Modern Ahabs in Texas
William O. Douglas and Lone Star Conservation[1]

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SUPREME Court Justice William O. Douglas (1898-1980) loomed large in American public life as the most active and liberal justice of his time. But judicial activities constrained his boundless energy. To relieve judicial monotony, Douglas trekked around the world and especially through the American West's premier wilderness areas. In the course of his travels, the justice developed a keen sense of environmental awareness. By the mid-1950s and increasing through the 1960s, Douglas loaned his voice to environmental causes throughout the nation and used his prolific pen to contribute a number of nature-related books and articles for mainstream consumption. During this time, he focused briefly but extensively on Texas.

By the mid-1960s, Douglas had floated Texas' rivers, climbed its mountains, and hiked its forests. The environment Douglas encountered in Texas included landscapes as fabulous as anywhere else, but the conservation politics he confronted there opposed his type of environmental values more greatly than elsewhere in the nation. Consequently, his Texas work exuded a marked pessimism. Nevertheless, Douglas mounted a vigorous campaign for public environmental protection in the state. Douglas's activism in Texas reveals his ideas about nature and government in particular ways. Specifically, it illuminates Douglas as a proponent of federal involvement to counter local obstacles to environmental goals.

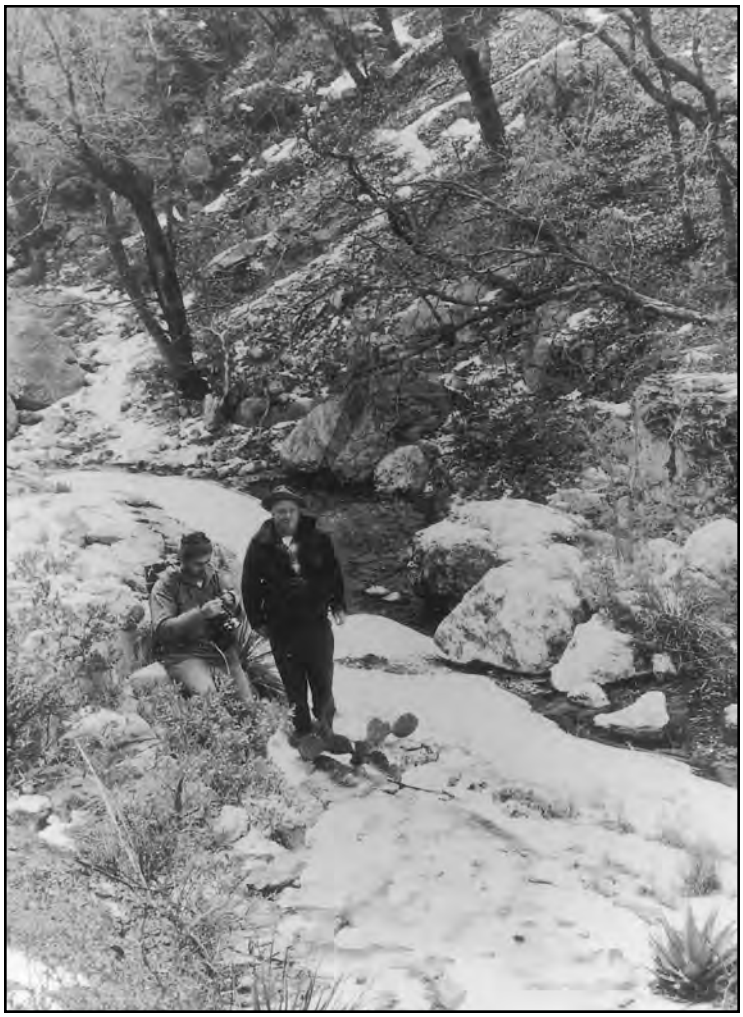
Douglas constructed his book about Texas — *Farewell to Texas: A Vanishing Wilderness* — around an effective metaphor. Douglas employed the biblical parable of Ahab in Naboth's vineyard as described in I Kings, Chapter 21. Naboth had a vineyard next to Ahab's, king of Samaria's, palace. Ahab said, "Give me your vineyard, that I may have it for a vegetable garden, because it is near my house; and I will give you a better vineyard for it; or, if it seems good to you, I will give you its value in money." However, Naboth replied, "The Lord forbid that I should give you the inheritance of my fathers." Ahab grew despondent until his wife, the infamous Jezebel, promised to give Ahab Naboth's vineyard. Jezebel set up Naboth on deceitful charges of blasphemy. Subsequently, Naboth was stoned to death. Finally, when Ahab went to take possession of Naboth's vineyard, God cursed him.[2]

