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# The Moral Work of Stewart L. Udall to Extend Ethics to Encompass Ecological Thinking

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## Abstract

*The life and particularly cabinet service of Stewart L. Udall demonstrates the importance of depth of belief, persistence and a long-term perspective. He has served as a moral exemplar for successor interior secretaries including Rogers C. B. Morton, Cecil Andrus and Bruce Babbitt as well as all who care about public service and the environment.*

## Biographical Overview of Stewart L. Udall

Stewart L. Udall was the Secretary of the Interior during both John F. Kennedy's and Lyndon B. Johnson's administrations. He transformed Interior from a narrowly focused unit oriented primarily to the Western states into a truly national department. Unlike most of his predecessors who had emphasized mineral extraction and logging, Udall during his tenure in the cabinet (1961-1969) became the administrations' foremost spokesperson for environmental and conservation matters.

Udall was born on January 31, 1920 outside St. John's, Arizona. He served in the U.S. Army Air Corps in World War II as a tail gunner. He received his bachelor's and LL.B. degrees from the University of Arizona, subsequently practicing law in Tucson and serving as school district trustee and as Pima County Attorney in the early 1950s. He was active in Democratic politics, managing three losing gubernatorial

candidates in 1948, 1950 and 1952. Udall ran successfully for the U.S. Congress (1955-1961) and served on the Education and Labor Committee as well as the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. He co-founded the Democratic Study Group in 1959. Udall lent support to Adlai Stevenson's unsuccessful presidential bid in 1956, and worked hard for John F. Kennedy's successful campaign four years later. He was rewarded with the post of Secretary of the Interior.

Udall was one of the youngest secretaries in a relatively youthful Cabinet and the only Secretary of the group to have previously served in Congress. His approach to executive leadership was to forge partnerships and foster bipartisan support for environmental initiatives. He developed a close working relationship with Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, and together they actively pursued innovative environmental policies. His prior experience as a member of Congress and the relationships he cultivated there helped him reach across party lines to promote environmental measures. He had close relationships with such Republicans as

U.S. Representatives John Finley Baldwin, Jr., John Rhodes, and John Baldwin, and a future Secretary of the Interior in the Nixon administration, Rogers C.B. Morton. Later in the Reagan years this bipartisan spirit on environmental matters dissipated.

Three talents were very much in evidence during Udall's stewardship of the Interior Department: his ability to recruit outstanding talent, his commitment to acquiring the necessary knowledge to make sound decisions, and his long-term view of environmental policy. Similarly, recruitment of George Hartzog as Director of National Parks paid tremendous dividends attributable to his lengthy tenure as a noted exemplar of effective public service. Udall's long-term perspective is apparent in his support for environmental initiatives while both in and out of office, including the establishment of national seashores as well as land and water conservation fund legislation, support for Rachel Carson during her congressional hearings on the use of pesticides, authorship of numerous articles on environmental matters, and promotion of projects to improve the Appalachian trail and to create the Sonoran Desert National Park. His record in Interior was not unblemished. Two years prior to the infamous Santa Barbara oil spills, he regrettably

reassured Santa Barbarans that "You have nothing to fear, no leases will be granted except under conditions that will protect your environment" (Easton, 1972: pp. 6-7). There were unsubstantiated conflict of interest charges promoted by his successor Secretary Walter J. Hickel who sought to increase his own stature by tearing Udall down (Udall, 1997: p. 10). Still Udall's persistent and steadfast commitment to environmental protection is his most notable legacy.

### **An Ethical Framework**

David K. Hart has observed that, "To have meaning, morality must be an intentional aspect of the routines of daily life " (Hart, 1992: p. 21). Morality and a concern for ethical conduct must be a part of daily life if people are to respond heroically in times of great strain as the Danes did when they rescued threatened Jews during the Holocaust or if great societal goals are to be attained. While devoting attention to dramatic moral episodes such as the Holocaust or the Freedom Rides is important, even more so is the study of moral processes or the manner in which morality is infused into the conduct of everyday life (Hart, 1992: p. 22).

