil did build a Chevron station there. Four churches were built in the Redevelopment area. Scheuer in accordance with the original contract privately bought the Ridgelands above the Redevelopment lands.

To date, 1971, 200 units of the Redevelopment Project have been built and are occupied on privately owned land. Two hundred fifty additional projected units have not been built though 49 acres have been sold to Scheuer, for that purpose. No shopping center has been built, Marin City cannot support one. The community center, built on Redevelopment land, is out of reach to the children of the Public Housing area. The Marin City plans have been checkmated by social and economic forces in Marin.

So there sits Marin City, aching, throbbing, frustrated, angry. The Tamalpais High School land is overgrown with weeds. The County Sheriff's annex in Marin City is constantly surrounded with police cars. Juvenile crime has soared. Population is static.
Marin City sits, tended by too many police and no one else, and waits for population pressure on the rest of the county to prod the Board of Supervisors to do something.

Marin City is so seriously split into factions that little hope can realistically be placed on Bootstrap operations to bail it out. Families are interwoven by now until it is impossible not to step on family toes no matter what happens. The generation gap in Marin City is vastly enlarged beyond that of the nation. And geographically, middle-class Blacks are far from lower-income Blacks.

The mere physical design of the area gives support to the pervasive sense of a "lack of community." There is an apparent disintegration of common interests and concerns which are vital to the social life of a community. Virtually, it seems a system of planned community disintegration has been practiced in Marin City. . . . The fact that the term "Sugar Hill" is used derisively to refer to persons living in the private housing area is symptomatic of the community split which exists in the area. . . .

One obvious split . . . between the private and public housing residents . . . the territory separating the two areas is unoccupied and weeds grow in fields previously occupied by dwellings and other structures. . . . Prior to the redevelopment of Marin City, personal and social activities took place in a community center, a large store, a cafeteria, and in many other "natural" meeting places. This spontaneous but important aspect of community life is prevented from occurring today, simply by the design characteristics of the area. . . . Churches, the Boys Club, playgrounds, the recreation
center, the store, and all other features which contribute importantly to community life are widely separated ... it should come as no surprise to anyone that the corner of Cole and Drake Streets is the common meeting place for male Negro youths. . . .

For these reasons, and others, the basic need in Marin City is for the development of an attractive, high-density use commercial and community center in Marin City. . . .

The situation became aggravated some months ago, however, when residents of the private housing area were victimized by a continuing rash of burglaries. Sentiments expressed at that time further alienated many of the residents of the public housing area. . . . Unquestionably a portion of the animosity between the two sub-areas is caused by the fact that some of the residents are automatically stigmatized simply by being residents of the public housing area. 4

How does Black Marin City feel? Bottled up! And they are.

The young especially feel uncomfortable outside Marin City, and the fact that there is only one exit from the entire area, an exit which leads past the police station (County Sheriff) makes them feel uncomfortable as they leave. Once out, if they congregate anywhere in the county--bowling alley, theatre, any place--in numbers greater than three, the police are reported to automatically show up. It is better to just stay in Marin City. Bottled up

in their own tight little world they have not a chance and they know it.

How can Marin eradicate the ghetto she has? Will the completion of the full redevelopment plan do it? Marin will have to decide--soon. The land values of Marin climb daily. The unused land in the redevelopment area cannot long remain unused. That factor alone will demand resolution.

Developments and Suburbanites

The war was over. Gas rationing ended. Home building boomed and Marin was Mecca for San Francisco. The suburbanite tide began to flow across the bridge as The City spilled over into Marin. Almost overnight Marin became a bedroom county attached by the umbilical cord of the bridge to San Francisco. In 1962 Marin County voted not to participate in the Bay Area Rapid Transit--BART to bay area residents--project which ties San Francisco to Alameda County via a tunnel under the Bay. The Golden Gate Bridge remains the major avenue for ingress to Marin. Ferry service to Tiburon and Sausalito is being revived but as yet does little to relieve the burden on the bridge.

Late in 1945 one of the biggest land deals in Marin County history took place when the Schultz Building Company (no relationship to Vera Schultz) bought the Greenbrae Ranch from the
Archbishop of the Catholic Church in San Francisco. The
Greenbrae Ranch extended from Highway 101 west to Kentfield,
and from Corte Madera north to Bret Harte on the ridge of hills
that rises above the Corte Madera marsh. January 31, 1946,
the Independent Journal—then still the Marin Journal—announced
that the Schultz Company had also acquired the Bon Air Tract
and the unsold properties of Hugh Porter. No other builder
would have been able to obtain so large a parcel of prime land.
The Schultzes, father and sons, were experienced builders having,
in the 1930's, developed the Millbrae Highlands midway between
Palo Alto and San Francisco. The Millbrae Highlands, seated on
the spur of hills extending south from San Francisco and lying
between Highway 1 and El Camino Real, is an area of lovely
upper bracket homes overlooking the bay and the San Francisco
International Airport.

But the Schultz Company was only one of many land com-
panies that hungrily pressed in on Marin following the war. The
first three months of 1946 are a sample of the beehive of building
that went on north of the Golden Gate for the next five years.
The Planning Commission was helpless before the insatiable
housing market and the business-oriented Board of Supervisors.
January 19, 1946 the Merritt Land Company of Oakland bought
440 acres of the "Big Reed" Ranch at Tiburon. They filed plans
with the Planning Commission to build expensive homes on a
tongue of land extending southerly into Richardson Bay from the
Tiburon highway just east of Alto. The yachtsman community
of Belvedere was to be rivalled by this adjunct real estate. On
January 21, headlines notified Marinites that: "Adams Building
Four Apts., Plans More." El Paseo, an apartment complex on
Sir Francis Drake highway in San Anselmo, was thus to be
enlarged.

Every building that went up—grocery store, auto repair
shop, washerette, home—made headlines. Construction fever
gripped the county. January 22 the county learned that the
Rusalem Company was beginning site development for the
"Madera Gardens" tracts, that the first three streets for 661
lots were being laid out. The Corte Madera-Larkspur area
would now have an addition of 60' minimum lots each encom-
passing 7,500 sq. ft. or more. This time the Planning
Commission held up permits while they debated setting the land
aside for a future Fairgrounds site. Their planning was in vain.
Corte Madera entered the lists and quietly annexed a large area
including the contested land removing it from the control of the
county. It was so smoothly done that the Planning Commission
was caught off guard and Madera Garden Apartments were built
with the blessing of the city council of Corte Madera. Small
industrial development was also permitted in the annexed area to
the chagrin of Mary Summers and her Planning Commission.

Land, the nearer The City the better, was swallowed up
greedily. Conservationists could only wring their hands in
anguish, no priority took precedence over relieving the national
housing shortage. The feared rape of Marin by tract developers
was a sorrow to pre-war in-migrants who mourned the loss of
individualized building by families. Such homes reflected the
character of Marinites. Wholesale construction, subdivisions,
filled them with dismay.

Howls of rage were heard in Kentfield when the Marin
Capital Company extended operations beyond the 300 homes then
under construction in the Mill Valley-Alto area. Mr. Goheen,
president of Marin Capital, presented plans to the Planning
Commission on January 29 for 12 lots in Kentfield. Goheen
planned to build houses in the then upper price bracket of from
$12,000 to $15,000. Some of the lots were less than the 100'
lots decreed by Kentfield zoning ordinances. The Marin Water
District filed complaints with the Planning Commission, but
Goheen was able to prove to the Commission's satisfaction that
it was the water lines of the Water District that made the smaller
lots necessary. Kentfield wanted no further subdivisions.

Efforts to secure land for development at times reached
levels of duplicity. In 1946 William D. Fusselman, 2nd District Supervisor, in behalf of developers, went after land owned by the Kents. The old commuter railroad had been built on land leased from the Kents and after the dissolution of the railroad the land had been returned to them. It had, at the time of the railroad, been zoned for commercial uses. Now Fusselman wanted it rezoned for subdividing. The Kents were not interested in having a tract development in that area. The Board of Supervisors and Roger Kent entered into the kind of confrontation that has often occurred in Marin. Finally, the courts ruled in favor of the Kents and Kentfield was spared the spectre of another subdivision. But the encounter created animosities that lie dormant yet today. Kentfield decided against incorporation to protect the land, they were strong enough to protect themselves against the county. Kentfield remains unincorporated today.

And so it went the breadth of Southern Marin. In-migration would not begin inching up Highway 101 toward Novato until the 1950's and not beyond Novato toward Petaluma until the 1960's. There were 52,907 people in Marin in 1940--the increase for the previous decade had only been 11,259, live births and all. By 1950 the population had reached 85,619, the bulk of in-migrants arriving in the last half of the decade. The 1960 census revealed that in-migration and live births had boosted the population to
146,820, a 71.48% increase. What was the composition of this Golden Horde? Who were these invaders? Why did they crowd in so rapidly? And how did they change things?

The Newer Types

Fred Enemark, now president of Bell Savings & Loan of San Rafael, moved to Marin County in 1946. Marin was a bedroom, and a golf course as far as Fred was concerned. Mrs. Enemark said in those days that the only place Fred could find in Marin County was the Meadow Club. Marin was intimate, Marin was lovely, Marin was natural; the Enemarks left San Francisco gladly. By 1952 Fred became convinced that Marin was a land of opportunity and switched his business address to San Rafael, becoming a junior executive with Bell Savings & Loan. Back in 1946 Fred told the boys at the Meadow Club that he would like to take a shot gun to the hills above the Golden Gate Bridge and pick off every house-hunter he saw headed for Marin. They all feel that way. Every year's new residents are convinced that the doors should be slammed shut behind them and the world of Marin sealed off from unwelcome outsiders.

Al and Margaret Azevedo moved to Marin 1951. Al had been a teacher before the war. Returning to civilian status he had taken advantage of the G. I. Bill to go to the University of California at Berkeley for graduate study. Upon receipt of his Ph. D. in 1951
Al went into adult education with the San Francisco school system and the Azevedos abandoned Oakland and moved to Marin. For the first years Margaret was busy having babies and being dedicatedly domestic; but she soon drifted into local Democratic politics as she had in Oakland during Al's graduate school days. By 1952 she was a member of the County Central Committee and remained on that committee until 1956. One of those years she was also a member of the State Central Committee. In 1956 she became a commissioner on the Planning Commission and served until 1960. The Azevedos were away on an exchange program for a year, but upon their return Margaret got involved in the newly-organized Marin Council for Civic Affairs and by 1963 had become chairman of that Council. She was chairman again in 1969. She returned to the Planning Commission in 1965 and has been repeatedly reappointed since then. In 1971 Margaret Azevedo was recognized as one of the San Francisco Examiner's ten women of the year in the Bay Area.

Harold Stockstad, active since 1957 in Marin's political life, moved to Tamalpais Valley in 1953. San Francisco-based in his work-a-day life, Mr. Stockstad did not become entangled in civic affairs outside Tamalpais Valley until 1957 when the prospect of a Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Civic Center caught his attention. From 1957 until 1961 Mr. Stockstad poured his prodigious energies
into selling the Civic Center to Marin and maintaining an eagle eye on its program. In 1961 he joined a dozen or more other irate in-migrants in spearheading the organizing of the Marin Council for Civic Affairs and was that powerful organization's first president. From 1961 to 1964 he was chairman of the "M. C. C. A." committee on the civic center. In 1962 he became a commissioner of the Marin County Redevelopment Agency for two years. That same year he was again president of the Marin Council for Civic Affairs. In 1966 he joined in the formation of FAIR/Marin, an ad hoc organization to supplement county administrative programs for the County Auditorium. He was that organization's second president serving until its dissolution in 1970.

In 1955 the S. I. Hayakawas came to Mill Valley directly from Hyde Park, Illinois. Professor Hayakawa, a semantics teacher, had joined the faculty of San Francisco State College. The commuting distance from Marin to the college was reasonable. Marin's isolation appealed to the Hayakawas. They could have that wilderness feeling created by big trees, raccoons and deer, and little streams, right in an urban area. They bought an old house on an enchanting hillside as a temporary home. Mrs. Hayakawa's brother, Wesley Peters of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation of Taliesin West, planned to design a home for them. Instead Wes Peters designed the remodelling of the
old house into the lovely home they now occupy. Little did either of them know how involved Mr. Peters himself would become in Marin County in the 1960's. Mrs. Hayakawa joined the League of Women Voters and became a regular observer for the League at the meetings of the Board of Supervisors.

Dr. Bill Garoutte and wife Sally moved to Mill Valley in 1958. Bill has been a professor with the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco for twenty years. The Garouttes came to Marin because of the low property taxes, choice homes and the charm of Mill Valley. Sally dreaded the thought of tweed-suited, station-wagoned suburbia. It was a delightful surprise to find jeans-clad Mill Valley women actively engaged in civic affairs or artsy activities rather than country club luncheons. She served on the Human Rights Commission for three years, and on the Mill Valley Planning Commission for five. She quickly became immersed in PTA and the League of Women Voters. As Bill says, "Marin County is a great place for competent women and they've certainly left their mark on this county."

Harry and Bunny Lucheta moved to Marin in 1960. Harry runs the family business in San Francisco. Bunny is secretary to State Senator, Peter Behr. Both Harry and Bunny are members of old North Beach families in San Francisco. Bunny first knew
Marin as a child when she spent summer vacations in the family summer home in Marin. She was dubious about Marin as a permanent residence. Since their migration across the bridge both families have followed them. Bunny immediately became involved in the League of Women Voters and Democratic politics. She was "M. C. C. A." Observer Chairman while Republican Peter Behr was a supervisor. She also became a member of Marin Council for Civic Affairs soon after its organization over the inflammable Civic Center stop-work order in 1961.

These newer types added a dynamic dimension to Marin politics but they did not move into a vacuum. They broadened the base of a movement toward the modernization of county government that had begun before their arrival. Earlier in-migrants, who had arrived before the opening of the bridge, were stimulated by these additional forces and with the in-migrants launched into an irresistible drive away from personalized politics toward efficient government.

It would be wrong to say that all the in-migrants were political activists, however. Many of the new Marin residents center their thoughts and fancies around Elysian fields far from Marin. The "jet-setters" who hang their clothes and park their planes in Marin whirl in and out of the county delighting in their woodsry retreats only long enough to revive jaded appetites and
replenish their stock of Vitamin C, then they are off again gone again in pursuit of Pan. For many others Marin is a hide-away place, a privacy from the tensions of the outer world.

They are shy, like hill creatures everywhere, and hard to get to know, careless of the world's opinion. . . . Actually, any generalizations about the people of Marin are bound to be unfair and inaccurate. . . . That red-faced man striding hell-for-leather down the road under the eucalyptus trees may be Vincent Hallinan, the last millionaire lawyer to run for president of the United States with the support of the Communist Party. That World War II fighter looping above the hill could be piloted by William Penn Patrick, the millionaire cosmetics manufacturer who ran for governor of California on behalf of thousands of citizens who think Ronald Reagan is a dangerous leftist. . . .

Social upheaval, however, is far from the thoughts of most Marinites. They came here to get away from other places, other turmoils. They like the bay water and the ocean water, the deep sea fishing, the horses, the feeling of never being more than a few minutes away from uninhabited country.

The people who move into the folds of this remarkable scenery are apt to be quiet and devoted to privacy. You could live here for six years and only learn by chance that your secluded neighbor behind the privet is a world authority on Nabatean paleography, or perhaps sixteenth century musical instruments, or rare tropical diseases.5

Both the political activists and the jet-setters are like a skin rash to the local business community and the agricultural element

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of the county. While the former group meddles in local affairs and within two years of residency are brashly running for office and organizing Ad Hoc citizens committees, the latter crowd are belligerent ecologists, especially their offspring.

Under the banner of ecology--the Holy Grail of the advanced suburbanite--young people were soon blocking loggers headed toward some second-growth redwoods on the top of a ridge near Bolinas. Women and children threw themselves in front of bulldozers when California's parks department decided to level some sand dunes at Muir Beach because they provided windbreaks for the naked frolics of the young drifters who camped there ("filthy degenerate goings-on," said the homeowners at the beach; "delightful, imaginative self expression," said the people who had built fancy houses with spyglass rests on the bluffs looking down at the beach).

Such defiance of authority is in the Marin tradition. A decade or so ago when the California Highway Engineers were at the height of their vigor, bowling down every work of man or nature that stood in the straight path of their freeways, they announced plans to route a new highway along the waterfront of Sausalito, widening its main street to six lanes. The City Council of Sausalito refused to give permission. The engineers blinked; they who had conquered deserts, Los Angeles, the Tehachapis, the Sierra Nevada, were not used to being challenged by flowery, fagoty, artsy-yachtsy little places like Sausalito. They said the main street would fall into the water unless they shored it up. Let it fall, said Sausalito. And it was the engineers who, for the first time in their history, backed down; at enormous additional expense they ran the highway through a tunnel in the hills and down a dangerous grade where the Volkswagens fly like leaves when the wind comes up. But Sausalito kept its Positano-ish waterfront, and now every weekend the narrow thoroughfare
is jammed with tourists gawking and shouting, "Look, Bessie! Queers!"

The first effects of these new sophisticated Marinites were felt as early as 1948. That year the Grand Jury investigated assessments. Grumbling had turned to growling. The Grand Jury raised such a storm over manifest inequities that Assessor George Hall felt compelled to allay the public wrath and pacify the most vociferous of his critics. He voluntarily brought in the Tax Factors who spot-checked the county. For a time the county was lulled into grudging acceptance of the piecemeal solution. That same year Mill Valley hired tax assessors of their own in order to improve the financial status of the city. By 1955 assessments were again a topic of sharp exchanges between the new residents and the Courthouse Gang. A new Grand Jury was empanelled, and decided to scrutinize the office of the tax assessor. William Hamilton, former mayor of Mill Valley, was the Foreman of the Jury. This time the Grand Jury was not content with mere censure, George Hall was threatened with indictment if he did not carry out a county-wide re-appraisal. Hall, with tears in his eyes, finally agreed to bring the State Board of Equalization into the county to work out a procedure that would satisfy the Grand Jury. According to state law, such

6 Ibid., p. 56.
a re-appraisal must be supervised by a committee of three: a representative of the Board of Equalization, the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, and the Assessor. Paul Leake representative from the state board, William D. Fusselman as Chairman of the Board of Supervisors and George Hall were thus thrown together in what proved to be an inharmonious three-man chairmanship. A large staff of appraisers, ostensibly under the control of Hall, was formed.