Douglas likened Texas's natural resources to Naboth's vineyard and pointed to several deceitful "modern Ahabs," including public utilities, federal agencies, stockmen, lumber barons, oil companies, and others. These special interests were destroying Texas's environmental heritage, and Justice Douglas employed the metaphor of "modern Ahabs" extensively as an effective rhetorical and political tool. The metaphor should strike Western environmental historians as familiar.[3]

Douglas recognized that Texas presented a unique set of circumstances in American environmental and Western history. Indeed, that is why he devoted an entire book to the state; no other state received such singular treatment from him. One of the most distinctive features of Texas in environmental terms was, and is, its comparative lack of public federal lands. When Texas joined the United States, unlike the other Western states, it kept its unappropriated lands. By the twentieth century, that meant that the federal presence in the form of Forest Service and National Park Service lands and their attendant wilderness and recreational programs was unusually small for a Western state, since the influence of such lands dominates many Western locales and their environmental politics.

Douglas centered much of his attention on the Big Thicket region in East Texas, near Beaumont. Douglas's involvement on behalf of the Big Thicket revealed many of the political characteristics that could come to be expected of him. He wrote to powerful Washington, D.C. politicians, including the president, the Secretary of the Interior, and members of Congress, as well as federal officials in the field in Texas. He also corresponded with local environmentalists, encouraging the local involvement and grass-roots democracy in which he placed much of his faith. His research trips garnered media interest, which is something environmentalists heavily depended on. These combined actions created an effective amalgam of methods. He inspired local and national environmentalists through his actions and words, and he urged those with power in the nation's capital to act.

For the justice, the Big Thicket fight began in 1965 with a suggestion from Jim Bowmer, an attorney from Temple, Texas, and a strong voice for Texas conservation. Bowmer and one of his law partners, Bob Burleson,



Winter in McKittrick Canyon, *ca.* 1964. The creek in McKittrick Canyon is partly frozen over, and patches of snow remain in shady places after a December snowfall. Bob Burleson stops to adjust the movie camera, while Douglas walks toward the photographer. *Courtesy Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, Washington*

invited prominent environmentalists, including Justice Douglas, on a trip to Santa Helena Canyon in the Big Bend country; Douglas, a complete stranger to them, accepted the invitation. By the end of the trip, Douglas considered them close friends. From that point, Bowmer served as an effective liaison between the justice and Texas environmental issues. Without Bowmer, Douglas would not have had an inside view of Texas conservation problems and his book would not have been as effective. Bowmer significantly shaped Douglas's efforts, his travel plans, and his book. Their friendship was one of Douglas's most important ones within conservation circles.[4]

Describing the Big Thicket as a "must" for Douglas's book, Bowmer portrayed the Big Thicket as a region dwindling fast. It had comprised over a million acres, but in 1965, he claimed, it was down to about 350,000 acres and losing 50 acres a day. A few years before, local conservationists began advocating the region for a park, which prompted timber interests to begin cutting at "twice the rate it was only a few years ago." At that pace, the region's unique ecology would rapidly dwindle and lose its distinctiveness. Bowmer's appeal worked. Douglas wrote him back two days later, agreeing to include a chapter on the Big Thicket in his book and arranging for a trip there after the first of the year.[5]

Douglas's subsequent research trip to the Big Thicket region made the local news and the *Congressional Record*. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas had a strong interest in this environmental battle and welcomed Douglas as an ally, for he understood the popular appeal and media attention Douglas drew to causes. In the field, Douglas happily conversed with local botanists, made notations about flora and fauna in a notebook, and searched the woods for unique species. The press reported his visit faithfully and painted an effective picture of the Western justice. One writer called him "as tough as a cowboy's boot," even at 67, a person who would "get his feet as muddy, his pants as scratched, and his nose as sunburned as any other man." Douglas relished the image.[6]