Hart breaks moral processes into the categories of the moral project and that of moral work (1992: pp. 24-25). The moral project consists of intentional actions which are undertaken at a specific time to enhance the moral lives of individuals and organizations. Stewart Udall exercised moral leadership with respect to the realm of environmental ethics when he worked to institute the Land and Water Conservation Fund. An even more important category of moral processes is moral work wherein the individual intentionally injects moral concerns into the conduct of everyday life. Udall exemplifies a long history of thinking and then taking action about matters of morality. In a 1971 interview, Stewart L. Udall observed:

But I had strong feelings about the importance of public service, the

importance of change. I have always been one who believed that in the time we lived in, with the forces that were at work, that society and institutions and laws had to change. I came out of World War II with strong feelings about the importance of world stability and peace

(Udall, 1971: p. 4).

The American Veterans Committee selected this World War II combat veteran to receive its Eleanor Roosevelt Citizenship Award in 1963.

Michael Josephson has observed that, "Caring is the very heart of ethics" (1998: p.19). In conjunction with the other core values of trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness and citizenship it forms a framework which fosters the likelihood of ethical decision making (1998: p. 13). Caring is something which Stewart L. Udall has demonstrated throughout his life in his relationships, participation in the democratic process and work to protect the environment for future generations. His caring was most evident during his tenure as U.S. Secretary of the Interior (1961-1969) when he served as the hub of the wheel for such other moral exemplars as former Interior Department employee and best-selling author Rachel Carson and National Park Service Director George Hartzog. President George Washington believed that service in public office required "fitness of character" (Bowman, 1998: p. 159). This Stewart L. Udall displayed in his efforts as U.S. Secretary of the Interior during the entirety of the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations to establish environmentalism on the nation's political agenda. His work promoting environmental measures continues today.

Such concern about conservation and/or environmental measures was not unprecedented in the position of Interior Secretary, but others lacked some of his critical skills. Harold Ickes for instance, compiled a distinguished record in this regard during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the first year of Harry S. Truman's presidency. However, Ickes did not promote effective collaboration with the Department of Agriculture. Secretary Udall and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman by way of contrast settled "major jurisdictional disputes between the two Departments" (Kennedy, 1/31/63), and within the first few months of the Kennedy administration they collaborated to promote a land conservation program which "would be a major accomplishment of the Administration" ("Report," 1961). By the 1970s, members of Congress, influenced by ideas which originated in the departments of Agriculture and Interior in the 1960s, introduced bills which dealt with national land use policy and attracted the interest of such intergovernmental

organizations as the Southern Environmental Resources Conference, which was composed of southern state legislators and administrators. Stewart Udall's efforts to transform Interior from a predominantly western-oriented department into a truly national one were beginning to bear fruit.

In contrast to Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall was actually imprisoned, a first for a Cabinet officer, for his selling of Navy oil reserves for personal gain in the Tea Pot Dome scandal of the 1920s (Werner & Starr, 1959: p. 290). In the Eisenhower administration Interior Secretary Douglas McKay came under fire for virtually giving valuable timberland from Oregon's national forests to Al Sarena Mines, Inc. ("Casebook"). Not surprisingly McKay summarized 1950s Republicanism by observing that, "We're here in the saddle as an administration representing business and industry" ("That 'Ic'," 1953). One of Udall's successors as Secretary of the Interior, James Gauss Watt, pled guilty in 1996 "to a single misdemeanor charge of trying to influence a Federal grand jury" involved in a probe of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. His guilty plea concerned actions following his tenure in office and served as an alternative to his going to trial in a case where the prosecutor initially charged him with 25 felonies (Johnston, 1996: p. 1). Watt, who was an anathema as Interior Secretary to environmentalists, proposed to "permit oil drilling off the Northern California coast" (Rubenstein, 1996: p. 1) and encouraged "mineral development in wilderness areas" (Ginger, 2000: p. 295).

Watt's name moved back onto the nation's news agenda early in the new millennium as George W. Bush nominated Gale A. Norton for the position of Secretary of the Interior. The former attorney general of Colorado, like Bush, favored opening the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. Watt hired Norton right of law school when he was an attorney at the Mountain States Legal Foundation (Bettelheim, 2001: p. 35). The organization of which Watt was a founder is infamous among environmentalists as "a bulwark for the Sagebrush Rebellion that favors the turning over of public BLM lands to states, which then could sell them off to private interests" (Wilkinson, 1998: p. 321). The Senate confirmed Norton on 30 January 2001 but only by a margin of 75 to 24, even Watt who had held the previous record for votes in opposition to a nominee for Secretary of the Interior had received only twelve negative votes ("Record," 2001: p. 1).

