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RUDD BROWN (b. 1920)

INTERVIEWED BY SHIRLEY K. COHEN

January 31, 1995

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Subject area

Geology, geochemistry, social sciences, United States Congress

Abstract

An interview on January 31, 1995, with Rudd Brown, on the subject of her former husband, Harrison Brown (1917-1986), who was a professor of geochemistry in the Division of Geological and Planetary Sciences at Caltech from 1951 to 1977, with a joint appointment in the Division of Humanities and Social Sciences as professor of science and government, from 1967. Among other policy positions, he was foreign secretary of the National Academy of Sciences from 1962 to 1974. In 1977, he left Caltech to become director of the Resource Systems Institute at the East-West Center, in Honolulu, remaining there until 1983.

Brown came to Caltech from the University of Chicago, and was shortly followed there by several other Chicago geochemists, including Clair Patterson and Samuel Epstein. He and Rudd were married c. 1950 and divorced in 1975. In this interview, she outlines his family background and childhood in Sheridan, Wyoming, and San Francisco and his wartime work at Oak Ridge. She recalls their early life together at the University of Chicago after World War II and their subsequent years at Caltech, including its social life. She discusses his interest in the problems of overpopulation, resource sustainability, agricultural productivity,

and East-West relations. She recalls his help in her political campaigns for Congress in 1958 and 1960 and concludes with recollections of his involvement with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in the 1960s.

Administrative information

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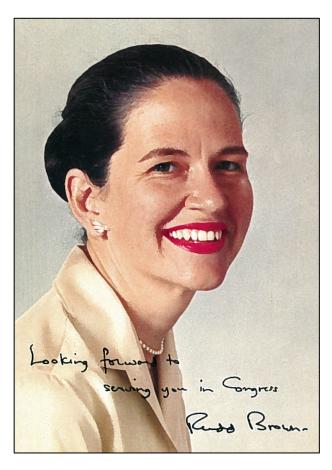
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Rudd Brown outside Democratic Headquarters, November 5, 1958 Photo courtesy of Tom Apostol

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY ARCHIVES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

INTERVIEW WITH RUDD BROWN

BY SHIRLEY K. COHEN

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

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Interview with Rudd Brown

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Begin Tape 1, Side 1

COHEN: Let's have some of your own background before we start talking about Harrison [Rudd Brown's former husband, Caltech geochemist Harrison Brown (d. 1986)].

BROWN: I guess, very briefly, I would say that I come from essentially a political family—at least on my mother's side. My great grandfather was in the Illinois State Legislature. My grandfather is a name people will know; my grandfather was William Jennings Bryan, and he ran for the presidency three times on the Democratic ticket. My mother, whose name was Ruth Bryan Owen, was in the U.S. House of Representatives—first woman from the Old South to serve in the House, and she was there from 1928 to 1933. She was defeated in 1932 for reelection, and was appointed by Franklin Roosevelt as the first woman to head a diplomatic mission. She was appointed minister to Copenhagen. It was a legation, not an embassy, so she was minister, not an ambassador, but they're essentially the same thing—slightly different but similar jobs. And then she was an alternate to the U.N. And she was a public lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit for the last thirty-three years of her life.

COHEN: Did your family travel with her? Where did you come into the picture?

BROWN: Well, I came as an unplanned surprise. There was no way that I could travel with her when she was lecturing, because she was traveling by train and by car, and she would lecture for a night and then move on. This was for Chautauqua and other management. So I was mostly at home with my father, who was British—born on the island of Ceylon. His father was a robber baron in the tea business. My father was invalided out of the British Army in World War I, and

he and my mother came to this country. She'd been born here but had lost her American citizenship when she married my father. That was the rule in 1910. She managed to be in Cairo when he was in the Middle East with Allenby's forces. When he was invalided out, they came back to America. He was told he had ten years to live, which he did indeed live.

They came to Miami, where my grandparents were living. And that's where he lived out his life. It was, I guess, in essence, a role-reversed family, because my mother was out earning a living; all my father had was a small army pension. And he was increasingly in declining health and was sort of in charge of the household. I was raised by a nurse.

COHEN: You mentioned before that you had an older sister.