Previously District Attorney Weissich was sent by the Grand Jury to the Board of Supervisors to ascertain whether they would be willing to elect a new chairman since Hall could not be removed from the committee. The Board of Supervisors was polled and Vera Schultz did not endear herself to William D. Fusselman when she, the first to be polled, said "Yes." The other three supervisors did not support her, so Fusselman, Hall and Leake presided over a very expensive reassessment that took two years to complete.

By January 1958, the new assessment rolls were ready for the preparation of tax bills, but George Hall refused to use them. Finally, the Board of Supervisors ordered the county Sheriff's office to remove the old lists from the tax assessor's office and to replace them with the lists prepared from the new assessment. George Hall, when confronted by the Sheriff's deputies, refused
to yield up the keys to the file cabinets. While the Sheriff's deputies phoned to relay the information and secure further orders, George Hall frantically appealed to the courts nearby to prevent this invasion of his office. The fracas was finally resolved when the deputies removed the files, locked cabinets and all, and the new lists were wheeled in. The following June, George Hall was voted out of office and was replaced by Bert Broemmel. For two years Broemmel worked to overhaul the county process of assessment and produced the four-year cycle of reassessment used for the next decade. Random re-appraisal ended and personalized government had received another body blow.

Vera Schultz, Supervisor

Vera Schultz was one of those in-migrants dedicated to the "Good Government" movement who had arrived in 1928, long before the war. She had been an active member of the Marin League of Women Voters since the early '30's. In 1938 she became the president of the County League and her political career was launched. Two years later she became a resident advocate in Sacramento for the California League of Women Voters. In 1940 she was elected to the Board of Freeholders of Mill Valley and in 1946 she was elected to the Mill Valley City Council. Mrs. Schultz was the first woman ever elected to that
council, and she won by the largest margin ever accorded to any candidate. In 1950 she entered the primaries as a candidate for the State Assemblyman from Marin and Sonoma Counties. She was the first Democrat in sixteen years to win her own party's nomination in the primary, due to the cross-filing practices permitted in those days, which allowed a candidate to file for the same office on both party tickets.

In 1952 Vera ran against six men for the Third District Supervisorial seat. Her opponents were: Steven Balzan of Bolinas, dairy rancher; Don Billings of Paradise Cove, wholesale electrical supplier; Bert Johnson of Belvedere, former mayor of Belvedere and co-owner of a San Rafael tire business; Tom McDougall of Mill Valley, contractor and president of the old but defunct Marin Taxpayers Association (there were years when opinion in Marin judged the membership of the Marin Taxpayers Association to be Tom and Evelyn McDougall); Charles Sloan of Mill Valley, civil engineer and former mayor of Mill Valley; and Clarence Whipple of Mill Valley, salesman. These men were representative of the cow county and cracker barrel brand of politics still espoused by politically-minded Marinites. That election made many in-migrants conscious of the need to overhaul the political structure of Marin and to engage seriously in philosophical speculation about the nature of government in a
democratic society.

Another audacious woman, Carmel Booth of the Second
District, also ran for supervisor. She had three male opponents,
one being fellow resident of San Anselmo, incumbent William D.
Fusselman.

Marin may get a woman or two on its 5-man
Board of Supervisors for the first time in the
county's 102 year history as a result of yesterday's
primary election.

Mrs. Vera (Bobbie) Schultz former Mill
Valley councilman, emerged as the dominant can­
didate in a field of 7 in the 3rd (southern Marin)
supervisory district. She faces a run-off with
Stephen Balzan dairyman in the November general
election.

Mrs. Carmel Booth, former mayor and
city councilman of San Anselmo, showed sur­
prising strength in the race for supervisor in the
2nd (Ross Valley) district. She far out-distanced
2 of her male opponents and trailed Wm. D.
Fusselman by only 500.

County Clerk George S. Jones said this is
the 1st instance in his knowledge when a woman
ever won serious consideration for a post on
Marin's Board of Supervisors. 7

Of the 9,810 votes cast in the Third District, 4,235 had gone to
Mrs. Schultz.

With the primary behind them, Vera and Ray Schultz took
their daughter, Joyce, and left for Chicago. Vera was a delegate

7Independent Journal, June 4, 1952.
to the Democratic National Convention.

A one-time teacher, she abandoned teaching because she felt she would be more valuable to the community in politics--clean politics.

"Give the people the facts," she says, "and they will choose wisely and well."

Her husband, Ray, a darkly good-looking man who runs his own insurance office, urged her on. When she took four years off from politics during Joycie's childhood, he kept asking her when she was going back. "People of principle, like Bobbie, are needed in government," says Ray. . . .

When Vera first thought about going to the convention, more than a year ago, she had thought of it simply as part of every politician's education. After working with the League of Women Voters, she served on the park commission, the school-district reorganizing committee, and was elected as a freeholder to change Mill Valley's government, and to the city council. She had also worked on the state level--as a League lobbyist for welfare bills in the state legislature and in an unsuccessful campaign to be elected assemblyman.

Even before Washington's corruption was exposed, and the scandals revealed in California, she had a little personal experience in how rotten California's party politics were becoming. The thought of being able to help in the cleanup delighted her.

Her own experience came during her race for the state assembly in 1950. She had become a Democratic candidate because the Republican incumbent was introducing gambling bills and special-interest legislation and, many felt, neglecting his own district. At her request the county and state Democratic Committees agreed to support her, but Vera had to finance and organize her own campaign.
Despite the state's cross-filing system, she won the primary—the first Democrat to do so for this office in more than twenty years. Soon after the victory her finance chairman was approached by a man who said bluntly, "Look, you know and I know Schultz can't win without money. Now I know where she can get it, and plenty of backing too. But first she has to promise one thing. She can't act like any Carrie Nation if she gets in, axing around in other people's business."

Some people said she should have taken the money—Ray and she scraped the bottom of the family barrel to get up $6,000 before the campaign was over—and done as she pleased. Vera refused to consider it.8

They evidently feared a Carrie Nation in Marin. All five of the defeated candidates in the Third District race swung their support behind Balzan after the primary. Even the business-oriented Independent Journal refused to endorse her though on November 1, 1952, the paper endorsed Carmel Booth in the second district. Vera campaigned on a platform of better roads, action on badly-needed flood control, fair assessment, realistic planning, Ordinances and Building Codes, and a County Manager. Little wonder that cracker barrel politicians of the old school tried to prevent her election.

For all of the nation—as well as for the world, perhaps—1952 was a big year politically. The national race between

Eisenhower and Stevenson affected all local elections. Stevenson was the first national Democratic candidate in Marin's history to make such a showing. Franklin D. Roosevelt had never done so well. Stevenson received one-third of the total vote cast in Marin that year and it had been a stupendous turnout at the polls with almost 90% of the eligible voters casting ballots. Roger Kent ran for Congressman as a Democrat that year, the second Democrat to win a primary in Marin. His wife, Alice, campaigned vigorously for both her husband and her friend, "Bobbie" Schultz. Vera had lots of talent behind her. Elizabeth Rudel Smith Gatov, "Libby" to fellow Marinites, soon-to-be-treasurer of the United States, stumped the county for Vera.

November 4 Vera cast her own ballot, then spent the day chauffeuring others to the polls. That night, exhausted but victorious, Vera Schultz relaxed--she had a slim lead of 6,373 votes over Balzan's 6,211. November fifth her lead by mid-morning, was whittled to seven. Thus began a two-months' cliffhanger for Vera and all her supporters. By November 10th her lead had climbed to 115. The absentee ballots remained to be counted November 20th. On the 21st the Schultz campaign ended in victory with a margin of 170 votes: 125 from the general election and 45 from the absentee ballots. Again Vera accepted victory. Again, too soon. On November 28, Stephen Balzan
announced that he would petition the Marin Superior Court for a recount.

Stephen Balzan, Bolinas dairyman who lost the race for supervisor of the southern Marin district to Mrs. Vera Schultz, said today he would petition the Marin Superior Court for a recount of ballots.

Balzan stated he took the action when friends and political supporters convinced him the election was "pretty close and the ballots should be recounted."

"... I had originally planned to ask for a recount if the margin of difference was 100 votes or less... but the people who helped me in my campaign insist the election was pretty close and the ballots should be recounted."

... He hesitated to name the political supporters who urged the new action but explained they had volunteered their services and contributions to help recount ballots. ... At the county clerk's office, deputies could not remember the last recount for the election of a supervisor.9

The next morning Vera Schultz, flanked by her attorney, Delger Trowbridge, and old friend Sam Gardiner, who had been a fellow delegate to the National Convention in June, stood by while Superior Court Judge, Jordan L. Martinelli, father of Balzan's campaign manager, ordered the recount. Judge Martinelli asked for a "show of no error," stating that he thought everyone would be better satisfied if a recount was carried out.

The ballots were in the charge of the County Clerk, George S. Jones. Precinct envelopes containing election ballots were, according to law, sealed with sealing wax so that any tampering with ballots after the original counting would be instantly apparent. Further, the Precinct tallies, as certified by the election officials, were written across the flaps of the sealed envelopes as a further protection of the authentification of the election process. When George Jones presented the precinct envelopes for the recount they were sealed with Scotch tape and no writing had crossed the flaps.

Each candidate was permitted to be present and accompanied by two witnesses of his choice. Day after day, Vera, Trowbridge, and various friends watched the recounting and validation of the ballots from the Third District. One of the most faithful of Vera's witnesses was Sam Gardiner, now a Superior Court Judge himself.

On the second day of the recount the ballot envelopes from three precincts in Marin City were opened and each contained exactly 20 previously uncounted ballots, all for Balzan. It was surprising for Marin City had not cast as many ballots for president as it seemed to have for supervisor. Libby Gatov and Alice Kent and 28 other friends hastened to Marin City armed with affidavits to search out the voters. Many of the people
contacted declared they had not voted at all, but since all of the residents could not be reached and many were reluctant to become embroiled it was inconclusive proof of possible skullduggery.

On one technicality after another Schultz ballots were disqualified right and left, while few Balzan ballots were found in error. For days the tally see-sawed back and forth and headlines in the Independent Journal kept the county in a state of suspension. Finally, in the general election ballots, Vera's victory was wiped out. Only the absentee ballots held hope. Now Vera asked for a recount of those, having waived them earlier. She had a margin of 45 votes when the recounting began. Twenty-one ballots were now found to have been credited to Balzan that belonged to Schultz.

On the basis of a victory in the absentee ballots Vera Schultz was finally validated as the new supervisor from the Third District.

For the first time in 12 years Marin County got a new chairman of the board of supervisors shortly after noon today as T. Fred Bagshaw stepped down and William D. Fusselman was elected chairman.

A standing room only crowd filled the supervisors chambers to see Bagshaw turn over his seat to Mrs. Vera Schultz after 14 years on the board, 12 as chairman.

There was no ceremony or formality at all in the seating of the new member. Bagshaw merely got up from his chair, shook hands with Mrs. Schultz and then sat down next to his wife. Mrs. Schultz just sat down at the board table.
She did not take an oath or other formality having previously taken her oath before the county clerk. 10

Fred Bagshaw, son of a former supervisor from the Third District, yielded his seat to the first and only woman supervisor Marin has ever known. Vera Schultz began eight lively years of service to Marin County, eight years in which most of what she had campaigned for would come to pass. Through those years she would become forever for many, "Marin's First Lady." At a dinner given in her honor January 31, 1961, Leland Jordan would so name and introduce her, and her admirers would present her with a scroll longer than she is bearing all their names and signed "with love and admiration." By 1961 the immigrants had irreversibly changed the political conformation of Marin County; "good government" had supplanted cracker barrel politics and that year the newcomers would prove it to the old timers. The stage was set for the struggle between Vera Schultz and William D. Fusselman over the construction of the Marin County Civic Center.

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10 Independent Journal, January 5, 1953.
"GOOD GOVERNMENT AND THE TAJ MAHAL"

New Organization, New Building

The two most important projects contemplated by the newly-convened Board in 1953 were the adoption of a County Administrator form of government, and the building of a governmental center that would consolidate the then-scattered county offices into a single location.

A move toward the first objective more or less implied a move toward the second. There was a need for county-wide determination of solutions to many problems that could not by definition be handled piece-meal by the profusion of city governments. The movement toward decentralization, by its own logic, suggested the need of a single new county building that would serve as a home for these county-wide functions. Vera Schultz, long ardent for efficient government, and with her Mill Valley experience behind her, led the fight for a County Administrator. This was to lead her into the fight for the Center.

Vera Schultz was one of the first to see that the county was growing too fast for five supervisors, two judges and thirteen department heads—even with large coteries of faithful employees and loyal relatives—to be able to contain all the facets of government effectively in their grasp. The fight over a county
administrator was bitter. Each department head did his own purchasing, from paper clips to capital goods. There was much opportunity for gratuitous returns, and the exercise of power. Each supervisor could dispense favors in his own district without county-wide surveillance. Furthermore, each supervisor was the road commissioner for his district. While public right-of-ways sometimes crumbled from lack of maintenance, some farmhouses sported black-topped private drives right to the front door after the county equipment had been there. To proffer such absolute control of the public domain to a civil servant who would be observable in his every act by the whole populace seemed an intolerable sacrifice.

The Board gnawed at the issue for four years from 1952 to 1956 with William D. Fusselman voting "No" on every ballot as the job was gradually defined. At last, in 1956, a lame version of the office of County Administrator was created and subsequently filled by an able young man, Donald Jensen. Because the fight for a county charter had failed passage, a fully-empowered county manager could not be created. The power of the administrator would always be hedged by the review powers of the Board of Supervisors. But centralized purchasing and assessment did become possible. Vera Schultz's career was soon enough to run into assessment-conflicts but that did not come until eight years
after her election. For the moment triumph was sweet. It seemed imperative to her to bring order into county administration, and whatever seemed imperative was done.

The project of centralized housing for government was a tougher and more bitterly fought campaign, and began before the election of Vera Schultz. In 1952 the county, besides the courthouse in San Rafael, occupied twelve locations, eight of which were rented at an annual cost of $49,353. Those owned by the county were crammed to the rafters with desks, files and governmental paraphernalia.

Complaints from the Courts about lack of detention space and hearing rooms had filled the air for years. "Something had to be done." The Planning Commission was authorized to prepare an analysis of the present space requirements and the projected needs for the future. Since its establishment in the late '30's, the Planning Commission had been the most progressive wing of county government in Marin. Mary Summers had urged consideration of a more-streamlined government, less personalized and more future oriented, for several years. She had further tried without effect to focus attention on the patchwork housing of county government that began developing during the war. Now, at last, there was a Board of Supervisors also interested in modernizing the county. With this new "boom" Board behind her Mary Summers
began planning in earnest.

The Planning Commission secured the services of Louis J. Kroeger & Associates, a San Francisco firm of consultants, to do a space study of governmental needs in Marin. The Kroeger report of 1952 became the basis of all further activities of the Planning Commission in regard to its charge from the Board of Supervisors. The Kroeger report stated that twice as much space was needed immediately as was available at that time, and that since population estimates forecast a doubling of population by 1970 three to four times the amount of current space would be needed in the future.

Significantly, the report recommended that a new site be chosen for a civic center rather than crowding more structures onto the courthouse block in the heart of San Rafael. This suggestion was the germ of all that followed.

It happened that at that moment the Marin Art and Garden Center in Ross, which was leased by the county for two weeks each year at a cost of $17,000 was becoming too small for the annual County Fair. A Fairgrounds committee had already been established to seek a new Fairgrounds site. Almost at the same time a citizens' committee had been organized to support the idea of a Civic Center on a new, yet-to-be-determined site. The two committees soon recognized the mutuality of their interests.
In 1953 the Board of Supervisors supported and indeed superseded both committees by appointing a "Site Committee for a Civic Center." Each Supervisor appointed two members of the 10-man Committee. Among those chosen were Mary Summers and Caroline Livermore.

This was the way that three leading ladies of Marin, Vera Schultz, newly-elected to the Board of Supervisors, Mary Summers, and Caroline Livermore were brought together in the drama of the Marin County Civic Center. Since they turned out to be on the same side of the gathering conflict they created for their county a lasting monument to vision, planning and determination. Vera Schultz, the Supervisor, turned out to be the driving leader. Mary Summers supplied the technician's brains. Caroline Livermore expressed the voice of that older segment of civic-minded elite that still commanded a deserved respect. Although Vera was the commander of the feminine triumvirate the others, despite the etymology of the out-moded term, were equally virile in the battle.

Marin had already reached the point of vague agreement that by directing the need for a new Fairgrounds and the need for a new government building toward the same piece of real estate a more desirable site might be obtained for both. It was not overlooked that with parimutual funds available from the State for County
Fairs, the cost to the county would be reduced for a site purchase. A 1933 California statute had allotted $65,000. annually to each of the State's County Fairs. Since the Marin County Fair had not drawn on all of these incomes to the county, a sizable purse that Marin County could now expend existed and could be used for land purchase. Economies could be expected in cost for parking space and landscaping by this combined land use. Altogether it looked like the right opportunity to start afresh with housing for both operations.

With the direct approach characteristic of these three ladies, they enthusiastically endorsed and set in motion what seemed to them to be an indisputably logical plan of action. They began to scour the county for the most esthetic location that would afford the amount of land they needed.

Despite the enthusiasm of the three women and the other members of the site committee, the "Courthouse Gang" did not like the idea of any major change in the daily rounds of their lives. In fact, the idea of leaving San Rafael was traumatic. Seizing upon the possibility that some legality could prevent such uprooting, William Fusselman demanded a ruling on the permissibility of moving the County Seat outside the legal boundaries of San Rafael. The assistant to the District Attorney was instructed to secure an authoritative opinion on this point of law. The following is an
excerpt from the report he made to the Supervisors:

In 1947 the provisions of the Political Code concerning county government were transferred into the Government Code and the following sections were added:

Section 23600 of the Government Code: The county seats of the respective counties of the State, as fixed by law and designated in this article, are declared to be the county seats of the respective counties.

Section 23621 of the Government Code: The county seat of Marin is San Rafael.

The city of San Rafael was not incorporated until 1874 and was reorganized April 4, 1899, under the municipal Corporation Act of 1883, and became a charter city in 1913. May it further be noted that prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 there was no restriction of the seat of county governments. The Constitution of 1849 merely provided that the Legislature should establish a system of county and town governments which should be as nearly uniform as practicable, throughout the State.