### Udall as Moral Worker

Udall's commitment to the environment was borne of personal experience. As he worked to transform the Department of the Interior from a western department into a national one by promoting projects such as the improvement of the Appalachian Trail, he brought an authentic vitality under girded by the fact that he was the first Interior Secretary, who was an avid hiker (Briley, 1998: p. 62). Stewart L. Udall, who was a person of integrity and honesty, was truly concerned about the environment and loved the outdoors. As he sought to promote environmentalism using a consensual matter that was supported by both major political parties in the tradition of Republican Theodore Roosevelt and Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, he brought the warmth of the relationship which he and his direct successor in the U.S. House Morris ("Mo") K. Udall (D-AZ) shared with U.S. Representative John Rhodes (R-AZ). When Secretary Udall strongly urged that there be a presidential ceremonial signing of the 1962 legislation that established the Point Reyes National Seashore, he recommended that the President invite Republican U.S. Representative John Baldwin of California, "who was a strong worker for this project" (Udall, 1962). Udall himself over his lifetime has exemplified the *moral worker*.

The concern of Stewart Lee Udall for world peace and environmental protection reflected in his everyday conduct and contributed to the building of structures that later withstood the Sagebrush Rebellion, which threatened his core values such as his appreciation of land and water. Stewart L. Udall's outlook is akin to that of Aldo Leopold who observed, "That land is a community is the basic concept of ecology, but that land is to be loved and respected is an extension of ethics" (Ulman, 1996: p. 46). David K. Hart wrote, "Moral work must be constant throughout a complete lifetime, and it should bear the unique stamp of each moral individual" (Hart, 1992: p. 25).

In later years, other departments and agencies became concerned with environmental issues such as; the Environmental Protection Agency, established during the Nixon administration; and the Department of Energy and Federal Emergency Management Agency, established during the Carter administration. In the Kennedy-Johnson years, that responsibility largely fell on the Department of the Interior. In this context Stewart L. Udall emerged as the foremost U.S. Government spokesperson for environmental and conservation matters. While his greatest accomplishment which was the establishment of the

Land and Water Conservation Fund came about in 1964 during his tenure as Secretary of the Interior, his commitment to public service in general and conservation and environmental measures in particular preceded his secretariat and continues today. Stewart, who practices law in Santa Fe, New Mexico worked on litigation for over fifteen years to get "health compensation for Navajo uranium miners" (Brooke, 1998: p. A10).

Steadfastness and reciprocity were and are the hallmarks of Udall's life often for American Indians whom he represented in Congress because his U.S. house district had the greatest number of American Indian residents. Assistant General Counsel of the Navajo Tribe Laurence Davis wrote to Udall in June of 1956 of his happiness that he would be a candidate for re-election. Davis observed that this man who would go on to be the first Arizonan to serve in the Cabinet was "the best Congressman Arizona has had," and conveyed the message that the Navajo Tribal Council passed a resolution authorizing a get-out-the-vote drive to support Udall (Davis, 1956).

Udall has received assistance regarding some of his work with the Navajos from U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT). Udall shares with American Indians their "affection for the land" (Udall, 1963: p. 6). This is evident in his work for over thirty years to convert over a million acres of land in Arizona into the Sonoran Desert National Park. Most recently he joined in a coalition with scientists, environmentalists, brother Charlie Babbitt and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, and other writers to accomplish that purpose (Davis, 1999: p. B8).

Stewart L. Udall won election to the U.S. House in 1954. His slightly younger brother and former law partner Mo Udall directly succeeded him in a closely contested special election in 1961 and served until May of 1991 when he retired due to health problems. Mo succumbed to complications arising from Parkinson's disease on December 14, 1998. Mo and Stewart's relationship and the working arrangements which they developed with others who served in the Congress reinforced environmental tendencies which were present in the nation.