BROWN: Yes, my sister was sixteen years older than I. So she got married when I was three years old. She was the product of a first marriage—my mother had been married before. There were two children from the first marriage, and two from the second. My sister was the oldest and I was the youngest of all the children. So that's my life. Nine schools before college. And I went to college at Barnard, in New York, with a degree in philosophy.

I was married while I was still in college, and by a combination of circumstances—fascinating to me but not necessarily for this tape—I was in 1947 in Baghdad, where I'd lived for a couple of years, and came back to America because the marriage was falling apart. It seemed to me that an about-to-be-unattached American woman lived better in New York than she would in Baghdad. [Laughter] So I was coming home. And my sister, who had dissolved a marriage herself, to Robert Lehman, had been casting around for something to do with her life. She was a good friend of Norman Cousins, and she had gone with him to a banquet where he was the speaker. This is 1947. And at that point, a number of scientists who had worked on the atomic bomb project in Oak Ridge—possibly Los Alamos, too, but I do know Oak Ridge—were coming to New York trying to raise money and generally educate the American public about what the real meaning of atomic energy was—what the potential was, what the dangers were.

At that point, there were no hotel rooms to be had in New York. So Norman Cousins, in his remarks at the banquet, said that the men—and there were two or three of them at the banquet as speakers—were sleeping on benches in Grand Central station because they couldn't get a hotel room to stay in. Well, my sister, who had three children who were off in boarding schools

in various places, passed Norman a note saying, "I have two rooms with twin beds in each room. So they can stay there if they like."

That started a succession of Oak Ridge scientists staying with my sister when they were in New York. Harrison didn't turn up on the first wave; he turned up, I think, after this happy arrangement had been going on for several months. [Laughter]

COHEN: A hostel for scientists.

Brown: Exactly. Yes, that's what it was, in fact. So, he turned up shortly after I turned up in New York. I was visiting my sister, and Harrison turned up to spend the night. I think he was going down to see Albert Einstein, because about then they had formed, or were forming, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, of which Einstein was the chairman [formed 1946—ed.]. Harrison either was or became shortly thereafter the executive vice chairman. It was a group of about ten or twelve people. This was October '47. The Emergency Committee was a group with its headquarters in Chicago—I guess because Harrison at that point was at the University of Chicago, in the Institute for Nuclear Studies. The committee's sole job was raising money. I think Linus Pauling was on it. At this point, my memory is a little scrambled about the membership. Possibly Hans Bethe; maybe Viki [Victor F.] Weisskopf—but it's all in the record. And Harrison became the executive vice chairman, which means he ran it, in essence.

COHEN: So that's what he was doing in New York?

BROWN: Well, that's what he was doing on that visit or the next one—I think it was that visit. Also, on one of the visits, my sister's second daughter had a monkey, who was her pet. It was a Diana monkey, about eighteen inches high, with a long tail and long black fur and sort of a white collar, and I guess it had white fur over its eyes, for eyebrows. As is typical of monkeys, it was not house-trained. Harrison, who liked animals and who was friendly and helpful and so forth, offered to hold the monkey. And *whoosh*—monsoon season! And Harrison had not brought a change of suit; so he had to go covered with monkey all over him, down to see Albert Einstein. [Laughter]

COHEN: You met him on these trips?

BROWN: I met him in my sister's home. We became interested in each other fairly quickly. We weren't married for about two years after that, because we had to sort out our own marital problems.

COHEN: He had been married previously.

BROWN: He was married, and he has a son by that marriage—Eric Brown, who lives in Seattle and is a marine biologist, an interesting man. So that's how I met Harrison.

COHEN: Just a little bit about Harrison's background now.

BROWN: That's interesting. If you think about it, I don't know how many studies have been done about the backgrounds—or the territory—in which people who have scientific talent arise. But Harrison's strikes me as being extremely unlikely. He was indeed an only child, which I think is frequently found. But his mother came from Davenport, Iowa, and she was one of seven or eight children. She came on a vacation to Sheridan, Wyoming, where she met Harrison Brown Sr., who was a cowboy at Eaton Ranch, which was a ranch outside of Sheridan. It was a dude ranch and also a working ranch. They fell in love, and they got married. Harrison Brown Sr. was one of seven or eight or nine children, too. And Harrison Brown—the subject of this conversation—used to say that there wasn't a town with a population of over fifty thousand in the country in which he didn't have cousins. Most of them he tried to avoid, as far as I could detect.