Furthermore, Douglas stirred things up by advocating a "Manhattan project approach" to conservation. He explained, "The need is for a crash program where red tape can be ignored and the job done. Trees such as these of the Big Thicket can be destroyed while endless arguments go on concerning the best way to save them." The poignant backdrop for this comment came in the form of a 1,000-year-old magnolia tree that had been "assassinated" the previous year from an attack by vandals opposed to making the Big Thicket a national park. Local activists bemoaned the destroyed magnolia, arguing that it would have been preserved had it been included in a protected national park or wilderness area. The missed opportunity made this magnificent, ancient tree a casualty in the environmental battle.[7]

As dramatic as the backdrop was, the implications of his comment proved more significant. He argued that it was proper to "take what you need and debate about the price later" — a comment somewhat surprising for such a champion of democracy. Douglas deliberately compared his proposed program to a national security measure. To him and many others, wilderness preservation constituted a national emergency and priority — something to be pursued without addressing the costs. For too long, Douglas implied, decisions concerning the nation's unique natural resources, like Texas's Big Thicket, did not receive support from government. His advocacy of massive expenditures thrust the issue into the forefront of Texas environmentalist circles, and his contacts within the Johnson Administration suggested that action might finally commence.[8]

Douglas tried to get Interior Secretary Stewart Udall

and President Johnson to move on making the Big Thicket part of the national park system. The president apparently told Douglas that he would "give unlimited support to the Big Thicket if Udall takes the lead." According to a June 6, 1966 letter, Udall promised "to get on the ball right away and see what can be done." Udall did write Douglas less than two weeks later to report that his department's efforts on behalf of the Big Thicket began as early as 1938 with the National Park Service (NPS) recommending some type of preservation. More recently, the NPS surveyed the region and again recommended some type of federal protection, and Udall assured Douglas that a report was in the works proposing courses of action. The wheels of bureaucracy, though, rolled slowly and haltingly. That Douglas had the ears of President Johnson and Secretary Udall meant that the Big Thicket might receive a hearing, but it was no guarantee of action, for he had in past and would again in the future cross swords with each of them. Still, for those interested in stopping the logging in the area and in uniting the islands of woods scattered throughout this region under some federal aegis, Douglas's public presence and behind-the-scenes lobbying were hopeful and promising signs.[9]

Mariscal Canyon. Unidentified man sitting on a rock. Part of the Texas landscape Douglas was trying to preserve.
Courtesy Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, Washington

When *Farewell to Texas* appeared in 1967, Douglas started the book off with the longest chapter on the Big Thicket. After opening with the biblical parable of Ahab and Naboth, Douglas proceeded to the Big Thicket to show modern Ahabs at work in a unique ecological and historical region. He characterized the natural and historical features of this region, highlighting the hardwoods running through the area not far from Houston. He described the "gargantuan" magnolia trees and "mammoth" gardenias. Turtles, alligators, water moccasins, catfish, and herons "thrive." The area's human inhabitants were "God-fearing," with larger-than-life characters like Judge Hightower, "a bear hunter by profession and a lawyer by avocation." The Big Thicket area rested on a natural resource-based economy of sawmills and oil wells and was populated with characters typical of the mythic and real West.[10]

Douglas wrote fundamentally to convince readers and political leaders to act. To accomplish this conversion to conservation, Douglas chronicled collective results of logging and oil companies, real estate developers, and hunters. Once the forest had contained over 3,000,000 acres, but by the 1960s, it had been "reduced to 300,000 acres due to oil drilling, pipelines, highways, logging, and man's other 'development' programs." Besides the core area of 300,000 acres, only "scattered spots" and "isolated pockets" remained. Roads crossed the woods, ruining habitat for the baygall. Summer homes and subdivisions similarly ate up available land. Land prices had skyrocketed because of that development, making an acre that sold for $50 in 1960 sell for $300 six years later. Oil companies and their pipelines dissected and sacrificed the ecological integrity of the woods and ruined the land through flooding from wells. Lumber companies employed "ruthless cutting programs," consigning "the modern Naboth's Vineyard to an end that these wondrous pieces of God's creation do not deserve." In addition, the companies in some parts of the Big Thicket sprayed herbicides on hardwoods so that the faster-growing, and thus more profitable, pine could fill the acreage. This eliminated a rookery of hundreds of nesting birds, including herons, egrets, spoonbills, and anhingas. Finally, hunters poached wildlife to near-extinction. The collective results of this activity hastened environmentalists to act. Because of entrenched interests, Douglas and local environmentalists viewed federal action as "their only hope."[11]