### **The Emergence of Ecological Thinking**

Stewart L. Udall observed in his law office in July of 1997 that

the political system could place all sorts of demands on political leaders. However, some individuals are notably more effective in generating support for proposals, especially when their policy development and implementation efforts are enhanced by the receptivity to those concerns by those holding public office. For example, he maintains that Rachel Carson, author of Silent Spring, was the most important proponent who brought about the establishment of environmentalism on the nation's political agenda (Udall, 1997: pp. 5-6). Her ideas helped to transform the conservation orientation with its focus on the conservation of individual resources such as soil into ecological thinking with its unified emphasis on the interrelatedness of the elements of nature, including humanity. Secretary Udall and President John F. Kennedy supported her during congressional hearings on the use of pesticides, notwithstanding attacks on her by scientists employed by the chemical industry and the disparagement of her as a "hysterical woman" (Freeman, 1995: p. xxviii).

Besides Kennedy's receptivity to new ideas and Udall's policy ambitions, the context of the times also made possible a renewed emphasis on natural resources. 1962 saw the publication of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring which focused the public, the Congress and President John F. Kennedy on the deleterious effects of DDT and other pesticides on the natural world. This was a landmark event in so far as the Nobel committee awarded the inventor of DDT a Nobel Prize, and the public widely used it. For example, a common practice was to fog entire neighborhoods with DDT.

The reaction was strong to this solidly crafted work written by this scientist and former employee of the U.S. Department of the Interior. Technical experts made emotional appeals to blunt the impact of Carson's findings. Dr. Robert White-Stevens in a rebuttal of Silent Spring in 1963 observed, "If man were to faithfully follow the teachings of Miss Carson, we would return to the Dark Ages, and the insects and diseases and vermin would once again inherit the earth" (Brooks, 1972: p. 298). Attendant to the controversy aroused by the publication of Silent Spring, major networks televised the Senate hearings, and the President convened a presidential commission in 1963 on pesticide use.

In the "Report of the Task Force on Environmental Pollution" dated November 9, 1964; one of the three recommendations to President Lyndon B. Johnson was that he reaffirm "support of the



recommendations in the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee entitled 'Use of Pesticide,' dated May 15, 1963" ("Report" 11/9/64). The major executive departments referred to in the 1963 report were Health, Education and Welfare; Agriculture; and the Department of the Interior. The report recommended that the burden of proof should be on those who wished to register or re-register pesticides for agricultural uses and that the Department of Agriculture greatly expand "attention to all forms of cultural and biological control of pests."

The report directed Interior to give attention to the incorporation in human tissues of pesticides, to "conduct baseline ecological studies and surveys which would allow assessment of the biological changes in the environment due to human actions," and to "increase or remove the budgetary ceiling on pesticide research by the Fish and Wildlife service" (p. 9). The report attributed the mass death of fisheries to the over-burdening of our rivers with wastewater and pesticides. In late 1969 U.S. Representative Mo Udall advocated the suspension of the use of herbicides in Tonto National Forest until such time as scientists could determine the extent of the threat to human life caused by its use.

Foreshadowing Mo Udall's sponsorship of strip-mining legislation in the 1970s was the direction given in the Kennedy administration to Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall in the "Report of the Task Force on Environmental Pollution" to establish an "expanded program to prevent acid mine drainage and clean up abandoned strip mines." Here we have separate institutions not only sharing power, but policy entrepreneurship as well.

Among the Kennedy administration legislative proposals, which the Johnson Administration largely realized were ones to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, to extend and revise the Clean Air Act, and to strengthen controls over the manufacture and use of agricultural chemicals, especially pesticides. The report carefully assessed the likely sources of interest group and congressional support and opposition for its proposals. Likely supporters included municipal, mayors and county associations; scientific and technical societies; the League of Women Voters; the National Wildlife Association; the Izaak Walton League; Edmund S. Muskie of the Senate Public Works Committee and U.S. Representative John Anton Blatnik of Minnesota.