In any event, Agatha Brown and Harrison Brown Sr. lived in Sheridan, where Harrison Brown was born [1917]. Harrison Brown Sr., the father, after being a cowboy, became a man who ran cattle on the range. He was a gambler, because the longer you keep them on the range, the less it costs you in the feedlot. On the other hand, if you kept them on the range too long and it snowed, you'd lose them. So that was the kind of thing he did. He died of, I think, undiagnosed uremic poisoning; I can't remember. But very suddenly, when Harrison was ten years old. And Harrison and his mother came to San Francisco. His mother, in Iowa, had been two things: She had been a piano teacher and pianist and a dental technician.

COHEN: So she had some skills.

BROWN: So she had some skills. So the first thing she did was to get a job playing a piano in a movie house. When sound films came in, of course, she could no longer do that. So then she went and got a job as a dental technician. She worked for a dentist.

COHEN: Why did they go to San Francisco? Was there family there?

BROWN: I have no idea why she chose San Francisco. I don't know of any family there. That's never come out in any of the conversations we had. We talked about all the things he did in San Francisco.

COHEN: Well, then, that was just the big city, from the ranch country.

BROWN: I suppose so, yes. In any event, two things I'd like to say here about Harrison. One is what he did to make his way through school and college.

COHEN: He was ten years old then?

BROWN: He was ten years old when that happened. Incidentally, I mentioned to you that I had lunch yesterday with Clair Patterson, and we were talking about Harrison, because Pat was always very admiring. Pat asked me how Harrison got interested in science. And I have two things to say about that. One is that in Sheridan—I spent a little time in Sheridan in 1948, and I got to know a couple called Nelle and Raymond Diefenderfer. Raymond was a lawyer in Sheridan and knew Harrison Brown's father and mother when they lived in Sheridan. He and his wife Nelle knew Harrison as a boy—they didn't think he had really very good sense. He had quite a pronounced lisp, and he didn't come across as being very smart. The one thing they felt—looking back—was a prophetic look into the future: He did get a chemistry set when he was eight years old, for Christmas, at his request. He asked for it.

Now, the question is, What do you do when you get to be teenage? And the dentist for whom Agatha went to work was a guy called Howard Hendricks, whom I met years later. He was a disappointed medic who'd become a dentist because he couldn't afford medical school. He was a very bright, very difficult man, also a drunk—a violent man and a drunk. And a cultivated man—a very interesting combination. He respected learning. And he and Harrison's

mother became lovers fairly soon thereafter. Howard had a wife who was institutionalized someplace, and that wife died eventually. And then he and Agatha were married. So I knew her as Agatha Hendricks. Agatha was not bright at all—a fool, also, in my view.

COHEN: But she was a bit accomplished. I mean, she supported herself.

BROWN: Yes, she did. In any event, Howard was interested in Harrison. Among other things, Harrison got rheumatic fever when he was about fourteen years old and was confined to bed for six months. So he was, at that point, a voracious reader. And Howard said, "I'll give you five dollars if you don't read any mystery stories while you're in bed." The five dollars was terribly attractive. So for the five dollars, Harrison didn't read any mystery stories. But he had to read, because he was confined to bed, so he began to read other things. And that was one specific thing. But I think the whole general influence of Howard was to turn Harrison on to using his head, to becoming more intellectual. He said to me once that he became self-supporting by the age of fifteen. He still lived with his mother. I don't think he contributed money to the household, but I suppose he paid his own expenses.

COHEN: He must have finished high school in San Francisco?

BROWN: He went to Galileo High School in San Francisco, which is right next to the Ghirardelli chocolate factory, so the smell of chocolate was very much part of his education. So, while he was in San Francisco—he was there in high school and then at Berkeley for four years—he did a lot of different jobs.

COHEN: Are we talking the thirties?