Mr. Richard M. Sims, Jr., District Attorney of Marin, from whom the foregoing information was obtained, commented further "The foregoing is of more than mere historical interest. It could be argued that in adopting section 23621 the Government Code in 1947, the Legislature intended the county seat of Marin County to be in the City of San Rafael as it existed at that time. With equal merit, it can be argued that the county seat became fixed for all purposes, unless changed by a 2/3 vote, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1879, and that no subsequent changes by incorporation or annexation could affect the matter. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 the last designation of the county seat was "San Rafael," in Political Code section 3957 adopted in 1872 when the Legislature had plenary power under the Constitution of 1849 to designate the county seat. It may be
concluded, therefore, that the reference to San Rafael as the then county seat is to a place and not to any particular boundaries of the municipal corporation.

In short, there was no legal reason why the county buildings had to remain in San Rafael.

Fusselman had, in effect, been rebuffed. On August 29, 1952, he wrote to the Los Angeles Office of County Counsel for an opinion as to the legality of long-term leases for the building of and using of leased buildings for county purposes. The reply was in the affirmative with the following caution:

... subject always to the condition that the instrument is in fact a bona fide lease with reasonable rentals provided and not a disguised contract for sale and purchase.¹

Los Angeles had made a lease agreement with the Rhonda Corporation for the construction of the Adoptions Building. If Marin could do the same—- The majority of the Board of Supervisors were not impressed. Marin County was not Los Angeles. Pride demanded a building that belonged to them.

Mr. Fusselman's letter and its reply had not solved his dilemma. He then proposed that two wings be added to the Courthouse at a cost of $1,500,000.

¹Taken from the Board of Supervisor's File, Marin County Civic Center.
Fusselman's desire to determine the future did not succeed. In November of 1952 a ballot on a bond issue was presented to the electorate for them to make a choice. Two propositions were offered; "one" to spend $1,500,000 on the old Courthouse; "two" to secure a new site and build a new building at a cost estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. By a vote of 3 to 1 both measures were defeated. Neither bale of hay was attractive and Marin County chose the policy of Baarlam's ass. That is it would starve its future. Following the election, the 1952 Board's first move was to adopt a "Pay-As-You-Go" plan to circumvent the failure of the bond issues. A 40¢ tax per $100 assessed value was levied and funds began accumulating.

The Site is Bid

When Vera Schultz was inaugurated in January of 1953 nothing basically had been decided. But Marin had a feeling that something ought to be done to relocate its government. The Planning Department, under the leadership of Mary Summers, kept the county reminded of the tacky array of buildings being occupied by a wealthy county's government. County offices were scattered all over San Rafael. Anyone whose business required moving from one office to another was forced to travel by car. The Planning Commission was located in an old elementary school, other offices were in old store buildings.
On June 16, 1953, Fusselman wrote a letter to the Board of Supervisors suggesting the purchase of the San Rafael Military Academy. To finance the purchase Mr. Fusselman suggested the construction of two buildings, 18" from the sidewalk, in front of Marin's classical Greek Courthouse, facing Fourth Street. Each building would be three stories high; the lowest floor of each would be rented out for commercial purposes and the upper two floors would be used by the county. The initial cost of $40,000 annually would be a 4¢ tax item but would decrease as the years went by. Though the building cost would be $1,250,000, at the end of thirty years the building would belong entirely to the county at a total cost of $1,200,000. At that time the building could be sold and the Academy purchased for the selling price. The motion did not carry.

Meanwhile the Site Committee established by the Board of Supervisors went to work. Co-chairman W P. Duhamel, Veteran's Officer for Main County, and Caroline Livermore and their committee were drawn to three sites adjacent to Highway 101; one was the San Quentin Wye south of San Rafael, another was the Freitas Ranch north of San Rafael and west of Highway 101, and the last was the Scettrini property at Santa Venetia northeast of San Rafael and east of Highway 101. All three sites were available, convenient to San Rafael and large enough to accommodate a large
structure or a cluster of structures. Mary Summers favored a cluster plan and even drew up sketches of what she had in mind, a governmental park. The Scettrini property was especially appealing for it contained three charming knolls and a good deal of marshland that could be drained. The marsh drained into a small stream which could be dredged to provide water access from San Francisco Bay to the property. The committee recommended that the county purchase 140 acres from the Scettrini family which would encompass all of the above-named features.

In June, 1953, the Board offered the Scettrinis $237,000 for the land. The action was allowed to expire due to the delaying tactics of Mr. Fusselman. In 1954 $377,000 was offered, and finally in 1956 the Santa Venetia property was purchased in April for $551,416. Sixty acres of the 141 acres purchased was paid for from county funds and was set aside for county buildings. That parcel cost $276,360. The remaining 80 acres were purchased with Fair funds and cost $275,056.\(^2\) The knolls were located on the government site and the marshland on the Fairgrounds' land. The increased cost above the original offer has been universally credited to Mr. Fusselman's determined efforts

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\(^2\)Figures supplied by the Marin County Auditor, Michael Mitchell.
to avoid purchase at any price. June 9, 1956 permission was
given for the use of a small section of a little over four acres in
the southeast corner of the fairgrounds portion for the erection
of a National Guard Armory and a Marine Corps training center.

After the site was found, the site committee was dissolved.
The Board of Supervisors now appointed a Civic Center Committee.
Its main task was to select an architect. The committee was made
up of the heads of five departments. It included (Planning) Mary
Summers; (Auditor) Leon de Lisle; (Public Works) Marvin
Brigham; (County Administrator) Donald Jensen; and (County
Counsel) Leland Jordan.

This then was where the matter stood when the famous
"four-to-one board" took office in 1955. It was the right Board
at the right time. Walter Castro, beloved, perceptive, civic-
minded, and "willing to learn," was elected chairman. William
Gnoss, Novato rancher, close friend of Castro, earnest and
honest, who had been appointed in 1952 by Governor Warren to
fill out the short unexpired term of Wm. Q. Wright who had
resigned from office, in 1954 ran without opposition and was
elected in his own right—he would serve for the next sixteen
years, a near record for Marin County. James Marshall from
Point Reyes, who said little but whose opinion was respected, had
been elected to fill out James Kehoe's term, representing the
most rural district in the county. William Fusselman and Vera Schultz were the two hold-overs. From that point on it was consistently a four-to-one decision on every issue concerning either the civic center or more progressive government. As Mr. Gnoss relates, "Vera Schultz taught us (Castro and Gnoss) both. She gave us the vision. She had to change Castro over but once he saw the need for change he was the Rock of Gibraltar." As Margaret Azevedo now assesses it, "There was only one college graduate on that Board. One woman did it." According to Mike Mitchell, Marin County Auditor, "There was a sixth member of the Board who had as much power as, or more than, the other five--George Jones, the County Clerk." These, then, the fearless four versus Fusselman and Jones, determined the shape of the future.

Enter The Maestro

Throughout 1956 and early 1957 the Civic Center Committee busily interviewed architects (twenty-six of whom were also screened by the Board of Supervisors) and visited other government buildings searching for the man and the plan to create a center befitting their beloved hills. Mary Summers, chairman of the Civic Center Committee, who wanted "a group of buildings like a campus," was uninspired by the boxlike structures then being erected in San Jose and in other nearby counties. George Jones is reported as having favored a twelve-story square building
that would "look like a government building." William Fusselman insisted that the architectural fees be paid to a local architect. Many of the local architects heartily agreed.

Whether Vera Schultz or Mary Summers, or Mary's husband architect Harold Summers first conceived the idea of asking Frank Lloyd Wright to consider the job is lost in memory. Certainly any one of them could have imagined it and all have been credited with making the suggestion first. Though a bit awed at their own audacity to think Marin worthy of the artistic vision of the foremost architect in America, once they had thought it no one else would do. Frank Lloyd Wright's individualized designing, which always included site, function and personality, would be bound to produce a building uniquely reflecting Marin. Wright could be counted on not to produce a sterile government building that looked like all the other government buildings being built across the nation. Wright would create a special building for this special county of theirs.

Frank Lloyd Wright was the Bernard Maybeck lecturer at the University of California in the spring of 1957, and a meeting was arranged with him privately at the Grant Avenue offices of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation in San Francisco on April 26, 1957. Mr. Fusselman refused to go to meet with Mr. Wright and publicly criticized his colleagues for leaving Marin to do so.
It was ever a thorn in his flesh that Wright had not come to the Board as other architects had. But his remonstrance was to no avail, the die was cast.

The four supervisors, Castro, Gnoss, Marshall and Schultz, along with the entire Civic Center Committee met with Frank Lloyd Wright and his associate, Aaron Green that day and heard his lecture in Berkeley that night, and the Marinites came away convinced apostles of Louis Sullivan's "Spiritual child." Wright is reported to have said, "So Marin County wants an architect." For Mary Summers, and the others no less, Wright's suggestion that the building should reflect the personality of the county was the magic that settled the issue. Marin County had an architect.

The recommendation to the Board of Supervisors in formal session by the Civic Center Committee that Wright be employed to design a Center for the Santa Venetia site to incorporate all of the major civic and cultural activities of the county brought a flurry of protests from local architects and a last minute push from Richard Neutra of Los Angeles.

Neutra, world famous for his modernistic architecture, brought models of proposed government buildings to the Board of Supervisors chambers and spent an afternoon explaining his theories of architecture to the Board and the Civic Center Committee. William Fusselman was pleased with the clean lines
of Neutra's work. Moreover, Neutra proposed that he work with
a local architect for a fee of 8%. Frank Lloyd Wright's fee of
10% was already a matter of debate. On June 20, 1957, Neutra
addressed a meeting of the combined service clubs of San Rafael.
"San Rafael and Marin County are at the crossroads," Neutra
said, "and citizens must do a lot of thinking. The county is
undergoing rapid changes... do your thinking in advance."
Neutra urged a design that would reflect the urbanization going
on in Marin. He talked with local architects assuring them that
he would be glad to work with whichever one of them the county
would choose. Wright remained aloof from the debate. The
majority of the Board of Supervisors were not moved from their
original decision. On June 27 the Board voted four to one to
open negotiations with Frank Lloyd Wright.

A public meeting was then scheduled to be held at the San
Rafael High School on July 29 for Frank Lloyd Wright to meet
Marin and for Marin to meet Wright. Everybody who was anybody
attended—except William D. Fusselman. His empty chair stood
on the platform throughout the evening as a silent rebuke. As
Margaret Azevedo said, "He (Wright) talked for one and a half
hours. He insulted everybody and they ate it up." Mary Summers
recorded his speech and keeps the transcript of the tape as one of
her prized possessions. A copy of it is filed with the Board of
Supervisors minutes in his civic center. After his usual explanation of organic architecture, Wright launched into a hearty attack on realtors as the arch enemies of architecture. Many present that night remember the charisma of the man and the hero worship that developed from his first visit to Marin. The old Wright devotees and the new converts lined up solidly behind Vera Schultz in her determined drive for a Wright-designed building.

But the detractors and dissidents were equally obdurate. A contract with Wright had been approved by the Board and was to be signed the next day. Having overheard a conversation between George Jones and a county employee concerning the possibility of the contract being mislaid, Vera Schultz telephoned Walter Castro, Chairman, to see if he had a duplicate copy. Castro brought his copy to the San Rafael meeting with him which was signed by the four Board members present and by Mr. Wright in the hallway of the San Rafael High School on their way into the meeting.

Wright remained in Marin that night to be present at the formal Board meeting the next day in order to answer any questions concerning the contract. The Board members were seated on the rostrum while Wright sat alone on the floor below. In the first row sat Bryson Reinhardt, W. P. (Doc) Duhammel and other
members of the American Legion. All wore Legion caps and post insignia in their lapels. Circumventing any questions, as soon as the meeting was opened, Reinhardt rose and began to read a seven-page letter to the Board accusing Frank Lloyd Wright of active and extensive support of Communist activities during World War II. As Vera recalls, "We sat stunned in our chairs. Only Fusselman seemed unsurprised."

Frank Lloyd Wright, already on his feet, shouted angrily, "There's no substance in that. I'm a loyal American! Look at the record!" He then stalked from the room, leaving a horrified audience and a mortified Board behind him. As Mary Summers relates the story, she jumped to her feet shouting, "I'm going too!" and ran after Wright. Catching up with him in the parking lot she threw her arms around Wright and cried, "We love you. Those people don't represent Marin County. We want you to do this." She steered him to Walter Castro's car and returned to tell the Board that Mr. Wright was waiting.

The Supervisors had remained in the Supervisors' chambers where a storm raged immediately after Mr. Wright's exit. Vera Schultz declared the County had been humiliated. She said that the Board did not look into the political background of prospective architects and that the introduction of unfounded and unsubstantiated accusations had no place in this meeting. Reinhardt insisted that
they could be substantiated and Fusselman avowed that the Board would be remiss if the letter was not read and made part of the record. The seven-page letter was then read into the record by Reinhardt. Mary Summers' reentry into the chamber caused four of the Supervisors to immediately depart leaving Mr. Reinhardt, Mr. Fusselman and a bewildered and chagrined audience to deal with the accusations.

Following a luncheon arranged by Mr. Castro at Marin's exclusive Meadow Club on Mount Tamalpais, Wright was driven to the site where for the first time he saw the terrain around which he would design his last government building, the only Wright design for a government building to be constructed. With white mane flying in the breeze, Wright climbed quickly and easily to the top of the highest of three knolls and was excited by what he saw. Descending, he announced that he had his design, that it had come to him up there. "I'm going to do something unusual here," he said. "I already have my idea."

Wright went back to Taliesin and his drawing board, and William Fusselman returned to his pen. In August of 1957, Mr. Fusselman had a visitor. Republican Assemblyman Carrol E. Metzner of Madison, Wisconsin, arrived in Marin County. Let the Independent Journal of August 29, 1957 tell the story.

"Republican Assemblyman Carrol E. Metzner visited the
Independent Journal to learn of the latest developments in the local controversy over the 88 year old architect. He said he had followed the debate in news stories carried by Madison newspapers. His belief that Wright cannot stay within a budget brought smiles to the face of Supervisor William D. Fusselman, who vigorously opposed Wright's selection as Civic Center architect. On Sunday night Metzner appeared with Mr. Fusselman on KTIM as a panel member of the weekly listener show, Open Forum.

The Capitol Times, of Madison, Wisconsin carried the following editorial on September 3, 1957.

If there was ever any doubt that the Metzner bill was conceived in spite and malice, it disappeared Saturday with the news that Assemblyman Carroll Metzner is in California trying to kill off the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed civic center project in Marin County. The newspaper said Metzner's activities became known "because of his well-known love of seeing his name in the newspapers."

Metzner, the Times said, has expressed concern that the civic center project in his home town might interfere with Madison's view of Lake Monona.

"He must also be concerned that the Marin County project will obscure Madison's view of San Francisco Bay or the Pacific Ocean," the editorial fumed.

"This much must be said for Metzner's 'carpetbagging' interference in California: He is at least willing to let the people of Marin County make the decision," said the Times.
"It is now obvious that Mayor Nestinger (of Madison) was absolutely right when he characterized the Metzner bill as one that was 'born out of malice and spite!'"

"... he simply hates him so much that he ... felt compelled to go 'carpetbagging' around the country to fight the great architect."

"We presume that Baghdad, Iraq, where Wright has been commissioned to build another great community center will be the next stop on Metzner's mission. Then there is the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, which, while it stood up in earthquakes, can always be torn down."

The Decision is Made

Though letters to the editors continued to pour into the Independent Journal, the next major eruption did not come until March 25, 1958, when Wright presented his preliminary plan to the Board of Supervisors. March 27, speaking to more than 700 people packed into the San Rafael High School Auditorium, Wright, inspired by his own work, inspired all present. Following a recess, called so that everyone could tour the cafeteria where the drawings hung, Wright answered questions with quips, queries of his own, and architectural rhetoric that soared above the heads of most. But they loved the drawings, the man, and Marin. It was a heady atmosphere charged with excitement. Usually modest Mrs. Corbett was so carried away with it all that she shouted, "What the hell, let's live it up!" A little old lady with a German accent whom nobody knew took the floor and
said how silly it was to build only three stories. They "went for broke," says Harold Stockstad, "voted to add the 4th floor, rounded roof, tower and all to the first stage of the building rather than wait for the second stage."

The San Francisco Examiner was more qualifying in its praise. The editorial of March 28, 1958, was cryptic:

> How to put $9,000,000 worth of government center into Marin's sunburnt hills so you can hardly notice it was illustrated in San Rafael last night by Frank Lloyd Wright.

The Grandpa Moses of American architecture unveiled his preliminary drawings for the county's ambitious project to centralize official functions on a 140 acre plot north of San Rafael.

> His design for the main building is a three floor crippled V of ivory cement, steel and glass, hung from two hills overlooking San Pablo Bay with its domed center resting on a smaller knoll.

> The space underneath, he indicated, would be just dandy for access roads, parking space and natural air conditioning.

With typical refusal to curb his personal opinions of his own works, the 88 year old genius called the design "so flexible and simple as to be almost unbelievable." He said it will be "a cornerstone in the culture of the Nation," and pridefully predicted it would melt into the terrain.

> ... he seemed particularly struck by his own idea of "pendant crescents"—scalloped arches dropping like curtain folds across the front of the structure to shield the largely glass facade from the sun.
Perhaps to make sure the building would not be lost to sight completely, Wright appended a 300 foot high radio and television tower.

"... "It is a terrific thing to get a building built that has the qualities of greatness in it," he said, as he headed for the San Rafael High School Auditorium where the public unveiling was held. Wright gets a fee of 10% of the total construction cost.

But there were those who did not care to "live it up" with Frank Lloyd Wright. The next day the Marin County Taxpayers' Association was resuscitated to block acceptance of the plans.

Report of the meeting was made in an open letter to the Independent Journal from William H. Morrison of Belvedere.

The President of the tax-association, Mr. (Alvin) Schultz, who had been elected only a few minutes before, announced to the group—with no preliminary discussion from the floor—that he had already made arrangements with (Supervisor William D.) Fusselman and an attorney to meet the next morning to draw up the petition asking for a referendum vote on Mr. Wright's plans.

... so, with nothing except a rubber-stamp approval from the "Tax Association," Mr. Fusselman's Petition to void an action he thinks his fellow board members might take two weeks from now was endorsed.

Action stampeded action. In order to familiarize the people of Marin with the disputed plans, in order to reach the people who had not known of the display, in order to counteract this plea to economy, a slide show with sound track entitled "Marin's Greatest Hour" was put together by Harold Stockstad of Tamalpais Valley,
Hartley Sater of San Anselmo and William A. Stewart of Almonte and member of the firm of Conley, Baltzer and Stewart, the San Francisco Advertising Firm who produced it. The county secured a Bookmobile Bus and carried the slide show to every corner of Marin.