Blatnik in 1963 chaired the Democratic Study Group, an organization which Stewart L. Udall had co-founded in 1959, along with future presidential candidates Eugene McCarthy and George S. McGovern, and which Mo Udall eventually chaired. U.S. Representative Blatnik argued that environmental problems were measurable and so lent themselves to technological solution. What was important was political leadership which could convince citizens to make sacrifices to solve environmental problems ("Democratic Priorities Committee," 1970: p. 1302). Stewart would go on to advise Mo's 1976 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, which emphasized renewable energy sources and environmental protection.

### Stewardship and Sensitivity

The Udalls are descendants of Mormons from Salt Lake City, Utah. Stewart himself went on a two-year mission in his youth and his Mormon heritage reinforced his love of the land (Carson & Johnson, 2001: p. xiv). He observes the following in The Quiet Crisis (1963):

By 1850 a sharp contrast in land attitudes in the United States had begun to develop. The old approach was typified by Marcus Whitman and the Mormons, who believed that the earth was the Lord's, and practiced the assiduous husbandry they preached; and the new, by the go-getters who knew full well that the earth belonged to the man who got there first, kept his claim stakes firmly fastened, and reaped while the reaping was good (p. 69).

Also indicative of religious influence on his outlook is his use of a quote from the prophet Isaiah, "Woe unto them that join house to house," to accompany a photograph of urban sprawl (Udall, 1963: pp. 146-147). Stewart L. Udall would not be the only Interior Department official and moral exemplar in the 1960's influenced in his environmental thinking and practice by religion. George Hartzog, whom Udall persuaded on a

float trip to serve as Director of the National Park Service, was a devout Methodist (Sherwood, 1992: p. 144). Everett Mendelsohn has maintained that the contemporary deep interest in bio-diversity as exemplified by the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development is part of a tradition which can be linked to the stewardship notion of St. Francis with its emphasis on preserving nature for future generations (1996).

Stewart and Mo's grandfather came from Salt Lake City to find fertile valleys for the Mormon faith in the Arizona Territory. The future Arizona legislator settled along the Little Colorado River (Chanin, 1987). Stewart, who was born on January 31, 1920 on a farm just outside of St. Johns, Arizona, served as a tail gunner in the U.S. Army Air Corps in World War II over Europe. In 1963, the American Veterans Committee, which was celebrating its twentieth anniversary, selected Secretary Stewart L. Udall as recipient of its Eleanor Roosevelt Citizenship Award (JFK to Gross 5/31/63). The same year Rachel Carson received the Schweitzer Medal of Animal Welfare Institute and Conservationist of the Year Award from the National Wildlife Federation. Mo was born on June 15, 1922, in St. Johns, which his grandfather founded in Apache County. Like Stewart he also served in the Army Air Corps in World War II despite his loss of an eye to a friend's penknife in a childhood accident. Mo saw service in the Pacific Theater and in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

Stewart Udall noted in a July 1997 telephone conversation that Lake Charles was the site of a traumatic event for Mo. Since Mo completed some courses in a pre-law curriculum, the service selected him to defend a black soldier who was accused of murdering a white person. Mo lost the case, and its aftermath haunted him for years.

Race would also matter in cases of environmental justice throughout the twentieth century. Members of the Congressional Black Caucus are among the strongest proponents of environmentally friendly policies. Hazardous waste sites are disproportionately located in southern states and within those states areas disproportionately populated by African-Americans (Arp & Boeckelman, 1994: p. 775). Mo's brother Stewart is also sensitive to the needs of minorities. For example, Stewart L. Udall continues to perform legal work on behalf of Navajos who have high incidences of cancer following years of work in uranium mines. Among those who assisted him in this work is U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT).

### **Stewart L. Udall as Campaign Manager and Candidate**

In 1946 while Mo was still in the service, Stewart served as a campaign aide to their father, Levi Udall, who successfully ran for the Arizona Supreme Court and eventually became Chief Justice of Arizona. Later in 1946 Stewart wrote and spoke on behalf of labor unions when Arizona became the site of one of the first "Right-to-Work" fights in the nation. He boldly reiterated his position on "Right-to-Work" legislation on the KVOA television program, *Press Conference*, on July 27, 1954 ("4 Reasons," 1954). It was as a result of his efforts on behalf of labor unions that the media labeled him a liberal. Indeed, he did embrace New Deal values of social, economic and racial justice. In 1998, both his son and nephew in their electoral bids garnered strong support from organized labor and environmental groups.