BROWN: Yes, because he went to Johns Hopkins in, I think, '38—yes, he graduated from Berkeley in '38. I'll put a little anecdote in here, because it's kind of entertaining. One evening—I guess, back in the 1950s—Harrison and I had dinner at a large party given by Irving and Jean Stone. And Harrison and Irving Stone got into a contest, talking about what they had done when they were in high school and college to earn money. And they began going back and forth, and they could match it fairly closely. And this was Harrison's list. He painted the Bay

Bridge. He pitched hay in Marin County in the summertime. When he was in college, he was a hasher and the business manager of his fraternity—he belonged to a scientific fraternity. His mother had wanted to teach him to play the piano, and he had agreed to learn the piano if he could learn jazz, or popular music. And he had considerable skill at that. So he had a band that he led. Then he found he made more money playing by himself, so he became a salon pianist. He was the night bartender at the San Francisco Press Club, where he also answered the phone. Those were the things he did during high school and college. Irving Stone, I should say, had a similar list. They went back and forth, each one trying to one-up the other. It was really very entertaining. [Laughter]

COHEN: I can imagine. Did Harrison major in science?

BROWN: Well, one of the reasons—I have to say, parenthetically—that I was impressed with Caltech when I first learned about it was that you couldn't do at Caltech what he did at Berkeley—which was for four years to study physics, chemistry, mathematics, and scientific German. That's it, if I'm to believe what he said. Not another course. It just happened that he came with a curiosity about other things, but there was not a damn thing in his undergraduate education except the sciences and the German.

COHEN: So he finished up at Berkeley. And with a good record, I gather?

BROWN: I gather, because he got a scholarship at Johns Hopkins, where he went and he got his degree. His thesis was on the thermal diffusion of gases, with R. D. Fowler, I think; I'm not sure about that. He got married before he went East. He married a woman called Adele Scrimger. They went to Johns Hopkins, where he sold shoes and she sold hats to make the difference between their scholarship, which was not magnificent, and what they needed to live on.

COHEN: We're getting into the war years, aren't we?

BROWN: Yes, I guess we are. They got there in the fall of '38. I don't know how long it took him to get his degree. [PhD from Johns Hopkins in 1941—ed.] He went from Johns Hopkins to Chicago before he went to Oak Ridge. I think he was in Chicago when they were planning Oak

Ridge.

COHEN: What was his position in Chicago?

BROWN: Well, I can talk about it afterwards, because afterwards I was there. He came back to Chicago from Oak Ridge in '45 or '46, and I met him in '47. But I really don't know about before. Clair Patterson can tell you what he was doing in Oak Ridge. [He was the assistant director of chemistry at Clinton Labs; worked on plutonium project.—ed.]

COHEN: Was Clair Patterson at Oak Ridge?

BROWN: I think so. He either was at Oak Ridge or he was connected with similar work [Clair Patterson was at Oak Ridge during the war—ed.]. Because he said to me, "Your impression of this is inaccurate; this is what actually happened," and he laid it out. I wasn't there. I'm full of yarns about the building of Oak Ridge and about the problems with the housing and so forth. And little things, like—there were two groups at the Clinton Labs, the government employees and the DuPont Company employees. The government employees were much younger, and they worked whenever they wanted to work. Again, this is legend! I wasn't there. [Laughter] And the DuPont people were punching a clock, as proper corporate types do. And, as Harrison said, the government group was much more protected, being allowed to work until midnight if they wanted to and not having to go home at five and be back at eight o'clock in the morning. Well, Harrison had a dog called Thurber, who was trained. If you said to him, "Would you rather work for the DuPont Company or be a dead dog?" the dog would fall over dead. [Laughter]

COHEN: So when you met Harrison, he was back at Chicago?

BROWN: That's right, at the Institute for Nuclear Studies—an assistant professor or associate professor, I can't remember. [Assistant professor 1946-1948; associate professor 1948-1951—ed.] And, incidentally, this he told me—and this Robert Hutchins confirmed as being correct—that when he was leaving Oak Ridge in '45 or '46, he had two possibilities. One was to go to the University of Chicago for the magnificent salary of \$4,800 a year and the other was to go to either General Electric or Western Electric as the assistant director of chemistry for \$25,000 a

year.

COHEN: Wow, that's a difference!

Brown: It's a difference. And he didn't hesitate a minute, apparently.

COHEN: He wanted academic work.