With characteristic American organizational energy, 200 Marinites organized a protective association called the Citizen's Committee for the County Center and elected Harold Stockstad president and William A. Stewart vice-president. The two contending organizations thus were born and have continued in modified form and under other names to the present. By mid-April ads appeared in the Independent Journal soliciting membership in the Taxpayers' Association, and letters to the editor from members of the organization insinuated, then openly threatened a petition to force a referendum on the Wright contract. Even Mr. Fusselman addressed the county through the paper urging defiance of the majority of the Board.

Such open contempt for constituted authority brought a barrage of letters from the opposition. But more telling were the letters from sober citizens now roused from complacent spectatorship to active engagement. These more thoughtful letters had a telling effect. One of the most incisive letters came from Clyde Trudell, member of the American Institute of Architects, a
resident of Sausalito.

The Wright plan is the right plan. It is the answer to 10 years of haggling, discussion, conflicting opinions and controversy. It satisfies the recommendations of grand jury findings and the Kroeger report housing ever-growing departments under a common roof, eliminating rental costs, and, above all, creating a source of pride and inspiration for all of us.

To disagree with any phase of the project, design, fee construction costs or the project as a whole is anyone's right and to seek redress at the polls is also unquestioned. But would such a move be wise and in the best interests of the community?

Cheaper and less imaginative schemes are certainly possible, but, for once in our lives let's be satisfied with nothing but the best. We can afford whatever we want badly enough and for which we are willing to work and save. Let those to come know this generation had the vision and courage to make "no little plans" for their future but set ourselves and them a high goal well worth whatever the financial obligation may be.

We local architects had our day in courts, displayed our wares and made our pitch. In the writer's opinion your honorable board made the proper selection.

Let's get on with the show!

No less persuasive was the voice of Mrs. Livermore. "Mrs. Norman B. Livermore of Ross said Marin County is made up of cultural people. They want something beautiful. And if you want something beautiful you have to pay for it."

The Taxpayers' Association remained unimpressed and doggedly persisted in their membership drive until Alvin Schultz'
own district, Terra Linda, showed its teeth. Terming the hiring of Wright "the greatest opportunity that has ever come to Marin," Dr. John Myers, president of the Terra Linda Community Services District, said Wright's opposition "seems to stem from a small group with a pretentious name, people who can't see beyond their shoestrings."

Until April 28, 1958, when in Courtroom 3, amid a wall-to-wall assemblage of citizens, the Board of Supervisors voted 4 to 1 to accept Wright's plans and authorized the acceptance of bids for construction, there were trepidations throughout the county that their by-now-beloved building might be scuttled. Even then no one turned away satisfied that at last all was well.

An item in the Independent Journal, May 2, 1958 caused little wavelets of anger to lap the hills of Marin. After a month of cliffhanging intrigues, plots and counter-plots, its absurdity was lost in the touchy atmosphere. It was immediate evidence that vigilance would need to be constant.

A missing writing tablet containing names of persons who viewed Frank Lloyd Wright's Marin Civic Center drawings, showed up today--at the county board of supervisors meeting.

Supervisor William D. Fusselman handed the tablet (with ball point pen still attached) to Planning Director Mary Summers at the opening of this morning's supervisors session. He made no comment as to how he got it.
Yesterday, Mrs. Summers reported the tablet had been missing since last Monday night, when it was placed in the courtroom to be signed by persons attending a supervisors' hearing on the famed architect's plans.

Acting on a tip from an undisclosed source, Mrs. Summers telephoned John R. Kiker of Novato, advocate of splitting off North and West Marin to form a "City and County of Pacheco."

Kiker admitted he had taken the list. "It's public property," he said. But he told Mrs. Summers she could not have it back immediately "because it's being photostated."

This morning Supervisor Fusselman handed over the tablet.

Meanwhile Kiker had something to say on the subject himself.

The list, he pointed out, contained names of fifteen persons from outside Marin County, "and they were most enthusiastic" at the hearing.

"Seeing one visitor give San Diego as his address and then noticing a sizable number from without this county made me wonder if these 'travelers' were planted," he declared. "The list of names will be turned over to the American Legion Americanism committee for study, to see if it requires action by the grand jury, district attorney or just plain recall."

Mrs. Summers said the list contained few names of persons who attended the Monday night hearing. Most of the signatures, she said, were entered when visitors viewed Wright's drawings on display at the College of Marin, Reed School and elsewhere throughout the county.

"Apparently, somebody took the tablet before much of anyone had signed it at the hearing," she commented.
In June the Board of Supervisors, 4 to 1, requested the Wright Foundation to prepare a model of the Master Plan for display in the county. September 3 the model arrived and was proudly displayed at the planning commission office at the old Coleman School.

At last, those who could not visualize from architectural drawings how the building would fit into the Venetia site could see how superbly Wright had created for Marin. The Administration Building extends from the south knoll to the middle one seeming to hang like a gate between them. An arch cut into the first floor provides a roadway under the building to the parking lot. Three tiers of arches rise above the ground-level arch until the four story building reaches its curved roof. Each tier of arches screens outdoor walkways onto which offices open. The section of the curved roof that covers the hallway that runs the length of the building is a giant skylight. Inside plants on the first floor mall receive enough sunlight to thrive indoors. On the top of the middle knoll is the circular library which is the hub from which the Hall of Justice swings out to the third knoll and thus the two wings are tied together. Under the Hall of Justice, the longer of the two wings, there are two arches. The whole forms a slight V shape so that the tremendous length of the building is broken adequately to avoid monotony. It is, in fact, a ten-story office
Figure 3
Cross Section of the Administration Building
Figure 3
Administration Building
building lying on its side, but Wright's skillful use of the three knolls deceives the viewer and its great length is not apparent.

Today the model is housed in the Marin County Civic Center and can be seen on the first floor of Wright's monumental building. It must indeed have been a "source of great joy" to Marinites eagerly waiting for ground-breaking and the beginning of construction. It is a lovely thing and even now people pause to look at what is yet to be done to fulfill the whole dream. It is interesting to stand on the floor above and watch through the light well that is open from the clear dome on the fourth floor to the first, as people pause, walk around the model and wonder. If a guard happens to be nearby they ask questions, walk around again, and then move on. Rarely does a new visitor to the building fail to stop. In September of 1958 upon request from Mrs. Livermore, the model was loaned to the California State Fair where it drew crowds large enough to cause comment in newspapers around the state. With it went the slide-sound show, "Marin's Greatest Hour," which was repeated every twenty minutes for five days. Between forty and fifty thousand people saw it. Later, in 1959, the model was loaned to the United States Information Agency for its Frank Lloyd Wright Overseas Exhibit and delighted audiences as far away as the Milan Triennale.

The roof and dome of the model are gold to match the hills
Figure 4
Administration Building
of California. Because no ionized paint could be found that would not turn brown under the brilliant sunlight of the Pacific coast the color was changed to sky blue when the time came. The blue roof either appeals or displeases, according to individual taste, but it is in keeping with the color of the nearby bay and the clear skies overhead.

While the model made more converts it did not appease the opposition. However the design of the Civic Center received little interest from its critics. Attention was divided between the Taxpayers' Association efforts to stop the civic center plan because of costs, and renewed interest in the Veterans Memorial Auditorium.

At the end of World War II a 2¢ tax was levied upon the citizens of Marin to provide a suitable memorial to the veterans, living and dead, of that conflict. Following World War I, funds had been garnered through private subscriptions to place a bronze statue of a "Doughboy" in front of the Courthouse. Not until 1929 did that innocent, rifle-at-ready figure stand guard over San Rafael. It is easier to imagine that youth, clad in deerskin, stalking game than it is to see him as a grim defender of democracy. This time something more fitting had to be designed.

As Bill Fusselman recalled for the Independent Journal, "Some of the boys and I were sitting around over coffee back in
1942, and I said, 'We've got to start thinking about when the Vets come back. . . .' The result was a tax to provide a special memorial, something useful to the Vets themselves. Doc Duhamel was appointed chairman of the Memorial Fund which was thus established, and from then on the Veterans assumed a proprietary attitude toward the project. The psychological investment in that fund by World War I veterans intensified as the monies were stored, and became personalized in direct correlation to the growing indifference of World War II Veterans to Veterans' affairs. Veterans' Organizations flagged in membership during the 50's and the old guard who had expected to play big brother to the younger Veterans were frustrated by the indifference World War II graduates showed toward the "alumni association."

Technically it was never the Veterans' money. But emotionally it became, for a few, passionately their own. Many a long hour they debated in Post meetings what was to be done with it. There were suggestions of a Bell Tower to be erected in the very center of the county, a Veterans' Hall that could amount to a private club, a parade ground that could be used for outdoor activities by the citizenry of the county when not in use by Veterans, a building of some sort in every district, a swimming pool at the hospital.
Finally they decided on an Auditorium for everybody in the county and that was it from then on. What they envisioned was a flat floor that could be used for drill, or for Boy Scouts, or for banqueting, or for athletic events, with additional smaller rooms for cards, meetings, or just sitting around. The center of the structure would be a kitchen and a bar. But these new sophisticated people from The City sabotaged their plans. As Doc now remonstrates wistfully, 'The Vets have been shut out entirely. We held out to the end for at least two little rooms where we could keep our flags and hold meetings, but we didn't get 'em. They're going to be used for storage. You won't even be able to have a cup of coffee in that building.'

If there is a place for sentiment in Marin for human affairs and not just for trees and birds and water, if ecology has not swept man completely from the stage, would it not be a warm and human thing to do to remove the Doughboy from his eternal stance in front of a now defunct building and place him among the trees around the Auditorium erected to his memory?* It would be a reminder of a past that built the present. And it would acknowledge the efforts the Veterans of World War I expended to

*Author's note: The Doughboy now stands guard at the entrance to the parking lot of the Auditorium.
provide the county with this center of cultural activity, even though their original aims went awry.

December 2, 1958, "the supervisors also appointed the Veterans' Memorial Committee headed by W. P. Duhammel to prepare the program for the auditorium. . . . The supervisors retained final say on details of the program. . . . There is approximately $335,000. in the county budget for construction of such a memorial building. It increases at a rate of $48,000. per year as a result of a special tax rate of about 2½¢ earmarked each year for the project."³

Immediately the issue of Frank Lloyd Wright as architect for the entire master plan flared and the whole conflagration was ignited again. In March of 1957, Duhamel had openly stated to the press as well as later at the ill-famed Board meeting that Wright had attended, that the Veterans did not want Wright's name on their building. Mrs. Schultz was determined that Wright would design all the structures to be built in the center "so that they will harmonize." Mr. Fusselman argued that it was never construed by him or the Veterans that Wright would design the Auditorium. And so it went.

In March of 1959 the Board of Supervisors, by a three to

one vote, Vera Schultz being absent, authorized County Counsel, Leland H. Jordan to negotiate a lease with the Federal Government for a post office site on the Santa Venetia property. Mr. Fusselman dissented. Again the question of the architect caused a rending of garments. The "Wright buffs," after much haranguing from Fusselman and the Taxpayers' Association, decided Frank Lloyd Wright. Today the charming little building, distinctly Wright's work, faces his greater monument across the street. It is the only post office he ever did.

The unremitting opposition of the Marin Taxpayers' Association kept the Board of Supervisors from knowing any peace throughout 1959. In February a "dodger" was put out by John R. Streiff of Greenbrae entitled "Marin County Taxation." The dodger was given wide circulation and created much interest. Streiff alleged that in 1952 the voters of Marin County had overwhelmingly rejected a civic center. He further challenged the legality of the "Pay-As-You-Go Plan" in the face of this voter opposition. County Counsel Jordan's opinion was that the denial of a bond issue did not constitute a proscription against "Pay-As-You-Go" financing and that the Board of Supervisors had been within their legal rights in deciding on that means of financing the center. Over fifty letters were sent by commuting residents to Attorney General Stanley Mosk asking for an investigation of county financing.
In mid-January these commuters, many of whom were employed by the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company in San Francisco, had begun agitation of their own against the project. A real fear began to develop that a permanent rift would divide commuter from local businessmen.

In February the Marin County Taxpayers' Association pledged to carry out a drive to recover taxes paid, they thought, prematurely in 1955-56, and therefore in excess, at the time of a reassessment involving a 26% hike. In addition the Association continued its discussion of a referendum to the voters of the civic center project. Berger Stockfleth of Tiburon, vice president of the Association, said at that February 18 meeting, "It's time that the supervisors spend no more money on this until it is voted on by the taxpayers."

On February 26, 1959, the Mill Valley Record carried a column entitled, "What Do You Think?" devoted to a discussion of the civic center project by Mill Valley residents. Opinion was divided, objections centering primarily around costs. By March 2 the issue was "hot" enough to make the San Francisco Examiner in a front-page article by reporter Ed Montgomery. Excerpts follow:

A steadily increasing number of Marin County taxpayers are denouncing the $13,800,000 County Civic Center project as a "second Taj Mahal--a
grandiose monument far beyond the needs and financial means of the taxpayers."

At least 46 property owners have written letters to Governor Edmund G. Brown or State Attorney Stanley Mosk, protesting the County Board of Supervisors' approval of the project and demanding a State investigation.

Some of the features of architect Frank Lloyd Wright's project design which the protesting taxpayers consider unnecessary and too expensive are these:

A swimming pool, the bottom of which is mounted on a hydraulic lift so that it may be raised on occasion for use as a ballet stage.

Escalators costing $2,500,000. to transport personnel and visitors from parking lots to hillside structures.

A huge artificial lagoon centered in a broad expanse of landscaped acreage.

The costly importing of thousands of yards of earth fill in order to leave intact the rolling hillsides of the 130 acre site of the proposed project which lies outside San Rafael's easternmost city limits.

Such outside stirring of the pot was too much for Mrs. Norman B. Livermore. March 9, 1959, she wrote blisteringly to William Randolph Hearst, Jr., the following letter.

Dear Mr. Hearst:

I am greatly disturbed and disappointed with the attitude of your San Francisco Examiner and have written the enclosed letter to Mr. Mayer. The article to which I refer is also enclosed. I feel a great injustice to Marin County is being perpetrated. Knowing you, I felt sure you would
want to hear about it and would take steps to correct it.

The combined Marin County Government Center and Fairgrounds projects are a constructive move on the part of our Board of Supervisors to meet today's needs. To do it in an orderly way our Supervisors are doing a job of advance planning. This is not done in most counties and the lack of it has proven very costly.

We have a wonderful plan, done by an extremely capable architect, Frank Lloyd Wright. However, as in every public project, there is a small fringe of bigoted individuals who object to any and all acts by a public body. I cannot understand why the Hearst Newspaper is condoning this kind of attitude by printing front page stories which mislead the public in our area with misstatements of fact. This can do serious harm.

I feel it is unfair and unjust that your Examiner out here should assist in producing a sense of incompetence and over zealously on the part of our public officials by such incompetent reporting. I am confident you will agree. Could there be some editorial policy in this case which is promoting conflict.

I urge that you take steps to correct this situation.

Mrs. Livermore's wrath was justified. The only item in the Examiner's list of features included in the contract for the government building was the fill. All of the other features were intended for the future and would not be included in either stage one or two of the building program. Indeed, the lagoon, created by dredging for part of the needed fill, is the only additional feature even yet added to the site. As of 1971 both the pool and
the escalators seem to have been shelved permanently. It was misleading.

The death of Frank Lloyd Wright, April 9, 1959, jolted Marin County. The world had lost a great architectural genius. Marin County would possess his last great triumph. Members of the Board of Supervisors felt the shock wave most keenly. They had developed a personal relationship with the man, as well as with the architect. "You had to know the man personally to realize how great he was and what a great genius," Bill Gnoss told the Novato Advance. "He's one of the few great men I've ever met and I cherish the experience. The people of Marin are very fortunate that they will have Wright's last masterpiece."

The first two phases of the project, the Administration Building and the Hall of Justice, were secure. In spite of Mr. Fusselman's immediate move to stop and renegotiate the contract at 8% architectural fees, legal counsel warned against any attempt then to subvert the program. No court in the land would allow it, Jordan warned. The plans had been completed. Over Mr. Fusselman's dissenting vote, on April 15, the Board voted to continue the contract with the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation for the construction of the county civic center. Aaron G. Green would be the architect-on-the-job to see it through.
Fusselman was unsuccessful in getting a second to a motion that the Board ask the Foundation for copies of the plans as they stood at Wright's death. Although the other supervisors did not agree, Fusselman expressed considerable doubt that Wright personally designed the plans. He also questioned the legality of the contract with the Foundation in the light of the architect's death. 4

If Mr. Fusselman honestly doubted then, he must be reassured now. The Veterans' Memorial Auditorium designed by the Foundation a decade later is not organically attached to the land on which it rests. It does not come from the ground, it sits on it. Handsome building that it is, it is obviously not Frank Lloyd Wright. The form is heavily imitative, but the spirit and essence of Wright are missing.

That continuing contract with the Wright Foundation goes down hard even today. Criticisms of the Memorial Building harken back to when they could have changed architects for the unplanned buildings and did not. As Fred Enemark says, "Marin County is still paying for a dead horse. Where is the genius in the Auditorium that's so obvious in the Civic Center?"

With scarcely a respectful nod to the dead, the second opposing organization, that group of dissident commuters who called themselves The Marin Citizens' Committee, held a public

meeting May 5 to protest the cost. In a letter to the editor (Independent Journal) Harold Stockstad, in reference to the meeting, reminded the reader that Marin County, including the cost of the building in its $2.30 tax rate, was 51st in the 58 counties of California in per capita tax--this according to the California Taxpayers' Association figures for 1958-59. The cry for reduced spending was not quieted.

In May the Board of Supervisors requested the State Public Works Board to allocate $98,500 for first stage development of a fairgrounds at Santa Venetia. The funds were needed for a drainage system and for earth compaction. The marshlands provided no solid base for parking lots, and were subject to flooding every winter. In exchange the state would receive about 230,000 cubic yards of free fill for the State Division of Highway works at the Terra Linda interchange. Marin County's Senator John F. McCarthy appeared with a delegation for Marin County before the Public Works Board to make the request. On June 11 the funds requested were approved. However, the wetlands were deeper than anticipated and it was the state that gave the county fill.

With unflagging persistence the demand for a referendum continued. As the Independent Journal reported on July 30, "The postcards asking the county Board of Supervisors to put its planned Santa Venetia civic center project before the voters in a sort of
plebiscite continue to arrive each week and County Clerk George S. Jones reads every one to the supervisors." That week 98 were read. The Board of Supervisors steadfastly refused to be coerced into any further delay by taking the time to consult the public. It was a mistake. Fred Enemark ruminates, "That project was damned poorly sold by the supervisors. They had a vociferous minority they thought they could ignore."