In 1947, Stewart was married and eventually fathered six children. While at the University of Arizona in Tucson like Mo he played basketball, although Stewart would not go on to play professionally. Stewart earned his LL.B. from Arizona in 1948. The university awarded Mo his law degree in 1949 and for a time Mo was Stewart's law partner as well as Pima County Attorney (1952-54).

Following receipt of his law degree Stewart became a Democratic party official and, portending the tenacity he would show in support of environmental policy even when times and political developments were not auspicious, he managed three losing gubernatorial candidates in 1948, 1950 and 1952. Financing his campaign through the holding of a dinner in Tucson Stewart L. Udall was able to emerge victoriously first in a five way Democratic primary and then in the general election against Republican Henry Zipf who had served as Administrative Assistant to U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ).

One attack leveled against Udall in the 1950s was that he was a member of the United World Federalists Organization, not a universally admired affiliation during the heyday of U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy (Udall, 1970: p. 5). Udall indeed held the belief that people had to work for peace if humankind was to avoid nuclear holocaust. Once elected to the U.S. House, Udall secured committee assignments appropriately enough in light of his ultimate office and early political endeavors on the Education and Labor Committee, and considering that he was a westerner on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. These were committee assignments which Mo

would later assume. Mo also emulated his elder brother by joining the Democratic Study Group which Stewart had co-founded in 1959 and which continues to provide detailed policy analysis on myriad topics including environmental protection and the development of alternative energy sources.

Both Mo and Stewart admired and vigorously supported Adlai Stevenson's presidential candidacy in 1956. Mo chaired Arizona Volunteers for Stevenson and served as a delegate to the 1956 Democratic National Convention. Stevenson was concerned in the 1950's about health and environmental problems such as the dispersion of Strontium-90 among humans because of nuclear testing. Stewart L. Udall in an article entitled, "Can We Save the Great Lakes?" quoted Stevenson in the last speech which he delivered prior to his death in 1965:

Adlai Stevenson in his last speech said: "We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable supplies of air and soil...preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love, we give our fragile craft" (1970: p. 116).

U.S. Representative Stewart Udall decided to support U.S. Senator John F. Kennedy for the presidency in 1959 after observing his tough-mindedness in the labor reform fight of that year, and also, his ambition for the presidency notwithstanding, his willingness to put the public interest ahead of any special interest ("Notes," 12/14/60). Representative Stewart Udall and Archibald Cox conducted what amounted to a seminar on the topic of labor reform in his U.S. House office during the struggle. Stewart shared his long-standing interest in labor affairs with his brother Mo who had taught labor law at the University of Arizona and authored a book on the subject.

Stewart Udall assumes that he was appointed to the post of Secretary of the Interior as a reward for his work in the presidential campaign. In his capacity as chairman of the Arizona delegation, he was able to deliver it in its entirety to Senator Kennedy at the 1960 Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, although Republican

Vice President Richard Nixon carried the state in the general election.

As a reward for Stewart Udall's pre-nomination support, not only had he delivered the Arizona delegation to Kennedy at the 1960 Democratic National Convention, but he had run the Kennedy presidential campaign in the 1960 general election in Arizona; Stewart Udall was appointed to the position of Secretary of the Interior by Kennedy and upon confirmation became the first Arizonan to serve in the Cabinet. Unfortunately his father passed away in the spring of 1960.

Doubtless another asset was Udall's service for six years on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. For a time U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico (1949-1973) seemed likely to get the appointment as Secretary of the Interior; but Udall was adamant that the only appointive position which he would accept was that of Interior Secretary, and with the support of Bobby and Ted Kennedy he prevailed.

Given that Anderson was even interested in the position was curious given that he was in line to chair a committee in the new Congress. What prompted his interest was that Stewart was promising too many important jobs in the Department of the Interior. Following a conversation in which Senator Kennedy assured him that he and Udall would confer with him on all-important appointments he relinquished his interest. Stewart L. Udall would be one of the youngest secretaries in the youngest Cabinet in the twentieth century working with the individual who is still the youngest person ever to be elected to the presidency. Yet he was the only Secretary to serve in the Kennedy-Johnson Cabinet to have had the experience of serving in Congress prior to his service in the Cabinet.