Brown: That's right. The University of Chicago at that point had something called a 4-E contract. When it was put in, it paid a salary field slightly higher than whatever the prevailing rate was. However, any money earned on the outside over \$25 had to be turned over to the university. So it was a very, very tough place economically. There was no way you could make any money. Anyway, that was the University of Chicago, and Robert Hutchins was head of the

university at that point. And Harold Urey was at the Institute for Nuclear Studies. I remember

Harold, because I went to work at the institute.

COHEN: I was just going to ask you, What did you do at this time?

BROWN: Well, I came out and joined Harrison. I was hired, and I worked in his office. One of the things he had done, for which he had gotten a prize, was research on meteorites. He was interested at that point already in cosmology, and the only extraterrestrial things you could get your hands on in those days were meteorites. So he did various studies of their composition. He got the American Association for the Advancement of Science \$1,000 prize, whatever year that was [1947].

COHEN: That was his first prize?

BROWN: That was his first prize. And then the American Chemical Society award in pure

chemistry he got in 1952.

COHEN: And he was working as an assistant professor or associate professor?

BROWN: At the University of Chicago, yes.

COHEN: And you came in and got this job in his office.

BROWN: Yes. What I was doing was cataloging meteorites. It was the kind of thing that could almost destroy your mind, but I survived.

COHEN: That wasn't a job you needed any scientific training for.

BROWN: No, absolutely not. Not a smidgen. But I don't know if you're interested in personalities. There were very interesting things about all of this. I remember Harrison and Harold Urey decided they were going to teach a course about the moon. I used to sit with my back to the door, and Harold would come to the open door, and he would say, "HARRY!" I wouldn't hear him approach, so the first thing I would hear was this voice behind me. They were teaching a course on the moon, because they wanted to learn about the moon and they figured this was a good way to learn about it. It was interesting to me, because this was my first acquaintance with the scientific world up close, and I found it fascinating. Leo Szilard was around in those days.

COHEN: Oh, the list of characters is very impressive.

BROWN: Yes. Leo worked with Harrison.

COHEN: Now, what department was this in? If Harold Urey was next door—he was in the chemistry department.

BROWN: Well, I don't know. This was the Institute for Nuclear Studies. There were three institutes: The Institute of Radio Biology and Biophysics, which I think Leo may have been connected with, because a friend called Aaron Novick worked, I think, with Leo. And Aaron, I think, was in the Institute of Radio Biology and Biophysics. And then there was the Institute for the Study of Metals. Those were the three institutes.

COHEN: And then these people were in physical proximity.

Brown: Yes, that's right.

COHEN: That makes a big difference sometimes, you know.

BROWN: Oh, heavens, yes! It's like lunch at the Athenaeum at the round table. One of the things that Clair Patterson said was that—you know, they have a house up at Sea Ranch. And he said that he has work that he wants to do, and he comes down here, because he wants to interact with the scientific people. And he said that Lorie [Lorna, Mrs. Patterson] likes it up at Sea Ranch. She wants to go on a cruise on the QE2; she's not interested in science anymore. And he still has to do this. You know, he's got this terrible drive!

COHEN: Anyway, you have Harrison sitting here and Harold Urey is right next door.

BROWN: Yes. Bill Libby [Willard F. Libby] was absolutely next door. I remember that they were doing some research on dating—I guess it was carbon dating; that was what Bill Libby did. And one of the things they were working on, which caused a lot of amusement, was sloth manure. You could get extinct giant sloth manure from certain caves. [Laughter] You can imagine all the ribald conversation about the work that was going on next door with the extinct giant sloth shit. Bill Libby and his wife Leonor, who played the saxophone at parties. [Enrico] Fermi was around; you'd see him at parties, but he wasn't part of the conversation.

One thing that I want to put in here, because to me it was extremely interesting: There was a room where you could go at four o'clock in the afternoon to have tea, upstairs. It was in the same building. And Harrison and Leo had been on a University of Chicago Round Table, which was a weekly radio program at that point. And they had been talking the previous Sunday about the fact that theoretically, at least, if you planted cobalt bombs in the ocean off the West Coast of North America all the way down to South America, the bombs would explode and then the air would carry these radioactive particles around the world and poison the world with radioactivity and this would be the end of civilization. So the next week, Harrison and I go up to have tea in this room, and there's a guy sitting next to him, whose name I cannot recall at the moment, and the guy says, "I heard your program on Sunday."