Historical, ecological, and contemporary circumstances made the simple reservation of land as protected wilderness problematic in Texas. First, local tradition did not lend itself to strong support for wilderness

preservation, and the restrictions on hunting, logging, or drilling such protection would imply was particularly unwelcome. According to Douglas, the state government, "solidly controlled by The Establishment," undoubtedly would protect the interests of logging companies. Next, the Big Thicket's ecological integrity, fractured so long ago, proved inconsistent with wilderness definitions in the Wilderness Act of 1964, since 5,000 acres together did not always exist to satisfy statutory requirements. Furthermore, some local people simply opposed any park designation. Many obstacles lay in the path of Douglas and local environmentalists.[12]

But the daunting situation did not deter them. The Big Thicket Association organized in 1964 to support putting parts of the remaining 300,000 acres in parks or sanctuaries. Certainly, the Big Thicket Association's involvement to this point made the region an attractive place for Douglas to visit and include in his book, because the association had enjoined the environmental fight and made it already an identifiable cause. Douglas enjoyed his role in such situations where he could lend his name to garner publicity and national legitimacy to a cause.

Besides drawing media attention and publicizing the efforts of the Big Thicket Association, Douglas advocated his own program. He called for an education campaign to change local people's minds about nature. This typical Douglas plea recognized that only through rethinking one's relationship with the natural world would change occur on the ground. Douglas acknowledged that the fragmented nature of the Big Thicket prevented its inclusion in the national park system on a level equal to other parks. Nevertheless, he and local environmentalists viewed federal action as necessary and as "their only hope." Furthermore, modern Ahabs aligned themselves with the state government, preventing an acceptable local solution. In 1966, Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough introduced a bill in the Senate to make the Big Thicket into a national park. Douglas supported it.[13]

Douglas ended his chapter on the Big Thicket by framing the issue in a populist tone. "Time is on the side of the modern Ahabs," Douglas wrote, "not on the side of the people." He referred to the quick pace of development and the slow pace of bureaucracy and democratic action. Additionally, he tapped a key strategy of the post-World War II environmental movement; namely, he nationalized the local issue. Certain natural areas deserved protection for national reasons, and those national imperatives often trumped local desires and economic needs. "[T]he Big Thicket is so unique and so lovely that it should belong to *all* the people," Douglas concluded. With that argument, Douglas wedded his idea of democracy to his environmental agenda.[14]

Douglas's research took him to many places in Texas. And at each stop, the justice sketched the place and people in generally similar ways. The local history and ecology differed, and the local environmental struggles may have varied. But the environmental problems Douglas witnessed in Texas stemmed from some common circumstances — the uniquely Texas political, historical, and ecological conditions.

For the Big Bend region, Douglas highlighted the success of the unlikely partnership between small town tourist advocates and local cattlemen who wished to sell to the federal government after they had overused the land. The federal government acquired the overgrazed land. The formula adopted in Big Bend succeeded because land values declined sharply with overgrazing, and "government acquisition became attractive by entrepreneurial standards." With federal protection, the Big Bend National Park became a "regenerative force of nature." It was a unique and somewhat paradoxical situation. Normally independent-minded ranchers and local boosters turned to the federal government to acquire land, preventing a further economic sink. Douglas explained, "the philosophy of Adam Smith is so dominant in Texas that opposition to the establishment of national parks is fierce and unrelenting," except in the situation that arose in the Big Bend region whereby the land was "so worn out by owners" that they turned to the government to bail them out. Ironically, national park acquisition could occur only after environmental decimation. In the process, federal acquisition nationalized the landscape to subordinate local interests, even while serving the local tourist economy.[15]