In September the blueprints were received. Aaron Green presented the Foundation's estimate of cost above site development at $3,370,000. plus a contingency allowance of 5%. Departmental layouts, originally determined through consultation with department heads, were scrutinized and approved by the departments involved. Step by step the way was cleared for approval of the blueprints and the calling of bids. Every decision followed the same monotonous pattern of 4 to 1. According to the Independent Journal report of November 11, "When the time came to deal with necessary resolutions there was no discussion except to consult Jordan as to technicalities. Fusselman was silent save for a sharp "NO" on each vote." At last, on November 10 the blueprints were approved, the bids were called, and the date set for 10:30 a.m. on December 22 for their opening.

Four of the six bids were under the architect's estimate. There was jubilation in that group of persons most directly involved.
Aaron Green was overjoyed. Rothschild, Raffin and Weirick Inc., of San Francisco, came in with the lowest bid at $3,638,735. including site preparation, and subsequently were awarded the contract. "It's the best Christmas present we could have had!" exulted Vera Schultz.

The total costs of the Administration Building were highly disputed from 1957 to 1959. They came to $4,746,178. Of that Frank Lloyd Wright's fee was $359,728. The construction of the building cost $3,627,800. $162,180. was spent for engineering, testing, and miscellaneous, while site development cost $596,470. The costs for movable furniture is not included.  The building contains 160,000 square feet of floor space.

On December 28 the Independent Journal, which had printed so many words on the subject throughout 1959, had the last word of the year itself.

All of this adds up to just one thing: The people who have had the vision of this government center for Marin County were standing on firm ground, even though their heads may have been in the clouds at times.

They have come through with a realistic program, based on solid estimates and planned in a substantial pay-as-you-go way which makes it possible to finance the structure without a bond issue and its extra cost.

5 Figures prepared by the office of: Michael Mitchell, Marin County Auditor-Controller, April 18, 1972.
On with the ground-breaking!

It was well that the year ended thus. 1960 would see more than ground broken. If Mary Summers and Vera Schultz and Walter Castro and Bill Gnoss and Jim Marshall and a myriad of other Marinites who had dreamed a dream along with them were not misty-eyed at midnight December 31, they should have been. It had been a long and grinding task to see it through.
CHAPTER VI
"MARIN QUAKES BUT THE BUILDING STANDS"

Golden Shovels

The "sixties" began with high elan in Marin. With the drama of decisions concerning the Civic Center behind them, Marin County residents eagerly anticipated the realization of what had been planned. However, the dour mood of the Taxpayers' Association did not abate and Mr. Fusselman testily continued his "record of dissent on Civic Center projects."1 Ground breaking ceremonies were set for February 15, 1960 at 10:30 a.m. Guests would include Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright and Edward Stone, the architect of the American exhibit at the Brussels' World's Fair. A gala affair was planned. The 573rd Air Force Band from Hamilton Air Force Base was invited to provide music for the assembling crowd and during the ceremony. Edward Stone would deliver the major address to be followed by John E. Carr, State Director of Finance. Vera Schultz would respond for the county while other responses would be given by State Senator Jack McCarthy of San Rafael, Brigadier General Harold Hjelm, and Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright. It was decided, that, inclement weather being as probable as not, a tent should be rented "just in case."

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A small tremor shook the serenity of the county on February 2nd when it was learned that state appropriations for the Marin County Fair might be cut from $65,000. to $15,000. for 1961. County Fairs were being scrutinized by state budgeteers and the flat annual outlay of $65,000. to each county was being questioned. Those counties that could not show that the total amount was being spent for fair expenses would be cut back to actual fair costs. Fortunately, reserve funds in the Marin County Fair accounts had been reduced to $21,000. by the purchase of the Santa Venetia property. Even so, any reserve funds at all indicated that more was being given to Marin County by the state than was being used for current fair expenses and therefore state contributions were too high. That $21,000. had to be quickly paid out on explicit fair expenditures in order for the $50,000. to be restored to Marin County funds for 1961. It was decided to use the $21,000. for architectural fees for the Fairgrounds Pavilion included in Wright's Master Plan for the Civic Center. California supported this action by turning over to Marin County the full amount of the original subsidy.

The fifteenth of February dawned crystal clear. The ornamentation at the eave line of the Civic Center--ornamentation at the eave line is always a keynote of Wright's designs--is a continuous row of suspended globes intended to represent raindrops,
symbolic of Marin's winter rains and summer fogs. That day the dripping eaves of the model seemed most inappropriate. The February sun seemed to gently bless the occasion, and promise clear days ahead.

Five gilt shovels (they use lots of gold paint in California to remind one and all of the auspicious beginning of the state) tied with large red ribbons were on hand to be presented to each of the five supervisors as they turned the earth to begin the construction of the building. Some 500 persons attended and the golden hour was marked by emotional rhetoric to match the mood of those gathered on the hillside. One shovel was still standing in its original place when the ceremonies ended--Mr. Fusselman did not attend.

"Vera Schultz of Mill Valley, the Supervisor who led the drive for the center," reported the San Francisco Chronicle, on Tuesday, February 16, 1960, "epitomized civic pride: 'This is the second happiest day of my life,' she told the gathering. 'The first was when Frank Lloyd Wright presented the plans for this incomparable site. The third will be that day two years hence when we move in.'"

Mrs. Olgivanna Wright, dressed all in black and bedecked with a large white corsage, told the crowd, "This historic moment proves that in a government of the people and for the people, we
can have the finest in the world brought about by the citizens..."

Edward Stone, whose Stanford-Palo Alto Medical Center adds to California's architectural riches, said: "I prophesy this will be a place of pilgrimage in years to come. They will come here as they go to see Michelangelo today."

Perhaps the most poetic appraisal was made in an editorial from the Mill Valley Record on February 18.

Frank Lloyd Wright loved beauty with a fierceness that brooked no interference. And despite the fact that a quick glimpse of his County Center plan, from above, suggests two fried eggs Buck Rogers was planning to have for breakfast, we would be greatly disinclined to bet against Mr. Wright, in the final round.

We are willing to put our fate at the disposal of an original mind dedicated to the principle that beauty and love are enough for man to live by.

We strongly suspect Wright's buildings will win us all over, enriching our lives and making us tremendously proud that we were so profligate to have aspired so outrageously high.

So, with Mrs. Wright, Vera Schultz and Walter Castro perched atop a giant earth mover overlooking the spaded area, the gold shovels turned the loosened earth and the way was cleared for construction to begin on what seemed still in some quarters to be the cavalier and profligate project of the Wright buffs. The disaffected either did not hear or did not listen to words being uttered on the other side of the continent that year by Henry Luce, editor
of *Time Magazine*. In an address given to a conference on governmental architecture held in Washington, D. C., Luce said:

Good architecture is good government for a number of reasons. First of all, in our age, good government is required to be good economics. Good government in our age must meet the economic test.

But government is more than economics. Government must stand for things, for principles, for ideals. Government must be a symbol. And architecture is, above all, the symbolizing art. . . . Life is more than economics! And so is architecture! You would be miserable if you felt you could never express anything but economics. . . .

It is in its own buildings that government has the duty--and the right!--to symbolize what government stands for. . . .

The Department of State has written a Magna Carta of fresh, imaginative architecture--an architecture of symbolism, symbolizing the dignity of this Republic and its profound concern for all mankind.

What we have done abroad we must do at home. We must do it here in Washington and down to every county courthouse and post office.

**An Electoral Setback**

There was one county, on the threshold of doing just what Luce was pleading for, that was about to be put on the rack over the price tag affixed to their expression of governmental principles and ideals in architecture. The June elections were coming up.

Supervisors Fusselman, Marshall and Schultz were all up
for reelection. They would face an electorate to whom they had
given a county administrator, a reappraisal of assessments, and
the Civic Center. What was worse, they would also have to face
the citizens of Marin just as the accumulated needs created by a
decade of burgeoning immigration exceeded the limits of existing
governmental facilities to handle the problems created by this
swollen population. The County Hospital, located at the county
farm in Lucas Valley, had been condemned by state health agencies.
Also, the Juvenile Hall, built for the juvenile problems existent
more than thirty years before, was jammed beyond any probability
of serving the purpose of such an institution. Both facilities had
been vexing problems for a decade with one solution after another
failing passage. And, as if that weren't enough, the budget
presented to the Board of Supervisors on April 5, by Michael
Mitchell, Assistant Auditor, made absolutely necessary a 26¢
county property tax rate increase. This just for current expenses,
with no accounting for these critical building problems included.

The Board proposed two remedies, both inflammatory in the
face of the unremitting pressure of the Taxpayers' Association for
economic relief. First, they recommended a bond issue in the
amount of two and one quarter million dollars to finance a new
County Hospital. A bond issue for a new hospital had failed in the
1958 general election, but the urgency of the need merited a second
attempt to persuade the voters to accept a bond issue for the first time in history. It was decided that a major campaign would be necessary to educate the public and would require more time than the June election would permit to be carried out. Therefore, the new bond proposal would be a special election item on the November ballot.

The second solution, the plan to relieve the over-crowding at the juvenile hall, called for a transfer of funds from the Veterans' Memorial account, with the provision that the money would be returned by a three-year 5¢ tax per $100. of assessed value. The board rejected a committee recommendation that the two facilities be financed on a lease-option basis whereby a contract could be drawn with a private corporation to build the facilities and then lease them to the county.

Mr. Fusselman attacked the lease arrangement as "one that would saddle the taxpayers with great expense over the long run." He suggested, "that perhaps the matter could go to an election or that the 42¢ tax rate for the Civic Center could be pared to 32¢ with 10¢ going to the hospital and hall."²

Immediately, the Veterans' Organizations denounced any use of "Veterans' money" for any purpose other than a Memorial

Auditorium. Post 72 Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Marin County Chapter 103, Disabled American Veterans, both registered protests with the Board of Supervisors. To appease and to explain on April 26, the Board passed a resolution of intent, "that if the county uses $300,000 in the Veterans' Memorial Fund to build the Juvenile Hall addition, the amount will be paid back to the fund. The Board also declared that it intends to continue to collect funds 'for the purpose of constructing a Veterans' Memorial Auditorium.'" At last a commitment had been made that the Memorial would be an auditorium.

Overshadowing the other two issues in the forthcoming campaign would be the controversial Civic Center. The unflagging opposition of George Jones, William Fusselman and the Marin Taxpayers' Association, to that project at last was afforded the grand opportunity to obstruct the consummation of a decade of effort by pro-Civic Center enthusiasts, in and out of office. Interwoven in all three issues was the restiveness these individualists, Jones and Fusselman, experienced under the authority that had been vested in the County Administrator. A colossal struggle for the resumption of power was imminent. The future of many projects hung in the balance. Persons and personalities

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3Ibid.
would go on the block no matter what the outcome of the election. It was little wonder that lethargy afflicted the supervisors.

William Fusselman sat in a favored position in 1960. Having opposed the Civic Center with heroic persistence, having adamantly opposed the establishment of the office of County Administrator, having stoutly argued for expenditures being made for the Juvenile Hall space and the County Hospital instead of the Civic Center, he was unassailable in a year when attention was focused on taxation, and when demands for reduced spending rent the air. In spite of two opponents it was no contest in his district. But Marshall and Shultz faced determined opposition.

Running against Jim Marshall in the Fourth District was George Ludy. Ludy was outspoken against removing any more land from the tax rolls, had made vigorous objections to the cost of the Civic Center, was feeling the pain of reappraisal himself, and had behind him the tradition of his uncle's service on the Board of Supervisors. What was more, he was a friend of George Jones. When Jim Marshall had been elected in 1954 there were "more cows than voters" in the Fourth District. They liked honest Jim Marshall in Inverness and Point Reyes but it was believed that he was under Vera Schultz' thumb. The ranchers of the 4th District were opposed to the proposed Point Reyes Seashore under consideration by the federal government. They feared
dispossession. Marshall was on record as favoring it. He seemed to have gone over to the conservationist camp. By 1960, suburban sprawl had spread even to West Marin and the new suburbanites, while not supporting the ranchers against the seashore, resented the reappraisal. Altogether Marshall, who had consistently voted for the Civic Center and the establishment of the office of County Administrator, was woefully vulnerable.

Ludy centered his attack on taxes, appraisal, and bureaucracy but skirted the Civic Center issues, saying, "but there is some question in my mind when the need for the second phase (the Hall of Justice wing) will arise." His statement was ambiguous enough to leave him free from attack from pro-Civic Center voters yet offer hope to the reduction-in-spending people. But above all other issues he focused on Mrs. Schultz as a high-handed, high-spender of the people's money.

Mrs. Schultz faced frontal attack in all three districts electing supervisors. In the 2nd and 4th Districts candidates who pledged opposition to Vera Schultz had an advantage. Vera's opponent in the Third District was J. Walter Blair, whose candidacy was announced at a dinner given by George Jones in Sausalito. George Jones, the man who called it "my county," was as visible in this contest as he had been in 1952. His most potent weapon was reappraisal and on the horns of this dilemma hung Vera Schultz'
political career.

When the appraisal had been authorized in 1958, little did she know that her side of the mountains would be the first to experience the assessors' assault on inequity. Southern Marin had been chosen as the initial area to feel the pinch of realistic appraisal. By June 1960 assessments throughout the Third District had been adjusted—all upward—and many taxpayers had faced double and triple evaluations. Wounds had not healed and bruises were still sore. The charge that she was reckless with other people's tax dollars and had lavished the county with "the building of a monument with luxuries and frills," 4 was levied with deadly effectiveness. J. Walter Blair could claim with some justification that Southern Marin was paying a disproportionate share of Civic Center costs. And overriding all other issues for both Marshall and Schultz was the grim determination of Jones and Fusselman to change the 4 to 1 majority of the Board to a 3 to 2 majority headed back toward a less expensive day and a return to power of personalized government. Vera Schultz and Jim Marshall both had to go. On June 7, 1960, Marin's first (and only) lady Supervisor, and the cowboy from Inverness were defeated. At last it was 3 to 2 against conservation, bureaucracy

"good government!" they snorted) and governmental "palaces."

For Vera Schultz it was the end of something far greater than a political office in Marin County. "The Civic Center cost me my political career," she says. "But every time I see that building I know it was worth it." "Monument to ego," her critics call Frank Lloyd Wright's last great triumph, and they are referring to both the woman whose concepts of government are represented there, and the architectural genius who conceptualized the symbolic housing for those political ideals. Ego? If so, Marin County would never be the same because of it. The woman who had "hauled her county into the Twentieth Century" had planted more than a building in Marin.

The Stop-Work Order

The election results from the Third and Fourth Districts of Marin were like fireballs in the night. Everyone was awake to the possibilities. Almost certain to be the first target for the 3 to 2 triumvirate would be the County Administrator. The Editorial of the Independent Journal on Friday, June 10, 1960, sounded the alarm.

Voters in three of Marin's five supervisorial districts have placed in office men pledged to economy and lower tax bills. We hope they can do it and wish them luck.

At the same time we urge them to make only real savings, not imaginary ones. For example,
the County Administrator's office, through its purchasing agent, now does mass buying of supplies and equipment for various departments and agencies. The volume operation results in lower prices.

Second on the list would be the Civic Center. The same editorial raised that spectre to the whole county.

The Civic Center's fate may hinge on Supervisor-elect George Ludy's vote. We've seen conflicting statements attributed to him as to whether he favors immediate cessation of construction or of continuing with the building program already under way.

The lame duck board might legislate however they pleased; in January their actions could all be reversed. Much would depend on what kind of reconciliations were made within the triumvirate itself. Blair had suggested bailing out of the Civic Center project by paying off the contractors at one-half million dollars plus damages. Ludy had suggested completing the Administration wing, but rethinking the construction of the 2nd phase of Wright's plan, the Hall of Justice. Vera Schultz suggested that the citizens use the power of recall if Blair and Ludy tried to cancel the building contracts.

On June 22, 1960, the 4 to 1 board held a meeting, called on motion of William Fusselman and over the dissenting votes of Walter Castro and Vera Schultz, to discuss the threat of a lawsuit being hurled at the Board by Joseph W. Morrison of Tamalpais...
Valley, Blair's campaign manager, a retired army colonel. Morrison, and a group he refused to identify, asked for a 90-day suspension of work on the Civic Center in order to consider a smaller, less costly structure. If the Board would not stop work, the group threatened a suit questioning the validity of the contract with Rothschild, Raffin and Weirick in light of the election results. The session proved to be so tumultuous that Fusselman voted "yes" on the ultimate motion to continue construction made by Mr. Castro and seconded by Mrs. Schultz. It was his first "yes" response to any vote on the Civic Center since the inception of the project. Fusselman told the press that he did not feel a 90-day suspension good economics. Many wondered if an off-stage decision about the future of the building that would have to wait for the inauguration of the new board might not be a better explanation. Be that as it may, the Civic Center was now safe until January when much of the shell of the building would be completed. But what then?

The tumult did not die down. On July 6, 1960, the Mill Valley Record, the Third District's widely-read newspaper, carried on its editorial page a debate between Ray Strong and R. M. Scruggs on one side of the issue of the Civic Center, and the Editor on the other.
Said Mr. Scruggs: Trying to attack Wright's plan for the Civic Center by such methods (the editor's articles in previous issues about other Wright buildings) reflects on the intelligence of those with the time and effort to do it.

... As for the Civic Center, once it was decided to have a new one, no criticism should be raised at the past selection of Wright as the architect... he occupied the most distinguished place in architecture in this country, with a sufficient number of masterpieces to support the contention.... His project is not proving more costly than other buildings. If an architect's plan for a public structure can be said to please many and at least to be tolerated by most, it is about the best that can be expected of him. If Wright's Civic Center follows his past records, we can expect it to please very many indeed.

Responded the Editor: It's plain to see that with Mr. Scruggs there are Big People and then there are the Little People... While accepting Mr. Scruggs' double-dare to design a County Government Center and become as famous as FLW, we would like to ask if there is anybody at his house who believes in majority rule? If so, does he believe FLW would win in a design competition submitted to county voters? And if not, whom is our Center supposed to please? Our majority of citizens or our FLW cultists and side-show tourists?

Said Mr. Strong: I am deeply disturbed and dismayed in the recent trend in Southern and Western Marin politics that it now endangers our County Civic Center development. If it is obstructed or changed from its over-all unity of plan and fulfillment, I feel this loss of integrity at this level will carry over and threaten planning in the smaller segments of the county, causing a severe set-back of cherished values.