"Oh," said Harrison, "you did?"

"Yes," says this guy. "I went home and I checked your math and it's correct what you're saying. It depressed me for a while, until I realized that it's only air-breathing life that would be destroyed—that life in the sea would still live, so that evolution could start again in the ocean." [Laughter] I sat there and thought, I must not forget this! This is too wonderful an exchange to forget.

COHEN: So it was a very stimulating atmosphere at Chicago.

Brown: Oh, yes, yes. Joe Mayer and Maria—we'd go to parties.

COHEN: Yes, they went to UCSD [University of California, San Diego]. Were the Goldbergers [Marvin L. (Murph) and Mildred Goldberger] there at that time?

BROWN: No. If they were there, I never met them. They were friends with the Novicks. Was Murph at Los Alamos?

COHEN: No, he was in Chicago [Goldberger was at Chicago throughout the war (PhD 1948) and a professor there until 1957—ed.].

I want to get some sense of the ferment that must have been there, with all these people. Did they love being in Chicago? Because one wonders why so many people left.

Brown: I really can't speak to that.

COHEN: Gerry [Gerald J.] Wasserburg must have been a student at that time.

BROWN: I didn't know Gerry. I knew Ed [Edward D.] Goldberg and Clair Patterson. They were in evidence. I knew George Tilton—I guess George must have been there, too.

COHEN: How about Sam Epstein? He may have come a little later [Epstein was at Chicago from 1947 to 1952—ed.].

BROWN: It's a little confusing to me, because Sam Epstein I knew here and I'm not sure if I knew him in Chicago or not.

COHEN: How long did you actually live in Chicago?

Brown: I started living in Chicago in '48, and we left in December '51.

COHEN: So Harrison was not at the University of Chicago for a terribly long time.

BROWN: No. He came there after Oak Ridge in '45 or '46 and left in '51. I don't really know, scientifically, why he left. I personally didn't like the city of Chicago and I'm not sure he liked it very much. I found it to be ugly, the climate terrible, dirty. So I was always agitating him to do something. Then in I guess it was 1949, Harrison was a visiting professor at UCLA for a month. He and I drove from Chicago to San Francisco, where I met his mother and stepfather, and then we came down and lived in Westwood Village.

COHEN: Was Libby there already at UCLA [Libby came to UCLA in 1959—ed.]?

BROWN: I don't know. When Harrison was a visiting professor at UCLA, I don't remember meeting any of the people. The only thing I do recall is that, I think, it was at that time that we came to Caltech. I think we had dinner with Jesse and Naomi Greenstein.

COHEN: Would Jesse have met Harrison beforehand or known him beforehand? How is it that you came and had dinner?

BROWN: Or lunch. It was lunch, I guess. Well, I'm not really sure about that. I think they knew each other. Also, I don't remember that I met Linus Pauling at that point, but I do think that Harrison did. Because there was a conversation at one point, where Linus said, "They're scouting you to think about offering you a position here at Caltech." And it was the geology division.

COHEN: So already there was something in the air?

Brown: Something was in the air then.

COHEN: That may explain your dinner with the Greensteins; because Jesse was always very interested in all this—the building up of the geology division. That may have been why—

BROWN: That's interesting. I have sort of a haunted feeling that we may have come to visit Caltech before we moved. I'm not really sure about that. No, there was a time we came; we came to buy a house—there was that visit, too.

COHEN: So he was a month at UCLA, and you liked the weather in Los Angeles better than Chicago, I gather.

BROWN: [Laughter] I was born in Miami, Florida. I'm basically a very large small tropical bird. [Laughter]

COHEN: So then you went back to Chicago.

BROWN: Yes. And at that point, went back to whatever was going on. Harrison was involved with—you know, he had published the book, *Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?* [1946], which was about atomic power.

COHEN: Had he gotten into any of his population studies at this time?