In addition, the canyons of the Rio Grande were in danger. Douglas and his companions explored the canyons by raft, which possessed "the twin magnets of beauty and danger." With foreboding, Douglas wrote, "Dams, dams, dams — they are the plague of Texas." Douglas concluded, "The dam builders are among the most destructive Ahabs that Texas knows." He consistently pitted the large and powerful against what he perceived as the true and best environmental goals of the region — in these instances, the Ahabs against the national parks or rivers.[16]

In another part of the state, Douglas used the Davis Mountains to explain the importance of federal conservation in Texas. These "wild tumble of mountains," as Douglas characterized them, in West Texas, north of Big Bend National Park, were held in private property, which impeded their federal environmental salvation. The beauty of such places as the Davis Mountains deserved to be protected for all Texans and Americans; it was "the inheritance of all the people," Douglas claimed, "a dividend of national citizenship." Here was the crux of Douglas's environmentalism as he expressed it in Texas. Environmental resources belonged to all the people; they were, in fact, Americans' "inheritance." Just like Naboth's vineyard, Texas's wilderness had been inherited and should not be given away or sold. Texas failed in its environmental mission and without

Floating through Boquillas Canyon, Big Bend National Park, Texas. Douglas is in the left canoe.
Courtesy Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, Washington

federal intervention the mountains would be "ruined." No matter Douglas's reservations about the record of some federal agencies, he believed the best political solution to environmental problems rested with the national government when state officials, and the "modern Ahabs" with whom they were aligned, did not act or acted destructively.[17]

Capote Falls offered another instructive tale about Texas lands. The falls flowed off a 200-foot cliff in the middle of the West Texas desert. The description Douglas includes is one of sublime beauty with pastel colors brightening the surrounding rocks. The place, Douglas explained, "is a place for worship, not for a frolic. The beauty is so fragile, the solitude is so precious that the Canyon is only for those who walk reverently." Such a special place, the justice warned, deserved national park or monument protection, but it could not be open to the usual park crowds. This paradox underscored one of the environmental movement's greatest challenges. Supporters like Douglas were forced to promote parklands for their protection from private economic ruin, but with such promotion came development that often destroyed or jeopardized the object of the environmentalists' affections. Although Douglas recognized the paradox, he, like most, did not or could not articulate a solution.[18]

Still, the overgrazing at nearby ranches threatened Capote Falls. Like the Davis Mountains, Douglas estimated that this place needed federal protection. Indeed, according to Douglas's understanding, the only possible way for the land to be reserved was through use of the federal government's eminent domain power. Yet, Texans resisted. Douglas harshly criticized the opposition: "Texas, still fighting the battle of socialism of the last century (a park is socialism, isn't it?), has not yet entered the present century when it comes to preserving large areas of its wonderland for outdoor recreation." With that statement, Douglas unleashed venom that was unusual even for him, and he soon took up the matter in the Washington, D.C. corridors of resource administration but to little avail. Douglas believed Capote Falls should have national protection, for it was part of Americans' inheritance. Modern Ahabs, like the biblical Ahab, were unethically and illegitimately destroying what should remain for all to enjoy.[19]

In the final pages of the book, Douglas continued to lambaste "modern Ahabs." "Modern Ahabs," Douglas wrote,

> see a tree and think in terms of board feet.
> They see a cliff and think in terms of gravel.
> They see a river and think in terms of dams, because dams mean profitable contracts, don't they?
> They see a mountain and think in terms of minerals, roads, and excavations.

> They think of parks in terms of private enterprise — money-making schemes — not nature trails, but amusement centers.

Providing places to recreate and for wilderness preservation was emerging as an important national problem, the justice argued. In contrast to national trends, "Texas is mostly not concerned," Douglas charged. The hope for Texas remained in a small number of Texans, like Jim Bowmer. Such conservationists were in the minority against the modern Ahabs who, he claimed, "are more strongly entrenched in Texas than anywhere else."[20]

Researching the book depressed Douglas. His final paragraph revealed the depth of his cynicism about Texas conservation. The odds stacked against environmental interests seemed almost insurmountable. "That is why this is a melancholy book," Douglas wrote. "That is why when we think of conservation, nature trails, backpacking, camping, and outdoor recreation, we must say FAREWELL TO TEXAS — unless the dedicated minority receives an overwhelming mandate from the people." This effective ending encapsulated his assessment, his fears, his hopes, and directed a challenge to local conservationists to keep hope alive and to national environmentalists to work harder for Texas.[21]