Such was the course of debate in one newspaper after another across Marin County. The issue would not die. While the days droned
warily by and the flow of words monotonously repeated the arguments grown stale with three years of repetition, the building itself took shape and at year's end was already saddled between the two knolls from which it was suspended. The shell of two floors was complete and the steel framework for the third was in place.

1960 saw only one solution to the many problems with which the year had begun. When, in June, the order to fulfill the contract on the Civic Center had passed unanimously, attention shifted to the Juvenile Hall and the County Hospital. Mr. Fusselman, suddenly released from a minority role, stumped the county Veterans' organizations in behalf of the use of Veterans' Memorial funds for the Juvenile Hall. Since the money was not the Veterans to legislate, and since the Board could have arbitrarily allocated the funds at its will, it was certainly taking an issue to the people. The Veterans were asked for their permission to do that which the Board by election had already been empowered to do. It was homey, it was folksy, it was nostalgic, and it worked. Every post in Marin voted to release the monies the Board held in the Memorial Fund. On July 19th the Board called for bids for a new hall to be built near the old Juvenile Center and to be part of that complex of buildings.

As for the County Hospital, the bond issue having been added
to the June ballot at the last minute and having failed passage, it was decided that it would be resubmitted to the voters again on the November ballot. Routinely, the voters again refused to break a precedent. No bonding. Whatever was done for Marin County would have to be achieved without turning to bonded financing.

During those tedious days that lasted for six long months, while the "new" board prepared for action once installed in office, the rumor mills ground and ground, and some of the grinding was exceedingly fine. Wat Takeshita, in his "I-J Reporter's Notebook" column, on October 8, 1960, let the county in on the second phase of returning the control of county politics to the hands of the "Courthouse Gang."

The aim appears to be to knock out all the present supervisors excepting William Fusselman. Vera Schultz and Jim Marshall are on their way out. . . . That leaves Walter Castro and William Gnoss, whose terms expire in two years.

If recurring rumors are anywhere near accurate, this seems to be the picture:

County Clerk George Jones, who knows all the political maneuverings in the county, is retiring in two years. They figure he's a good man to run against Castro.

. . . If those plans succeed, it could be Fusselman, Ludy, Blair, Jones, and a fifth colleague running the county in 1962.

Should be smooth-running machine. . . .
They might already be informally discussing such things as the County Planner, Public Works Director, Civic Center, and County Administrator.

Substantive data to support the rumors came overnight. On October 18, 1960 in the Supervisors' session, in discussing the accession of E. Warren McGuire, elevated from Assistant County Counsel to the office of County Counsel--a post vacant due to the resignation of Leland Jordan following the election--Mr. Fusselman said "if the ordinance establishing the office of County Counsel is rescinded, that would cancel any contract." Fusselman seemed to think that destroying the office of County Administrator would negate all actions taken by that office since its establishment.

October 21, 1960, Mary Summers announced her retirement at the end of 1961. After twenty years as Planning Director, pert Mary Summers was getting out. Long a target hard hit by Mr. Fusselman's most bitter attacks, Mrs. Summers could not face the change in personnel on the Board of Supervisors. Margaret Azevedo and Vera Schultz agree that Mary was continually subjected to abusive treatment by Mr. Fusselman during Board meetings. It was obvious that Mr. Fusselman would be the Chairman of the new Board and many county employees were

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uneasy. Leland Jordan had resigned, now Mary Summers. On November 15th the Board accepted the resignation of Donald A. Jensen, County Administrator. It was just in time. In the action appointing Alan Bruce to fill the post, Mr. Fusselman warned that the job "might be short-lived. You're going to have a new organization of this Board the first of the year," he warned.

Constant feedback from the rumor mill of what the new majority of the Board had in mind for Marin suggested threats concerning Reappraisal and the Civic Center, as well as predictions as to which head would roll next. Bert Broemmel, County Assessor, was reported to have been warned that he'd better "Pull in your horns on this reappraisal stuff and get in line or the new majority will ruin you at budget time." Broemmel's request for raises for employees in his department had already been blocked by Mr. Fusselman. It was obvious that the "new broom" meant to sweep out as much of what had been done over the past eight years as possible. Lesser employees of the county were seeking jobs elsewhere and leaving the county at an alarming rate. The stability of county government became so questionable that suggestions were made openly from responsible citizens outside of government, as well as highly-placed county employees,

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that a Grand Jury investigation should probe into the sources and extent of alleged pressures on employees that were creating this fear and the consequent desertion of Marin County.

December 31, 1960 found many apprehensive persons in Marin County. Objective perusal of the year just passed was difficult to achieve for most Marinites. It had been an emotional year, a year of troubled times with little headway made in any direction. The promise was all to be unveiled in 1961.

January 2, 1961, Blair and Ludy were sworn in, along with Fusselman, and the new Board went to work. As expected the first order of business was to elect William Fusselman as Board Chairman. The second was to reestablish the old committee system of supervision with the Finance Committee appointed that day. Blair and Ludy would now scrutinize all financial transactions of every department in the county government. The next move was to put the data processing bureau under direct control of the Board. Fusselman had always been irate over the impersonal aspect of "card-punching." County government was to be returned from the care of department heads to the direct supervision of the Board members. When Alan Bruce asked when the Finance Committee would meet and if he and Assistant Auditor, Michael Mitchell, should be present he was told that the committee would meet that afternoon and was instructed by Finance Chairman
Blair, "you fellows just be on call in case we need you." So, the candy-maker from San Anselmo, the grocer from Inverness, and the laundromat operator from Mill Valley took over government finance and stepped forth to put the county back into the pockets of "cracker barrel" politicians. The second step in that process was for the Three Musketeers to begin immediately to delve into personnel policies. It looked as though the patronage system of old was to be reinstituted.

A week of apprehension followed as the new Finance Committee went over county finances with a fine-toothed comb. Department heads spent hours explaining expenditures and sources of revenue. Personnel was examined as to numbers, responsibilities and salary. The courthouse was tense with expectations, real and imagined. There was an air of apprehension about the place. The question, "What next?" hung over the head of anyone within reach of the new Board.

On January 10th they did it. Three to two on motion of William Fusselman, the infamous Stop-Work Order on the Marin County Civic Center was brusquely and briskly voted through the Board. It was a shock of earthquake dimensions. Confident of county backing, presented as an economy move, they stopped work at last on that "gaudy building" that Bill Fusselman had had stuck in his throat so long. The foundations of a decade's work shuddered.
And as if to underscore the irrevocability of their action, 3 to 2 they dismissed the Civic Center Committee. Long concealed fissures in the population were revealed. The political landscape would never be the same.

The Final Victory

After a momentary pause on the 10th, the forces unleashed by this action rose in wrath. On January 11th a telephone campaign was launched by a hastily-formed ad hoc committee of citizens that engulfed Fusselman, Blair and Ludy. As Mr. Fusselman said, "We finally had to put the telephone in the closet. My wife was ill and they called all hours of the day and night without mercy." A mail campaign inundated all three with letters of abuse. Though none of the three would ever discuss the ratio of denunciatory letters to congratulatory mail, estimates are that they ran about 4 to 1. The triumvirate, caught off guard by reaction of such proportions, and from totally unexpected quarters, were bewildered. After all, they had campaigned in behalf of economy and against the Civic Center. Where was the praise they had expected?

Fusselman had stated in his motion that the stop-work order was intended to give the county a chance to reassess its needs and establish priorities, and also to give architects an opportunity to estimate the cost of converting the partially-completed Civic
Center into a County Hospital. This, he said, would save the county money and "put first things first." The savings feature immediately was called into question. The stop-work order would cost quite something in itself. One hundred twenty five workmen were suddenly plummeted into unemployment. The contractor abruptly faced the necessity of interrupting the flow of orders from subcontractors. Several parts of the construction itself, such as unsupported retaining walls in danger of buckling if not shored up immediately, would run into added costs. The damages suffered by the contractor would have to be paid. The total bill for work-stoppage might run as high as $1,000,000 within one budget year, if prolonged.

The high-handedness of the move infuriated a public that had been promised a more responsible government. This was raw irresponsibility with a flavor of arrogance not to be tolerated by Marinites. Said the Independent Journal editorial of January 12:

We had always considered that Chairman William Fusselman was one individual who wanted to give the people a voice in county government. Yet where were the public hearings? There were none. There had been many before the decision was made to go ahead with construction.

We recall a number of years ago when, at Fusselman's insistence, the Board agreed that new proposals would be presented at one meeting and voted upon at the next a week later, this to give time for investigation and consultation with
the people . . . the railroading through of the
stop-work order shows we were wrong.

January 11th, the weekly meeting of the Citizen's Advisory
Committee on the development of Marin County, a committee
organized by the Board of Supervisors three years earlier,
turned into a shouting match. The handful of persons customarily
in attendance was swelled into a crowd of over 200. Jack
Bissinger, a retired Kentfield Contractor, circulated a petition
demanding a Grand Jury investigation on the charge of mal-
feasance of office. Leon de Lisle, County Auditor, a member of
the original Civic Center committee told the gathering that he had
been summarily fired that day from the committee. "The Super-
visors just told me the committee no longer exists." Milen
Dempster, Mill Valley resident, suggested that the committee
retire. "The people here want to take action." Dempster quoted
by the San Francisco Examiner of January 12th as having said
"Your committee doesn't seem to be the mouthpiece."

Scrupulously correct, the committee quietly adjourned and
the citizens took over. Milen Dempster found himself chairman
of a shouting bedlam from which gradually emerged a rock-ribbed
new organization called the Citizens' Committee for Civic Affairs
--later renamed the Marin Council for Civic Affairs, the still-
functioning MCCA. Harold Stockstad was elected President and
immediately called the meeting to order.

Almost the first thing the new Committee did was to hear Leon de Lisle, Marin County Auditor, give details of a deep split in the county's political bodies. De Lisle made it plain that he was opposed to the actions of the Supervisors.

De Lisle stated that the next move by the Supervisors would be to fire the County Administrator (Alan Bruce), and the County Physician (Dr. Rafael Dufficy). He indicated that their jobs would be abolished. 7

A campaign chest would be needed for any contemplated action. The new committee elected Milen Dempster Treasurer and collected $100, with which to begin operations. A fifteen-man steering committee was elected to lead the fight for continuance of the construction of the Civic Center. That day George Ludy had told a San Francisco Examiner reporter that if the building could not feasibly be used for a hospital the Supervisors had other ideas about what could be done with it. Walter Blair had stated that it was not likely that the building would ever become a government center. On Wednesday night it was realized that this would be a massive struggle.

By Thursday morning, Marin County was alive with rumors, proposals, charges and countercharges. Leon de Lisle stated categorically that since the diversion of funds from an approved

project to any other use required a 4 to 1 vote of the Board of Supervisors that he would freeze Civic Center funds and would not release one cent of those monies for any other purpose than the fulfillment of the contract for the Administration building. Fusselman countered that those funds were for a Civic Center, not specifically an administration building, and that any civic project constructed on that property would be a proper use of the money. Both Gnoss and Castro publicly avowed their determination to stand pat so that no 4 to 1 decision was possible. Fusselman threatened to seek legal counsel and secure a ruling on De Lisle's contention.

A move to have Mr. Fusselman recalled got under way that same Thursday and news of the turmoil hit the San Francisco papers. As Thursday wore on the revolt spread and the telephone assault on the three Supervisors gained momentum. The incoming mail brought scores of letters-to-the-editor to the Independent Journal. Everyone wanted to be heard, and all at once. When the newspaper appeared in the afternoon, Marin County was delighted to find that a way had been devised to allow everyone to be heard, all at once, and to the point. There would be a plebiscite!

The steering committee found an ally that same Thursday morning in its efforts to rally public support behind their efforts
to block the Supervisors in their attempt to block the Civic Center. The *Independent Journal* printed a ballot by which its readers could cast a straw vote in an extra-legal election. Since names and addresses would be required and registration rolls would be checked there could be no stuffing of the ballot box by either side. Fusselman suggested that day that perhaps the County Clerk could mail a ballot to every person on the Voter Registration list but the Marin Council for Civic Affairs remembered other ballots that were so imprecise in their wording that no accurate conclusions could be drawn. The ballot appearing in the *Independent Journal* was constructed by a voluntary committee which worked right up to press time. They wanted a question so simple and so definitive that there could be no misjudging the will of the people.

The single question on the ballot asked simply, "Do you approve the Supervisors order to stop work on the County Civic Center?"

☐ "Yes, I approve"

☐ "No, I do not approve"

Deadline for mailing ballots was set for midnight, Saturday, January 14. The auditing firm of Dalton Graupner and Barber of San Rafael consented to receive the ballots and count them. By 5:00 p.m. newstands were sold out. The switchboard of the *Independent Journal* was flooded with calls for more ballots.
Frantic calls reached the "MCCA" steering committee from non-subscribers who had returned too late from San Francisco to buy a copy of the Independent Journal. Obligingly, the Independent Journal printed 5,000 ballots overnight which were distributed the morning of Friday, the 13th, and the paper reprinted the ballot that day, and on Saturday, the 14th, in the regular editions of the paper. Dalton, Graupner and Barber were stunned by the immediate volume of mail. On the morning of the 13th their mail chute being already stuffed, they were notified that the post office had still more mail for them. An estimate at mid-afternoon by the harassed members of the firm was that responses were running about 18 to 1 against the stop-work order.

On Friday, the 13th, early morning telephone committees made endless calls urging citizens to attend an unscheduled meeting purportedly called by the Board of Supervisors for 3:30 in the afternoon. Later they had to try to head people off when it was learned that the Board meeting was an unfounded rumor. Fusselman contacted the architectural firm of Crawford and Banning, assigned earlier in the week to evaluate the possibility of and cost of converting the Civic Center structure to hospital use, to urge an early report. Every newspaper in the Bay Area carried news of the uproar, and most articles were highly critical, some even satirical.
A reporter on the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin reported that when he called the home of William Fusselman, "the response was: 'This is a recording. If you have a message for Mr. Fusselman, mail it to the courthouse.' -- There was only one trouble. -- It was Fusselman's own, deep, easily-recognizable voice--and it was live, not recorded."

The Independent Journal had carried a cartoon of the familiar three monkeys with paws over eyes, ears, and mouth which were labeled--Looney, Fussy and Blah. Herb Caen's column in the San Francisco Chronicle carried the item, "KIDDIN' ON THE KEYS: The decision of the candyman, the grocer and the laundromat operator to halt work on the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Civic Center in Marin prompted one official to groan: 'I throw up my hands.' Exactly the way I feel, with slight editing. . . ."

But the most devastating attack came in Art Hoppe's column in the same newspaper. The cartoon was by "Chronicle" cartoonist Bob Bastian of Belvedere and is a good caricature of Fusselman. (See page 190.)

Friday, the 13th, the committee called an open meeting. The 400-seat capacity of Olney Hall at College of Marin was insufficient. It was a charged atmosphere before the gavel sounded the opening. A call for the immediate recall of William Fusselman brought a standing ovation. Recall would take six
THANK GOODNESS. It’s about time we had
some real economy in government around here.
I am speaking, of course, of the Board of Super-
visors over in Marvelous Marin. Who are fearless.

Darned if the Marvelous Marin Supervisors
haven’t saved the taxpayers at least a million dollars.
At a minimum. And what are the
taxpayers doing? They’re form-
ing vigilante groups to hang their
marvelous Supervisors. I don’t
know what’s wrong with tax-
payers these days.

It all started three years ago
when the Supervisors, by a 4-1
vote. hired Frank Lloyd Wright,
a registered genius. to design a
new Civic Center. Some people were mad. Like
the American Legion. Which felt Mr. Wright was
a “left-leaning” architect. And how would a Civic
Center look with all the buildings leaning left?

THE ONE NEGATIVE VOTE was Supervisor Wil-
liam D. Fusselman. the portly and eminent San
Anselmo candy maker. now retired. And when
ground was broken in impressive ceremo-
ries for the first $4 million building a year ago. Mr. Fussel-
man stayed in his tent. stirring his candy and vowing
that economy would yet triumph.

But the contract was let. the bulldozers moved
in. the steel girders went up ... And then. just in
the nick of time. two new economy-minded Super-
visors were elected. Who were as fearless as Mr.
Fusselman. And they’ve just voted 3-2 over there to
stop work on the $4 million building while they figure
out whether they ought to turn it into a hospital or
a gas station. Or something useful.

Only it wasn’t exactly in the nick of time be-
because the county’s already spent more than a million
on the center. And it owes another million. But
what if the county had already spent $3.9 million?
Then there’d be hardly any saving at all.

SO YOU CAN SEE where it’s terribly lucky for
the Marin taxpayers that they’ve got an economy-
minded team in there fighting for them all the way.
And I just hope the Marvelous Marin Theory of
Economics catches on.

Like over here in San Francisco. We’re build-
ing this $19 million Hall of Justice. And we’ve al-
ready spent $18 million on it. But, thanks to Marin,
I’ve figured out a way to save San Francisco tax-
payers no less than a million dollars.

And I just wish these Marvelous Marin Super-
visors had been in charge when we were in the
middle of building the Golden Gate Bridge. I’ll bet
they could have saved us half of what it cost. I mean
half a bridge is better than none. So I’ve been telling
the Marin taxpayers off. I said to one I had half a
mind to run for the Marvelous Marin Board of Super-
visors myself. He said I had just what it takes.
months waiting time and Clark thought Fusselman, when faced with that possibility, might change his attitude and "pull in his horns." When the applause died down Harold Stockstad said, "I just don't see why the Second District should have all the fun."

Already talk had circulated of recalling Walter Blair from Stockstad's own Third District. James Fletcher reported that the only appropriate legal move to get the Civic Center construction going again without too much delay was to proceed with Grand Jury action over misuse of funds. Leland Jordan urged everyone to go home resolved "to convince another 10 or 15 people" that the stop-work order must be lifted. 8 Every speaker brought another storm of applause and the crowd left still tingling from the excitement that had been generated. It was committed to make sure that the Independent Journal ballot campaign, the telephone campaign, the letter-writing campaign, and the campaign to jam the Supervisors meeting the following Monday were all carried through.

The committee remained behind to form other committees, including "Doctors for Civic Center," "Attorneys for Civic Center," "Mothers for Civic Center," "Real Estate Men for Civic Center," "Architects for Civic Center," etc., etc. Marin County was

awake, wide awake to the effects of personalized, "cracker barrel" politics in a 20th Century setting.