BROWN: No, I don't think so. Now, let me think about this. Oh, yes. I can tell you this. The first time Harrison and I went to Jamaica, it had to have been either '48 or '49. What has to be said are two things: One, Harrison had not been out of the country before, as far as I know—maybe to Tijuana, which doesn't actually count, in my view. My sister had a large house in Jamaica, and she was good friends with a lot of government people. And Jamaica was small enough so that you could see all the problems of an underdeveloped area. It wasn't like India, which is beyond any kind of scale. I had lived in the Middle East, so I had been used to thinking about problems of how you feed people in Iraq or Iran, and the problems of agriculture—all the usual things, maybe on a simple level. So Harrison and I used to sit around and think about

Jamaican problems. Then, when the minister of health or various people involved with the Jamaican government would come to visit, we would talk to them about these problems, too. So this was where Harrison first got interested, I think. I contributed something—my sister, having the opportunity to provide Harrison acquaintance with all the government people—and there was Jamaica itself, which had a population problem of a very severe sort. And it was small enough so that you could see it. It was manageable. And we got talking about trying to raise the money for some kind of laboratory-size experiment, to see what you could do. I don't know if anything came of it. And people in the government were all interested in this. At that point, the British had a governor general; I think we met him once. But it was the Jamaicans who were the officials running the place that we spent our time with. And then there was a Jamaican doctor who had a large practice on the north coast and who knew a lot about all the health problems. So we talked to him a lot, too.

So that's when Harrison first started—as far as I know—paying attention to those problems. And he started *The Challenge of Man's Future*, which I guess was his most enduring, best known book. It was published in 1954 by Viking. It was an avocational book, because it was not about the business of the geology department or the business of the Institute for Nuclear Studies. It was about populations and resources.

COHEN: So the Jamaican experience was certainly the catalyst.

BROWN: Yes, I believe so.

COHEN: And I think he must have had his ideas of survival already from the atomic work. So it came together.

BROWN: Yes. And *Challenge* was the first book to attempt to quantify the relationship between populations and arable land, and tons of steel in place, tons of copper, and a level of living. Fairfield Osborn had done a book called *Our Plundered Planet* [1948], which talked about the problems of using up resources, and there were a couple of others. But Harrison sat down and did calculations in which he determined that, for instance, in America there were then—and maybe still, about, if you count all forms of steel—cars and hypodermic needles and everything—about eight tons of steel per person in America. In Japan, there were about three

tons of steel per person, and you saw a correspondingly lower level of technology. And in India, there was about a half a ton of steel per person. So he developed this measure—of tons of steel per person—as a measure of the level of technology, and found that it worked out very well. And he also looked at all the rare elements. That book, I think, was his most enduring book, and for a number of years it sold more copies each year than it had the previous year.

COHEN: Were you involved in any way with his writing, Rudd? Because that is your skill.

BROWN: Well, I wasn't practicing it at that point. No, I wasn't. He would write this book. In fact, the book was an interesting problem for me, because I was intensely interested in it and in the material and what it could potentially do. On the other hand, at that point, he would go off to work at eight o'clock or eight-thirty in the morning; he would come home at five-thirty, have a Martini, eat dinner, and go to his study and work. [Laughter] My only contribution—he'd wake me up at midnight, "Let me read you what I've written." To me, it was a terrible deprivation, though I did indeed think the book was important.

COHEN: So there was the urge on both your parts to leave Chicago. And the opportunity presented itself at Caltech, which you had visited, and he was happy to take it?

BROWN: Yes. I think Beno Gutenberg was probably the person who was mainly responsible for Harrison being offered that appointment. And you have to admit, it was a very imaginative thing to do, because Harrison had never been on a field trip. And the first year or two we were here, the other members of the department [the Division of Geological Sciences] used to like to joke about Harrison taking Freshmen Camp, or whatever it was.

COHEN: This was a big departure for a traditional geology department—that somebody would be involved with chemistry.

Brown: That's exactly what I'm saying—a really very, very courageous thing to do.

COHEN: Which worked out very well. But some very distinguished people came. Now, Harrison already had students. There was Clair Patterson?

BROWN: Yes, and Pat came after Harrison did. The people who came with Harrison—Pat was one who came. Then there were ones who left, like a guy called Chuck McKinney, who I think was good at building things, as I recall. And a guy called Walter Nichiporuk, I think; he was around for a year or two.