Reaction to the book varied. Once he changed the proposed title, *The Wilderness of Texas*, to *Farewell to Texas: A Vanishing Wilderness*, Douglas faced an angry First Lady. At a White House dinner, Douglas told her of the change and "She exploded. She did not like it at all. She said the title should have some hope in it." There was no permanent damage between these two, but even without reading the book, Lady Bird understood what Douglas had accomplished. He had taken what was generally a celebratory genre — nature writing — and made it a political tract and one less a celebration than a cautionary tale.[22]

In Texas, the *Dallas Morning News* issued a critical editorial. Bowmer rushed to Douglas's defense, writing a letter to the editor. The Texas attorney recounted the pollution problems in the rivers, the exotics invasion on the rangeland, and the threats against mountains and canyons. Bowmer challenged the editor to take a trip around Texas with Bowmer, and the editor would see that Douglas's assessment withstood criticism. The editorial proved that Douglas helped place environmental concerns in the public discourse.[23]

A debate over Texas's wilderness and recreational areas continued with the catalyst Douglas and others furnished. Bowmer wrote to Douglas in March 1967

In Guadalupe National Park, *ca.* 1964. Douglas looks into McKittrick Canyon. *Courtesy Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, Washington*

Lady Bird Johnson and Interior Secretary Stewart Udall.

reporting the progress on various projects about which Douglas inquired, including Guadalupe Mountain National Park ("I believe we can consider the Park a certainty."), the Big Thicket ("I believe we are making real progress in the Big Thicket program."), and Capote Falls ("[L]argely through your efforts, the National Parks [sic] Service and Bureau of Outdoor Recreation are conducting studies. . . . [T]ime is growing short for the preservation of the Falls."). Bowmer concluded, "Don't give up on Texas yet!" And Douglas did not give up.[24]

In Congress, Senator Yarborough's proposal for the Big Thicket National Park still faced hearings in which individuals invoked Douglas's name, perspective, and influence. In Texas, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs rallied around the Big Thicket park idea. Their newsletter, which Yarborough placed in the *Congressional Record*, urged their members to support Yarborough's bill and suggested that their members purchase Douglas's Texas book. Douglas wrote the president of the Texas Federation, Mrs. Henry F. Sharper, with delight. He thanked her for the organization's support of the bill and wrote how important the Big Thicket's preservation was: "It must be saved for future generations to see and revere the marvelous beauties that once were America — before the smog, before the polluted streams, and before the asphalt and concrete that are possessing most of the land." Finally, the justice captured the essence: "The Big Thicket is America." It encapsulated Douglas's beliefs perfectly by aligning America's interest with environmental protection and by arguing that natural resources were, or should be, public resources. This short letter, also reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, appealed to one's sense of national pride. Douglas consistently equated environmental protection with patriotism, for the lands and waters of the United States provided the basis for the country's identity and future. Civic clubs like the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs were imbued with the democratic and patriotic spirit that would improve Texas's and the nation's chances at environmental salvation.[25]

Douglas did what he could with his contacts in Washington, D.C., but his involvement declined. In 1974, Douglas reservedly celebrated a success for the Big Thicket. The area finally preserved as the Big Thicket National Reserve, consisted originally of 84,450 acres in twelve separate units. Douglas found the achievement merely, "better than nothing."[26]

In Texas, Douglas did much of the same as he did elsewhere for environmental causes, writing letters to Secretary of the Interior Udall, President and First Lady Johnson, and park superintendents. But he also worked with local, private citizens concerned about Texas's environment, like Bowmer and Sharper. These individuals and the communities they represented could put the promise of democracy to work. Douglas's celebrity helped them. In many ways, his presence became his greatest attribute, for it brought attention to his various causes. In the flurry of activity Douglas devoted to Texas, concentrated in 1966-1967, the justice raised the political questions in Texas about the lack of environmental sensitivity, the proper role of government, the nature of property rights, and many other key questions germane to environmental politics, particularly in the West. Although it was a short fight in a much larger

struggle, Douglas's political presence in Texas influenced the nature of the debate.