By Saturday, the straw vote was gaining area-wide attention. The citizens of Marin were obviously dead serious about making their opinions known to the Board of Supervisors. Balloting was running 8 to 1 against stoppage. The bulk of the ballots was expected to arrive after midnight, the deadline for voting. Six thousand ballots were mailed that day. Dalton, Graupner and Barber called in three volunteers who worked all day Sunday in processing this mountain of mail. It would be a herculean task to have final count by 1:00 p.m. on Monday. Two electric letter-openers were borrowed and three adding machines.

Whether the balloting and the vigorous action of "MCCA" had caused Mr. Ludy to reconsider his vote on the stop-work order, or whether he had always been more interested in economy than the Civic Center per se, who can say. On Friday, in an interview with Independent Journal reporters, Ludy stated that his vote on the Civic Center might change if the architects determined that it was economically unwise to convert the administration building into an efficient hospital. He further stated that he had campaigned against the second phase, not the first. It was a wisp of hope to Marin County Civic Center supporters. Mr. Fusselman was asked for comment on the Ludy statement and the possibility
that the majority vote would not remain intact if the architectural consultants brought in an adverse report. His reply was to the effect that he did not foresee any change in the Board's voting pattern but that how anyone voted would depend on that report. J. Walter Blair, who had campaigned against the Civic Center, remained adamantly opposed to continuance of the project.

Marin County was forced to await Monday, but activity in behalf of the Civic Center did not cease. Placards and signs protesting the stop-work order were made in Marin garages, in recreation rooms, by poolsides, on playgrounds—placards and signs beyond the number of people available to carry them. Telephones rang, neighbors clustered, typewriters banged, and plenty of paint was spilt.

By 9:00 a.m. Monday morning pickets of all ages, sizes and of both sexes marched up and down the courthouse steps. Signs which were piled up along the curbing on Fourth Street in front of the courthouse were carried about by people on coffee breaks and then returned for the next phalanx. Many individuals carried two signs. By 1:00 p.m. the Supervisors' chamber was packed and the overflow crowd spilled out into the hallway. The meeting was moved to the courtroom to accommodate as many as possible. Aaron Green was on hand to make his first statement since the stop-work order was issued. Harold Stockstad
was present to demand continuation of construction. Other citizens appeared with prepared statements they hoped to read. But more important was the presence of Harry Dalton of Dalton, Graupner and Barber Auditing Firm with the results of I. J. straw vote, and of Eugene Crawford and George Banning, architects assigned to evaluate the feasibility of the proposed change-over of the building.

The Independent Journal balloting report came first. While many votes had been thrown out for sundry reasons the vote for resumption of work on the Center stood at "Yes - 1,225" "No - 8,152." There was an audible release of tension in the courtroom at the conclusion of this report. William Gnoss instantly moved that the stop-work order be rescind without hearing the architectural report and Castro seconded. But Chairman Fusselman refused to call the question until the architects were heard. Several citizens then were recognized and made impassioned speeches for the Civic Center. Finally Eugene Crawford presented the architects' report. The Crawford and Banning findings stated that conversion of the Civic Center to a hospital facility would add 1½ million to 2 million dollars to the original cost, resulting in a $5,500,000. building that "does not lend itself in any respect to the functions of a nursing or rehabilitation facility." Plumbing facilities would have to be greatly expanded, electrical
plans would have to be changed drastically, air conditioning would be required for an enlarged kitchen, elevators would have to be redesigned and relocated, and worst of all it would take six months to render new drawings and secure the necessary approval from various state agencies involved in hospital construction. For $2,000,000, an efficient hospital could be built in Lucas Valley.

Upon completion of the report, without waiting for discussion, George Ludy promptly moved resumption of work on the Civic Center which motion passed unanimously. And before Blair and Fusselman could gather their wits William Gnoss had moved that the Civic Center Committee be reinstated and Ludy had seconded the motion. The Civic Center was status quo with its position as of January 10. The travail of the past week had been unnecessary—or had it? Certainly, it had been a long, long week in Marin.

As doors shut for the night on homes all through Marin County that January 16th, many residents must sadly have agreed with Charles H. Schneider of the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin who that day had written:

The proposal that the partially completed center at the whisk of hat and magic words muttered over the architectural plans, be transformed into a hospital confirms our estimate that a Wonderland to dazzle Alice herself lies to the north of the Golden Gate Bridge.
One more question before we return from this elfin land where supervisors are architects and architects are dumbfounded: Whatever happened to that fine old custom of public hearings on public matters before the taking of final action?

Marvelous Marin may have seemed like Wonderland that week of January 10, 1961, but Marinites did not return to the complacency that had characterized them before the crisis. The shock of the stop-work order had shaken the entire community. A residual anger burned. Marin smarted from the ridicule heaped upon the county by Bay Area newspapers. The cavalier take-over of the county government by the Three Musketeers had created a stubborn resistance to any further regression in the process of government. One of the letters to the editor of the Independent Journal on January 17, written by Kellogg Smith of Sausalito, touched on part of the problem.

The poverty of thinking of the three supervisors who voted to halt the Civic Center work is shamefully demonstrated in the opinion of Supervisor Blair that the county's citizens never have been asked whether they "wanted" the center.

It is characteristic of those who see perfection in the past--however cloudily--that governments are not meant to lead. The pitiable administrations of Harding and Coolidge are recent enough examples of men of simple mind.

Government would be paralyzed if administrative action were subject to popular vote. . . . The responsibility of leadership implies that those selected to govern do so.
Soon to be clarified was another issue that had contributed to the melee of the previous week. Mr. Kellogg Smith's formula was theoretically correct. In fact, however, the in-migrant, while becoming the sincere ally of the conservationists and pro-Center group had failed to assume civic responsibility in the county in adequate measure. Accepting the Marin environment into which he had transplanted part of his daily life as being well-ordered and automatically amenable he had continued to turn his political eyes to The City, the State and the Nation. He came to Marin in the evening to kick off his shoes and relax. He vacationed weekends in his sylvan setting. When he headed his car back toward The City on Monday morning he headed back toward the nerve center of his life. Whoever had been running things out in Marin was allowed to continue to do so. Every morning a major portion of Marin's vitality flowed out of this county like a tide. Left behind, the women and drowsy local business community kept things going. The constancy of civic endeavor required of the citizens in a democracy was notably lacking in Marin. At last the stop-work order changed all that.

The Marin Council for Civic Affairs was permanently organized Monday, January 16, 1961, as soon as the future of the Civic Center was secured. Sixteen members of the Board of Directors of the group met at the College of Marin to form a
permanent watchdog organization that would direct the attention, constantly, of city-bound commuters to the place they left behind them. "We decided we did not feel completely at ease about the Civic Center," reported Harold Stockstad. They did not feel completely at ease about the government which would occupy the Civic Center, either. So long as advocates of personalized government remained in office, vigilance would be required. Future decisions would need constant appraisal.

What had first seemed to be a devastating blow to Marin County's integrity and self esteem was in actuality an event that suddenly rooted the new residents of Marin County in the social soil of their locality. An enlightened and newly-involved citizenry had made its appearance in Marin. The Independent Journal of January 16 predicted:

Our conclusion is that while the stop-work order caught many by surprise and so uninformed that they didn't at first comprehend the significance of it, they are quickly making up for lost time. That is, they are quickly becoming informed about the Civic Center project and other local government affairs.

And when this is over they will be better informed and hereafter more interested in what goes on in the courthouse.

When our citizenry is better informed, our local government is more likely to be what the public wants it to be.

Such aroused interest was immediately put to use.
On January 19, in a 4 column box announcement in the Independent Journal paid for by the anti-Center Marin Citizens' Committee, an "advisory election" on the Civic Center was proposed. That is, the public would be asked to speak again. An advisory election is an extra-legal election where the electorate is asked to state its preference without direction from the constituted authorities, i.e., a write-in balloting of the people without reference to stated propositions. George Jones asked County Counsel for an opinion on the matter. "I brought the question up," said Jones, "and I'd told inquirers I wouldn't turn a wheel about an advisory election until I knew the money was available." The County Counsel determined that it would be an illegal use of county funds. Mr. Fusselman then suggested that private parties pay the cost of the balloting. The "MCCA" fought back. They "attacked the Fusselman plan as 'an unwise attempt to raise doubts about the future of the Center by a referendum conducted while work is in progress under a legally binding contract.'"  

Meanwhile, the moment the Board voted to revoke the stop-work order Robert Rothschild, senior partner in the firm of Rothschild, Raffin and Weirick, leaped to a phone and ordered resumption of work for Tuesday, January 17. Tuesday morning

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9San Francisco Examiner, January 26, 1961.
65 men had reported for work and by the end of the week the entire crew was on the job. The building was going up rapidly, almost as though the workmen feared another set-back for the project from an unpredictable employer. With Bill Fusselman talking about a referendum on the Civic Center being sent to the people, anything could happen.

Such apprehension seemed justified. A political advertisement appeared January 27 in the Independent Journal in a box three columns wide and six inches long. It read:

**STATEMENT**

by

**BILL FUSSELMAN**

It has come to my attention that Mr. Peters, of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, stated in Arizona, that there is some doubt whether they will continue with details of the second and third stages of the Civic Center project. Therefore, so that there can be no doubt as to the desires of the voters and taxpayers of Marin County, in regard to the second and third stages of the plan, I believe they should be allowed to express themselves.

I also believe this can be accomplished without the expense to the county of a special election by following the procedure of absentee ballot voting (Secret ballot). It is my hope that private sources will arrange for contributions, and in amounts convenient to those making them, to be placed in a fund for this purpose.

During the years the Civic Center has been discussed, I have continually urged that the people be allowed to speak through an unbiased ballot.
I believe all fair minded citizens will agree with this viewpoint.

Sincerely,

BILL FUSSELMAN

Irascibility? Tyranny? Stubbornness? Vindictiveness? Or an honest wish to serve the people? That advertisement was seen in all those perspectives.

A response from the Independent Journal editors on February 2, 1961, to Mr. Fusselman stating that:

... we'd rather see Mr. Fusselman return to an earlier suggestion of his that the supervisors re-examine the overall capital building needs of the county and set up a priority list for their construction. This would be more helpful to the county than conducting a series of polls to indicate decisions which the elected administrators of the county, the supervisors, should be making for themselves.

seemed to voice the mood of the county. Public disinterest was such that Fusselman's idea withered away almost as soon as he proposed it. The Administration Building, Phase I of the Master Plan for the Civic Center, was beyond his reach.
CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

The Civic Center controversy had been terminated. But it left trailing clouds of disagreement and, in fact, served to bring to the surface forces that were soon to have the greatest influence on the county. Before sketching that occasion, and the part that Fusselman refused to play in it, a brief review of the way in which, by chess-like action, the rise of the Civic Center and its proponents knocked off a series of old positions in Marin County.

On March 8th, Leon de Lisle refused to pay a bill for a $14,047. damages claim made by Rothschild, Raffin and Weirick unless ordered to do so by the Grand Jury. Finally, on March 23, 1961, the Grand Jury began its investigation of the stop-work order. Invited to that meeting were the contractors, the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation representative, Aaron Green, the County Counsel and County Auditor Leon de Lisle. This meeting satisfied the Grand Jury that further investigation was demanded to ascertain the intent that had prompted the abrupt stop-work action. The Grand Jury then invited the Board of Supervisors and George Jones to meet with them on March 30th. The day following this meeting, the Independent Journal reported the verdict of the Grand Jury. "While no wrongful act was committed, the action taken was unnecessarily hasty and without due consideration of all factors
J. Walter Blair asked that a committee be appointed to sit down with the contractors to discuss the details of the damage claim that had been received by the County Counsel. Jones extracted from his files a letter from the contracting firm. It asked for an extension of twenty-three calendar days as well as the monetary claim of $14,047. for losses accumulated by sub-contractors. It was suggested that the Board meet with the contractors to discuss the matter. Finally Fusselman snapped at Castro, who was insisting that this would be the forthright way to deal with the matter, "... what you're trying to do is maneuver the Board into an admission of liability."

Three to two the Board decided to await further action by the contractor.

Other issues began to plague the economy-minded Board. The County Hospital problem had not been solved. Further warnings came from the State regarding the possible condemnation proceedings that could be initiated by the State against this county building. This prevented the matter from slipping into oblivion. The county-road decision, which had been slighted for some time, also made its annual appearance at this time. Personnel demands and queries plucked at the sleeves of the

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1Independent Journal, April 6, 1962.
supervisors. Personal government was proving to be a very demanding job. The county began to chafe from the interminable and unproductive debates carried on in the supervisorial chambers.

Meanwhile the Planning Commission, before a crowded hearing, denied the Del Norte Lands, Inc., a developing company, its application for the construction of multi-unit housing wherever they could. The citizens present to block this project requested a master plan for the whole Civic Center area, a plan that would end the piece-meal bickering project by project.

Where to begin? It all hinged on the fate of the Frank Lloyd Wright master plan for the Civic Center environs at Santa Venetia. If an auditorium was completed large convention crowds could be expected and would require hotels, motels and restaurants. If the Fairgrounds was to be actualized that would add another dimension of space requirements, for parking. And with the economy board in the saddle, would any of the plan beyond the administration building ever be realized?

To promote the fulfillment of the entire Frank Lloyd Wright plan seemed an imperative to its devotees. A new slide show was prepared to bring the full plan to the attention of the public. A tight schedule of showings was organized to begin advance propaganda for the second and third and fourth phases of the construction. The Hall of Justice would be second, the Auditorium
third, and the Fairgrounds fourth. Optimistically, the Planning Commission drew up a site plan incorporating the entirety of that scheme.

With nothing resolved about any of the foregoing, on May 24, at a regular meeting of the Board of Supervisors, the 3 to 2 majority threw another bomb into the governmental apparatus established by the preceding Board. Ordinance 1126, on motion of J. Walter Blair, was passed over the astounded protests of Castro and Gnoss. The office of the County Administrator was abolished effective June 23. After one startled gasp, the watchdog "MCCA" swung into action. In less than a week, civic groups all over the county rushed to the support of the tottering structure of government so painstakingly hammered out during the previous decade. Petitions for a referendum to reinstate the office were drawn up by the "MCCA" and circulated by the Improvement Clubs of the county.

On June 23, the San Francisco Examiner reported that petitions carrying more than the required number of signatures had been filed with George Jones, the County Clerk, which made a referendum mandatory. The Election Board would have to add this proposition to the June ballot. 5,319 signatures were legally necessary; 10,788 had been collected. The margin for invalidation was safe. Jones had 10 days in which to scrutinize the petitions
and discount those that did not qualify.

George Jones, possibly in an effort to delay the inevitable, announced that he would take the full statutory ten days in which to carry out the validation process. While the county waited for the results, and while Bruce vacationed outside Marin, the Board continued to act as though no challenge had been made. Arbitrarily they went about diffusing the Administrator's responsibilities and realigning the departments now to be made responsible for the work.

Finally the ten days were up. Jones announced on the morning of July 3 that the report on the petitions would come to the attention of the Board of Supervisors that day.

Clerk George S. Jones, after a recess, read at 4:30 p.m. a short statement that his office had undertaken a check of 391 petitions of the ... referendum petitions, containing 6,290 signatures of the total claimed to be 10,884, with 5,318 required. The check had stopped after 5,323 had been validated.2

July 16, 1961, the voters of the Third District took the initiative and fired a missile of their own at George Jones and Company. That night a group of irate citizens organized the "Recall Blair Campaign." Since any recall motion must be accompanied by the nomination of a substitute candidate, popular

Peter Behr was persuaded to run against Blair in the Recall election. Grimly determined to see it through, an "MCCA" committee was established to run the campaign. Recall is not easy. Nationally the odds are about 100 to 1. No recall election of a county supervisor had ever succeeded in California. Petitions were circulated and public hearings held.

On September 15, a final count of 153 petitions bearing 3,105 signatures was presented to George Jones by the Recall Committee. The total was well over the requisite 2,473. Jones recommended to the Board of Supervisors that the election be set for December 5th. J. Walter Blair moved to accept Jones' recommendation himself.

On September 27th Peter Behr announced his candidacy for Third District Supervisor of Marin County. September 28th the campaign got underway in earnest by both candidates. Perhaps the most decisive circumstance of the campaign was the fact that Blair did not publicly speak in his own behalf. While Behr appeared again and again before the electorate, Blair excused himself always, sending substitutes to speak for him. It was hinted that his campaign managers feared rash statements and angry retorts.

Finally, on December 5th, 5,126 votes were cast for Behr and 4,391 for Blair. This represented a smashing turn-out for a
special election. By 735 votes the first supervisor in the history of the State of California to be turned out of office was recalled. That election was the concluding chapter in the drama of the demise of "Cracker Barrel" politics in Marin County.

January 2, 1962, William D. Fusselman turned over a much-used gavel to newly-elected chairman Walter Castro. By 3 to 2, the Board voted to rescind the Ordinance abolishing the office of County Administrator. In the cracker barrel little was left now but crumbs.

The Dedication

In April, 1962, Arizona Highways, in an article on "The Living Heritage of Frank Lloyd Wright" rated Marin County Civic Center as one of Wright's major works. "If this should turn out as Frank Lloyd Wright work usually does, it will bring into the county a veritable stream of tourists and sight-seers and their families, profitable to the whole county." So read an editorial in the Architectural Forum in February, 1961. That same year that publication had carried articles about the building in its February and December issues. In October of 1961, the Western Architect and Engineer printed photographs by Lu Dandelet, Marin photographer, of the partially-constructed building with a text that should have stirred the pride of Civic Center disciples.
It is a monumental building, but as a representative of Taliesin Association said in the dark days of mid-January, "This project is not a monument to Frank Lloyd Wright—it is a monument to the enlightened far-sightedness of the Citizens of Marin County."

It is organic in that it grows out of the brown hillsides and makes them an integral part of its form.

It is original, not a quotation from Mr. Wright's earlier work nor certainly from the work of any other architect. . . .

The Dedication Committee appointed by the Board of Supervisors had no trouble finding support for its work. Everyone wanted to do something. Mrs. Esther Dearth suggested uniformed girl tour guides to be provided by the Marin Visitors Bureau. The Marin Nakayoshi Club offered 100 Japanese cherry trees as part of the landscaping. The Marin Civic Center Lions Club offered assistance at the dedication by providing guides and handling traffic control. Fred Wyatt, of the I. J. staff, suggested in his column that if Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren did not accept the invitation of the Dedication Committee that perhaps Little Bertha, a 4,500 lb. baby elephant that could to the twist, could be secured—he felt that show biz might be more fun than politics anyhow.