Udall would be one of only three; along with Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, former governor of Minnesota; and Secretary of State Dean Rusk to serve for eight years. Freeman and Udall collaborated unusually well on the formulation of environmental policies. Udall and Freeman demonstrated activism in the realm of environmental policy

during and following their governmental service. Former Secretary Freeman went on to chair the Board of Directors of the Worldwatch Institute in which capacity he continues to serve.

### **Establishing the Environmental Agenda**

Major goals of Udall were to establish the U.S. Department of the Interior as a truly national department and to foster bipartisan support for environmental measures. Two ways to accomplish these goals were to recruit capable dedicated officials and to establish mechanisms for the acquisition of knowledge so that quality decisions could be made. Early in Udall's tenure, he established the position of science adviser to the U.S. Secretary of Interior. The first person to fill this position was Roger Revelle in whose memory the Roger Revelle Fellowship in Global Stewardship of the American Association for the Advancement of Science is named. Revelle conducted seminal research on world hunger and global warming (American Association, 1999: p. 5).

Secretary Stewart L. Udall at the first Cabinet meeting of the Kennedy administration stated that the administration could compile a conservation record which matched or exceeded that of Theodore Roosevelt, and subsequently Udall presented a memorandum to the President which outlined a major conservation program. In it, Udall observed that enactment of the Cape Cod bill; a measure which Kennedy had worked on in the Senate with his senior colleague, U.S. Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA); would add 11,000 more acres in the National Park System than had happened during the entire eight years of the Eisenhower administration. Indeed, the nation's land conservation record was poor since the onset of World War II.

Not all that emanated from the Interior Department during Udall's tenure was auspicious for the environment. Secretary Udall gave approval to oil drilling leases which resulted in two infamous oil spills in January and February of 1969 five and a half miles off the coast of Santa Barbara, California (Switzer, 1994: p. 9).

Udall frequently took his secretariat to the field. He worked diligently to successfully persuade President John F. Kennedy to

conduct a tour highlighting the nation's natural bounty. President Kennedy's 1963 conservation tour which was primarily in the western states was low-key politically and enabled him to identify with the water and conservation problems of the region. In a memorandum to his younger brother concerning how the latter should speak about his qualifications for the presidency in 1976 (SLU to MKU 2/19/75), Stewart L. Udall recommended this same sort of low-key approach. John F. Kennedy became the first president since Theodore Roosevelt to be in Yosemite National Park as President. Kennedy's 1962 conservation tour culminated in his campaigning with Governor Pat Brown in his successful re-election bid against Richard M. Nixon. President Kennedy and Governor Brown both strongly supported a legislative proposal written by U.S. Representative Clem Miller (D-CA) which "would authorize the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with your (Brown's) Department of Fish and Game, to take appropriate action to preserve and develop the salmon and steelhead trout and other fishery resources of the streams entering the Pacific Ocean from the state of California" (Kennedy 8/24/62).

In 1964 Secretary Udall enthusiastically participated in an extensive western tour with Lady Bird Johnson in which they developed a rapport which laid the groundwork for Udall to provide Interior Department support for the First Lady's environmental and beautification efforts (Gould, 1999: pp. 38-39). Two years later Stewart's wife Lee put together a speaker's bureau composed of cabinet and Senate wives to give presentations on beautification which had grown so numerous that they were impossible for Lady Bird to meet by herself (Gould, 1999: p. 58). Stewart's enthusiasm for the outdoors also served him well in getting the support of less publicly visible individuals.

On a float trip on the Current River with George Hartzog, he persuaded the latter to assume the position of Director of National Parks. Hartzog, a devout Methodist, would have the third lengthiest tenure at least through the twentieth century of any person to hold that position and had himself been cited as a moral exemplar. Udall's long-term orientation was also reflected in his advocacy of the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which legislation was established in 1964. The Land and Water Conservation Fund exemplifies the perseverance



of Udall in exercising responsibility in the choice of objectives. Michael Josephson has written that, "Responsible people finish what they start, overcoming rather than surrendering to obstacles and excuses"(1998: p. 19).