In Texas, Douglas made his writing firmly political. The field research for the book and the final product merged, creating a celebration of landscape, a condemnation of "modern Ahabs," and a clear challenge to local and national environmental activists. With the metaphor of the "modern Ahabs," Douglas, as he did so often, put an environmental debate into terms his audience composed of ordinary Americans could understand and appreciate. If the symbolism simplified the questions of land management, distorted the realities of powerful interests, or overlooked paradoxes and ambiguities in federal park and wilderness administration, Douglas was no different from other political and environmental figures.

The revealing "modern Ahabs" metaphor Douglas employed to castigate Texas environmental politics worked at a number of levels. At one level, the metaphor refers to the lack of public lands; there were few national commons in the state, protected by a national government and its imperatives. At another, more important level, though, the "modern Ahabs" metaphor symbolized an illegal and illegitimate seizure of land. Texas's "modern Ahabs" were challenged to account for their illicit abuse of Texas natural resources. Wilderness, Douglas explained, was "the inheritance of all the people," just like Naboth's vineyard was his legitimate inheritance. When Ahab took the vineyard on trumped-up charges of blasphemy that led to Naboth's stoning, he violated not only the land but also tradition. In Texas, "modern Ahabs" destroyed the environment and robbed the people of their heritage. In this place, Douglas envisioned nationally-protected wildernesses to ensure future generations the opportunity to see and experience Texas's natural heritage — a heritage that could be protected, Douglas believed, only by federal strength.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 40th Annual Western History Association meeting in San Antonio, Texas, in October 2000. I am grateful for the comments of Andrew C. Isenberg that helped shape the argument presented here. Thanks are also due to Michael M Siebol of the Yakima Valley Museum and Charles K. Dodd for their assistance with photos and maps, and to this issue's guest editors, Derek R. Larson and Douglas W. Dodd.
2. 1 Kings 21: 1-29, quotations from 2-3 (Revised Standard Version).
3. William O. Douglas, *Farewell to Texas: A Vanishing Wilderness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), vii-ix.
4. The story of Douglas meeting Bowmer and Burleson is contained in James F. Simon, *Independent Journey: The Life of William O. Douglas* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 327.
5. Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, to William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1965, in William O. Douglas Papers (hereafter WODP), Correspondence, Box 310, Jim Bowmer (1965); William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., to Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, October 15, 1965, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 310, Jim Bowmer (1965).
6. Quoted in Congress, Senate, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112, pt. 7 (April 20, 1966), 8622. For Douglas as a Westerner, see Adam M. Sowards, "William O. Douglas: The Environmental Justice," in *The Human Tradition in the American West*, edited by Benson Tong and Regan A. Lutz (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2002): 155-170.
7. *Congressional Record*, 8622.
8. *Ibid.*
9. William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., to Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, June 6, 1966, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 311, Jim Bowmer (1966-1967). Stewart Udall, Washington, D.C., to William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., June 17, 1966, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 380, Stewart Udall (1957-1976).
10. Douglas, *Farewell to Texas*, 2, 5, 7, and passim.
11. *Ibid.*, 1, 18, 25, 26, 31, 33, 34.
12. *Ibid.*, 20, 35.
13. *Ibid.*, 14, 36.
14. *Ibid.*, 37. Original emphasis.
15. *Ibid.*, 38-39, 56.
16. *Ibid.*, 91, 117.
17. *Ibid.*, 128, 134, 136.
18. *Ibid.*, 149.
19. *Ibid.*, 155, 191; William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., to Stewart L. Udall, Washington, D.C., April 30, 1966, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 380, Stewart Udall (1957-1976).
20. Douglas, *Farewell to Texas*, 230, 231.
21. *Ibid.*, 231.
22. Douglas to Bowmer, May 26, 1966.
23. Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, to Editor, *Dallas Morning News*, Dallas, Texas, February 22, 1968, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 312, Jim Bowmer (1968-1969).
24. Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, to William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., March 10, 1967, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 311, Jim Bowmer (1966-1967).
25. Unfortunately, Sharper's first name is unavailable in this source. Congress, Senate, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 114, pt. 23 (October 8, 1968), 30012.
26. William O. Douglas, Washington, D.C., to Jim D. Bowmer, Temple, Texas, November 1, 1974, in WODP, Correspondence, Box 312, Jim Bowmer (1972-1975).

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