The committee finally decided to make the dedication a purely local affair after all. Dr. Theodore Gill, president of
San Francisco Theological Seminary, located in San Anselmo, was invited to be the dedication speaker. October 13, was chosen as the date for the fete. A major feature of the program would be the presentation of the key to the building to the Supervisors by the contractor. One key or five? The question was raised by Fusselman. The decision was made that each supervisor should receive one, with one supervisor accepting for all. Then Castro generously moved that Fusselman, as the oldest member of the Board in length of service, should accept the keys. Each supervisor would speak for three minutes. Next decision--who should be Master of Ceremonies?

"Mrs. Schultz would be fitting and proper as Master of Ceremonies," suggested Peter Behr.

"In that case, count me out," snorted her longtime supervisorial sparring partner Fusselman. "Do what you like, but I won't be there." 3

So the woman, who with tenacity and courage, had given so much of herself for that building was denied the chief part in its dedication. A brass plate affixed to the building bears the names of all those supervisors who are eternally credited with far-sightedness and esthetic vision. Listed are the names of William D. Fusselman, J. Walter Blair, and George Ludy along with that

of Vera Schultz. Nowhere else on the building or its grounds is there any recognition of the one person above all others to whom Marin is indebted for its masterpiece.

October 5, eight days before the dedication, William Fusselman withdrew from participation in the ceremonies. His evident pleasure at being chosen to receive the keys and make a three-minute address at the ceremony had been replaced by a sullen anger. The San Francisco Examiner reported on October 10:

Marin County Supervisor William D. Fusselman wants to know how he happened to be characterized as a "foot dragger" and "grump" in press releases on the dedication of Marin's new Civic Center.

"There should be a follow-up on this whole situation after the dedication," Fusselman declared yesterday in a letter to the Board of Supervisors.

The veteran county official announced last week he will boycott Saturday's dedication ceremony at the Center north of San Rafael. Nor, he added yesterday, will he attend a formal preview tour tomorrow.

Rain fell heavily on October 13th. Almost a thousand persons braved the storm and attended the ceremonies held in the library, the domed area of the building. 1,400 formal invitations were sent out in addition to the blanket invitation to the citizens of Marin to be present at the dedication of their building. Four of
the Supervisors, Mrs. Wright, Mgr. C. L. McKenna, R. B. Rothschild, Dr. Gill, Judge Martinelli and Vera Schultz, were seated on the speakers' rostrum. Mr. Fusselman sat quietly at home.

Judge Martinelli introduced the guests and while doing so paid special tribute to Vera Schultz. Walter Castro accepted a large, gold pasteboard key, symbol of the keys to the Civic Center, and received loud applause when he said, "We hope to continue to the next stage. We have half a million dollars in the budget toward construction of the rest of the center." Mrs. Wright praised the citizens of Marin as "great fulfillers" of a great dream. But it was Theodore Gill who seared the audience that day with his brilliant and inspiring appraisal of just what had been wrought between those hills.

This is the kind of event that could tear you up if you let it—and I hope you let it. The artist's vision is supposed to break us open: suddenly we see, enormous, solid, what one superbly disciplined dreamer saw and drew. It is what none of us would have seen in this space if he had not shown us. So our own vision is smashed open and a unique shape stretches apart our familiarities and settles down in the ampler imagination it has forced. It is not just the apparatus of county government that is augmented here. It is we who are enlarged. A possibility we couldn't see was seen and realized and now our sight too is full of it. Empty ground was occupied and the clear air was invaded and a new profile cut itself against our hills... and so in our mind and so in our memory.
It is not a profile you will forget. Greatness startles every time it is encountered. It forces us to look and see every time we pass. Who ever came around the bend above Marin City without seeing, really seeing Tamalpais? Who ever went through the tunnel above the Golden Gate without looking hard ahead for the ferrous red leap of the bridge's mighty towers? There are some shapes which, once pressed in the mind, stay impatiently empty till the original form is met and moulded to them again.

If this building is as great as I think it is, we will never get used to it. Do not mistake its artful accommodation to its site as modesty in design. The accommodation is a part of the fascination that should seize, a part of the whole picture that is meant to stay in no frame but to reach out and shake the viewer every time. A great building turns every man into a tourist. This building deliberately turns its tax-paying Marin citizen neighbors into tourists in Santa Venetia. Because we will not get used to it. As the travelers who will come far to see it for the first time, we who pass it often will discover it all over again every time.

... My whimsy is not idle. For the consequence of so inveterate a tourist vision is more than fresh eyesful of glory. The consequence is gratitude, too—a full knowledge of how much we have been given, how much that is very good is ours though we had no tiniest part in its production.

History has given us splendor. We can smudge it or we can enhance it. That is the only option. Ignore the issue, and encroaching mediocrity will smirch or trash will blight. We have chosen to enhance inherited splendor. Citizens loathe to pour millions into one more vast ho-hum, took a chance on art. An artist sensitive to the beauty given has added his own to it. Builders who knew how to translate line into structure gave matter and mass to the dream.
So we play fair by all the eons of heaving, crashing creation, all the ages of slow carving by water and wind, all the centuries of green growth, all the generations of Marin-loving men and women who made this county and delivered it to us.

We have played fair by the past and we have anticipated the future. For in an early future the kind of interest in the creation of beauty which characterizes colorful parts of this county already and which is already strong enough in our officials so this center could be built as it is, that kind of interest in the creation of beauty will characterize a whole people, a culture, a world... And we in Marin will be ready. We will not be trying to catch up. We will have given our citizens early scope. We will be showing other communities the way. We are playing fair with the future.

... And there is even a kind of beauty possible in our politics. There is grace in this building; let there be grace in the political life it will contain. Please do not misunderstand. I do not plead for politicians without idiocyncracies. The building from which we take our parable is vigorously idiocyncratic. It is like no other. No other than its creator would have imagined it so. It is covered with his traces. He was strong-minded, strong-willed, strong-voiced, strong-handed. We would not have had it otherwise. I do not plead for politics without idiocyncracies. What a characterless custard the public life would be without its colorful gristly variants. What we do ask is a certain grace and dignity in the deliberation and decision which will go on here and which will so intimately affect us all. What we do hope is that this powerful building will press its own form and comliness on this county's governmental activity, will give a kind of rhythm and order to our public life, a gravity and a balance to discussion and decision. Daring, too for the imaginative leap is very much
Figure 5
Vera Schultz, the Hall of Justice and the Administration Building
Hall of Justice Building
part of a building that solves its own problem by flinging itself across a valley, and imaginative leaps alone will bridge some of the valleys before us. So be daring, governors who plan for us here—but in grace and gravity, please.

A building can hardly heed dedicatory words. Instead, it turns out that this building dedicates us. The work done here assigns us new work: to finish the center—we must meet again often on these hills to hail new completions in the next decade—and to complete our community.

Hundreds of thousands of words have been written since about the building—by architects, by city planners, by economy-minded citizens, by political scientists, by jurists, by newspapermen. It has been photographed from every angle by professionals and amateurs alike. It has been pictured in watercolor, in pen and ink, and in oil. But in sheer artistry of interpretive representation, Theodore Gill, that day, with rhetorical clarity, gave the essence of that building and all it stands for its fullest expression. It is a speech that needs to be read, not heard, so that every crystal syllable stands free of any human personality or contrived setting.

Theodore Gill did not respond differently that day than others in the area to the Frank Lloyd Wright creation and the Marin vision.

Frank Lloyd Wright said he would join two hills with a graceful series of arches, and that is precisely what he did. His Marin County Civic
Center exemplifies to perfection what he meant when, in a public address delivered in 1957, he asserted that "the good building is not one that hurts the landscape, but is one that makes the landscape more beautiful than it was before that building was built."

This principle is one which a vast number of architects, city planners, and municipal officials might well ponder. For a long time to come . . . they will be making the pilgrimage to the Wright structure between the hills near San Rafael to see how it can be done.

The arches rest on top of each other in successive tiers. At the bottom is a vast single span. Above this is a series of five arches, flatter and much shorter than the first, and above that an almost uncountable series of small crescents forming another story and swinging all the way around the big, low dome that crowns one end of the building. Below the roof line, the arches turn into a long line of circles. This movement, whereby each successive story contains smaller, more numerous and faster-moving openings changing direction to the top-most is very typical of Wright and at the same time altogether unique; . . .

This is probably the only large public building in the United States . . . that does not have a facade to proclaim the presence of its principal portal. It is neither a Greek temple, a Roman bath, a Gothic cathedral, nor a box of glass; it owes nothing to the copybooks of the past or present, yet a Buddhist priest in his yellow robes might not feel totally out of place in its red-and-gold interior.

The Oriental touch is also the Wright touch. You see it everywhere here--in the gold ball-and-crescent pattern that serves as fringe for the roof outside and the skylight inside, in the pointed golden tower that serves as smokestack and radio transmitter, in the above-mentioned circular
openings of the topmost story, which remind one of the "moon door" of Chinese tradition. It is not at all accidental that Wright was much respected in the Far East, and it is only just that these Far Eastern touches, thoroughly assimilated into the organic plan of the new Civic Center, should form part of Wright's most monumental achievements on the coast that looks toward the Orient. . . .

"Organic architecture" . . . means an architecture that can grow. . . . It will be nearly a quarter of a century, then, before this project attains it(s) full growth, and that will put the greatest possible strain on Wright's plans. Somehow one feels they will be able to take it. 

It took a month to move in. Excited, elated, county employees settled happily into their new home. People suddenly dressed up to go to work. There was dignity where before there had been casualness. Even absenteeism dropped off. Department by department they occupied their new quarters, and department heads expansively surveyed new domains. All but one. December 13, two months after the dedication, the day before he too was to have reported to the Civic Center for work for the first time, Leon de Lisle died suddenly of a heart attack. Auditor of Marin County since 1937, de Lisle had been one of the most ardent proponents of the Civic Center. He had served on the original committee to plan new county office quarters. He had dreamed

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4San Francisco Chronicle, THIS WORLD, October 21, 1962.
The dream steadfastly for ten years. Flags flew at half-mast over the fulfillment of that dream for the man de Lisle was not there.

The Hall of Justice

In 1964 the second phase, a Hall of Justice, was the largest question before the Board of Supervisors. The old courthouse was totally inadequate, its space too limited. The three to two majority scrapped any plans to substitute a separate structure for the Frank Lloyd Wright Hall of Justice. The immedicacy of need called for a reappraisal of financing.

Bonding had always been anathema to Marinites. They prided themselves on being the only county in California without a bonded indebtedness. But "Pay-As-You-Go" would be too slow. The sale of the old courthouse might bring in $1,500,000. In addition there was $1,830,000. in the Capital Improvement Fund. A bond issue of $7,000,000. would be needed to build the Hall of Justice. Throughout the year the Supervisors debated and the architects drew. In September the preliminary drawings for the Hall of Justice were ready. But the supervisors were not ready to adopt a financial program with which to fulfill them. One of the major roadblocks to concluding the issue was that four of the supervisors faced reelection in November.

The result of that election was that after 22 years, Bill Fusselman was retired from office. Only Bill Gnoss remained
from the Board that had built the Administration Wing. Walter Castro's death had removed the other stalwart from the earlier era. It was the end of the old Courthouse Gang. The new Board did not look back to the "good old days," but forward to new challenges and opportunities. The ancient cleavage between commuters and provincials was no longer present.

A bond issue for $7.7 million was proposed for the 1965 ballot. The fate of the Hall of Justice was decided by a vote of 14,568 ballots for a bond issue and 7,177 against. Only 28% of the populace had expressed interest one way or the other. The Bank of America won the bid as underwriter of the bonds at a rate of 3.29125%.

November 2, 1965, the supervisors accepted the final plans for the Hall of Justice. The architect's final estimate was $11,497,210. Jails and courtrooms are more expensive to construct than office space. In addition, the Hall of Justice is nearly double the length of the Administration Building. On May 26, 1966 Governor Edmund G. Brown pulled the lever on a cement bucket. The Hall of Justice was under construction.

As the Hall of Justice took form in 1967 the Master Plan for the Civic Center was again receiving national attention. The Journal of American Judicature Society, *Judicature*, in March, 1967 (Vol. 50, #7) carried a detailed narrative by Aaron Green
that explored the kind of planning that lay behind the circular
courts and the rooftop jail of the Hall of Justice. "Trials of an
Architect," a poor pun perhaps, was a step-by-step rendering
of the painstaking and analytical preliminary studies that were
carried out before the final drawings were begun.

An administrative analysis established the
number of courts to be programmed for this site
as adequate to the population growth needs of 25
years, with branch courts contemplated for more
remote concentrations of population beyond that
time. . . . It became apparent that expanding
demands would soon require additional space for
the judicial and law enforcement departments and
the architects were authorized to prepare the
drawings for construction of the Hall of Justice
which had been designed by Frank Lloyd Wright
in preliminary form and which was to attach to
and extend the already completed administration
building. . . .

Although initially reluctant to establish
meetings with the architect, Marin County judges
finally became interested and very helpful, and
to some extent even enthusiastic about the process
of designing a new type of court facility.

. . . During the search for informative
material the name of Judge William S. Fort of the
Circuit Court of Lane County, Oregon came to our
attention. . . . Judge Fort . . . was sympathetic
and interested in our problem and also disturbed
by the dearth of information and complete depend-
ence upon archaic traditional design concepts.
He was capable of articulately transferring jurists'
functional problems and procedures into the archi-
tect's language, with the same searching concern
for optimum relationships, and basic criteria.
. . .

The preliminary design at master plan stage
had established separated vehicular and pedestrian entrances for courts and for a well isolated top-floor county jail. As a result of the unique relationship of building to site, the jail divorces its activity and traffic from other activities of the building, and will not be recognizable from the exterior as a jail facility, and also had direct contact with a ground level exercise yard. . . .

The courtrooms are all designed as interior spaces, minimizing problems of glare, temperature, or exterior generated noise. Judges chambers and jury rooms are all exterior-oriented spaces, with pleasant views and satisfactory compass orientation. . . .

Considering the importance of the judicial process to government and to daily life, neither inefficiencies nor less than the best standards should be tolerated. Such inefficiencies often result from apathetic default of responsibility in design of court facilities by architects and judges.

In January, 1970 the Marin County Courts began occupancy of the Hall of Justice. While not deliberate it was consummate timing. 1970 was the 100th anniversary of the birth of Frank Lloyd Wright whose child it was. Marin County, after 18 years of preparation, had bequeathed the "Master Architect" with as fine a birthday present as he could have wished.

Where Now?

With popping champagne corks and a gala evening, in September, 1971, phase III, the Veterans' Memorial Auditorium, was triumphantly opened to the public. Members of the Board of Supervisors were introduced. Past members present were also
presented to the audience--all except Vera Schultz. Only the Fairgrounds pavilion remains of the major buildings on the Civic Center Master Plan to be completed. The County Fair was held on the Civic Center grounds sans shelter in October, 1971 and under the direction of Fairs Director, Marcelle McCoy, was as fine a Fair as ever Marin had. What will be done to house the Fair remains to be seen.

1972 is a quixotic time to assess the new forces at work in Marin. In 1971 conservationists presented to the Board of Supervisors a county-wide Master Plan entitled, Can the Last Place Last? The proposed county master plan restricts developers; but apartments spring from the ground overnight. The old cry against the rape of the land mingles with the sound of hammers busily building where they will. Every year since 1952 Marin County has removed additional land from the tax rolls and placed it in trust for the future. Thus far Marin has avoided any encroachment by industry but the pressure to let it in is unremitting. The battle goes on between conservationists and developers.

However, Marin County will work it out through a system of government far different than that which prevailed prior to the political battle over the Civic Center. Frank Lloyd Wright's great building houses a governmental process wherein public issues are resolved by public debate and decisions are made by
the elected representatives of the people. The county belongs to no man or group of men. It is the property of the people. While the Civic Center reflects the new order and in its beauty, its dignity and its rationality, is symbolic of the county, Marin will always have to share its glory with the genius who designed it. It is a synthesis of a man, his genius, and a county that could appreciate such art.
My research had to be based primarily on oral interviews. Marin sources are limited to a paucity of written material—and a wealth of memories. Thus, I was forced to balance verbal accounts against each other and against corroborative information found in Bay Area newspapers, in particular The Independent Journal of San Rafael.

To eliminate bias and prejudice as much as possible I posed all non-harmonizing views against each other and tested my conclusions on neutral opinions. The persons most helpful to me were those who had filled some primary role in the conflict over the Civic Center. Bill Gnoss, Supervisor for 16 years from 1954 to 1970, proved to be a very useful neutral figure. While his memory as to dates was unreliable, his affirmations as to the motivations of other key figures bore out much I had learned. Vera Schultz was by far the most dependable source and her objectivity was a constant support to my research. Harold Stockstad possesses an almost infallible memory as well as the largest archives made available to me. However, Harold arrived in Marin in 1952 and did not become engaged in Marin County politics until 1957. Prior to that date Harold could not help me. His loyalty to Vera Schultz must be taken into account.

The William Kent papers—which were for my purposes of
very limited relevance--are housed at the Yale University library and the Kent sources in Marin are limited. The present-day Kents themselves, however, were extremely helpful. Since the Marin County Historical Society has concentrated on first settlers and Mexican land grants, there is little there to use in the area of research on the topic of my dissertation.

The Mill Valley Record was, during the years 1952 to 1964, a decidedly biased journal. The researcher needs to be on guard when using this source for that period. However, its "Letters-to-the-Editor" columns are rich with citizen opinions. The Sausalito newspapers are excellent for research into the early period of Marin history though currently more oriented toward San Francisco than San Rafael.

The archives that may prove to be extremely important in the future are now held by the following persons or families: William D. Fusselman, Mrs. George S. Jones, the Jordan Martinelli family, the Thomas Keating family, the Carl Freitas family, and the Norman Livermore heirs. The Schultz Development Company (no relation to Vera Schultz) papers are, in part, now available and should be examined for any study of land development in Marin.

The Board of Supervisors' Minutes are disappointingly devoid of anything beyond a record of decisions made. Since no decision
stands with certainty beyond the next meeting of the Board even those minutes must be exhaustively scrutinized.

Brochures


Periodicals


**Private Files and Papers**

Duhamel, W. P., San Anselmo, California.

Kent, Ann, Kentfield, California.

Ludy, George, Inverness, California.

Stockstad, Harold, Marin City, California.

**Public Records**

Board of Supervisors Minutes, Marin County, California.

Study for the Human Rights Commission, Marin County, California, 1967.

**Newspapers**


**Books**


The History of Marin County, California, Allen, Bowen and Company, published by authors in San Francisco, 1880.