Stewart and Morris K. Udall frequently advised one another, and Mo gained first hand knowledge and increased appreciation of the nation's land beginning in 1965 when he joined the Public Land Review Commission which required him to participate in hearings on land use throughout the United States. This experience led him to seek "legislation to protect millions of acres of wilderness, set aside scenic Alasa lands, create strip-mining laws, and unsuccessfully seek a change in the Mining Act of 1872. Through his service on the commission, he also saw the value of compromising to achieve environmental goals (Carson & Johnson,2001: pp. 70-71).

While the Reagan administration frustrated both Stewart and Mo Udall's persistent seeking of bipartisan support for environmental measures such as land and water conservation, developments in the year 2000 were more promising as noted in the following passage from a news release issued by the office of U.S. Senator Mary L. Landrieu (D-LA) on 25 July 2000 concerning the Senate Energy Committee. It said, "The Committee passed (Conservation and Reinvestment Act) by a vote of 13-7, clearing the way for final passage of the legislation this year. The vote came after a compromise was reached earlier this month between Energy Committee Chairman Murkowski (R-Alaska) and Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.), ranking member of the committee." Congress did not pass the legislation in 2000, but House and Senate members have reintroduced it in the 107th Congress. One event which exemplifies the respect which Stewart and Mo Udall had for one another and a strength of conviction which could withstand political risk was Morris K. Udall's decision to give an address in Tucson in 1967 opposing Johnson administration policy in Vietnam. Stewart shared many of Mo's views concerning the war and advised him to give the speech without advance notice so that the elder brother would not be pressured to dissuade the younger brother. Mo's expression of opposition to the Vietnam War also threatened to hamper his efforts to gain a party leadership position in the House and even his re-election prospects (Carson & Johnson, 2001: p. 84 ). While disparaging the arguments of Mo's speech favoring U.S. de-escalation, Johnson aide Walt Rostow conceded that it was an effective and clearly sincere speech (Carson & Johnson, 2001: p. 85). Integrity and strength of

conviction were traits which Morris K. Udall and Stewart Udall shared.

### Conclusion

What can be learned about character in public service from Stewart L. Udall is the importance of persistence and the consciousness that problems and obstacles will almost certainly arise as one strives to achieve goals. Stewart L. Udall has persisted in his promotion of environmental values. He wrote books and newspaper articles pertinent to the environment during his time in public office and has done so fairly consistently since his resignation of his position as secretary at the end of the Johnson administration. One op-ed piece in the Arizona Daily Star in October of 1970 highlighted and explained his advertising of phosphate-free Sears detergent ("Why"). As usual he was battling short-sightedness, pointing out that the dominant soap companies of Proctor & Gamble, Lever Brothers and Colgate-Palmolive were refusing to ameliorate the clogging of the nation's waterways because they would not reformulate their products with means that were already available.

The vigor which Udall displayed following his departure from national office was consistent with his life's actions and philosophy. As a freshman U.S. Representative he had given a stirring and well-received speech on the need for political maturity. In his letter of resignation to President Lyndon B. Johnson which was dated December 12, 1968 he wrote that, "my involvement as a private citizen in the causes I have espoused as Secretary of this Department will continue. If we are to win the never-ending battle for these values there can be no resignation or withdrawal from the constant quest for an environment that promotes and fulfills the highest human attributes" (Udall, 1968). Citizen Stewart L. Udall the *moral worker* continues to work. He has been involved in litigation for over 15 years to ameliorate the suffering of Navajo.

Stewart Udall's stature and influence extended far beyond family members. As former Arizona Governor, Bruce Babbitt's eight year tenure as Secretary of the Interior drew to a close in January of 2001 he was cited by Denis Hayes, an environmentalist who had chaired Earth Day 2000, as a heroic figure reminiscent of Cecil Andrus (1977-1981) and Stewart Udall, that is, "as a person whose conservation values were clear and who managed the agency well. He afforded long-term protection to some remarkable American places" (Cart, 2001). At

his behest, President Clinton designated twenty national monuments in contrast to Presidents Reagan and Bush who gave no federal lands national monument status. Stewart Udall who had drawn sustenance from such moral exemplars as Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, had become a moral exemplar himself.

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