COHEN: They were already here when you came out?

Brown: I don't think so. They came with us, or shortly thereafter.

COHEN: They came from Chicago also?

Brown: Yes, that's my understanding.

COHEN: So this was a whole new department—a new departure—and they were going to set up this geochemistry—

Brown: Yes.

COHEN: And so Clair came, and these other people you mentioned. What were your impressions when you first came? What did you think of Caltech? You said you had come out another time to find a house. Did you then buy a house before you moved out here?

BROWN: Yes, we bought a small house in Altadena. My sister lent us the down payment. It's hard to remember. I found it all fascinating. House hunting was really very confusing, because the meanest, ugliest, nastiest house was a thousand times better looking than anything in Chicago. [Laughter] So for the first days, I was just trying to select, to try and decide what I liked and what I didn't like. It was all new; I had never owned a house before. The arrangement we made was that I came out five days earlier than Harrison. I stayed at the Athenaeum—this was in 1951—and I was house hunting. Having been in the real estate business myself, I know I did something terrible, and that was that I worked with two different real estate agents without telling them. And I went around and looked at houses for five days and picked out five that I liked the best. And then Harrison turned up, and then he went around and looked at the five I

had picked out, and then together we made a selection and made an offer, and that's how we did it.

COHEN: How did you find Caltech? Were people friendly?

BROWN: Oh, heavens, yes! It's all a little hazy to me now; but I can remember Al [Albert E. J.] and Celeste Engel were very friendly; and Bob [Robert P.] and Jean Sharp were very friendly. There were department parties. Harrison and I had a bunch of Jamaican musical instruments. And there was a geology festival called the Zilch Brau, which was an excuse for everybody drinking too much beer, as near as I can figure. And with everybody concurring, we put together a rhythm band. Harrison played the piano and other guys shook the maracas. They all wore tropical shirts. People were willing to have a good time. They partied happily.

COHEN: So he came and got settled here. When did he really start being so active in national affairs, academy affairs?

BROWN: I don't know. I don't really know what year he was elected to the National Academy. [1955] I know he was very young. It was after we came here.

Bob [H. P.] Robertson died [1961], and Harrison somehow was appointed, or elected, foreign secretary. Bob Robertson had apparently run the foreign secretary-ship out of his vest pocket. Harrison, however, had other visions for it. And through grants and various other skills, he built an office for the foreign secretary. He had about fifty people there. It was a sizable operation.

COHEN: Did you go to live in Washington?

BROWN: No, no. He was full-time here. He had essentially two full-time jobs. He was out of town about sixty percent of the time.

COHEN: But he still did his teaching?

BROWN: I don't know that he taught very much. I really don't know what he was doing, to tell

you the honest truth. [Laughter] You know, he'd come home; I'd say, "How was everything?" "Fine." "What did you do?" "Fine." [Laughter]

But I did learn some things, and one was what he had in mind at the National Academy. As foreign secretary, he did a couple of things. One is in the early 1960s—1962 or '63—he had noticed that there was easy scientific exchange between America and Western Europe. People came back and forth all the time. And with the Soviet Union, there was scientific exchange that was negotiated with the cultural exchange agreements negotiated by the State Department. And they were in the form of so many physicist PhD hours for so many physicist PhD hours. It was very formal, but it worked. But there was essentially no exchange with the academies of the Eastern European countries. So he decided to open this up. He and I went first to Moscow, and then we toured, and we went to Prague and Budapest and Bucharest and Sofia. And Belgrade, Yugoslavia, had two national academies of science. We also went to Zagreb where they had one. And then to Warsaw. And we were guests of the academies. And from this, he attempted to work out something. So that was one thing he did.

Another thing he did was he observed that whereas the abundant agricultural production is in the temperate zones, the starving people are in the tropical zones; that's where most of the hunger is. So he felt that there should be more research in tropical agriculture, and he was instrumental, or helped, or worked to establish an institute in the wet tropics and an institute in the high tropics—I think it was in the Andes—and then an institute in the dry tropics.

COHEN: Was this sponsored by the National Academy?

BROWN: Yes. Also, in the 1970s, the academy—and maybe other organizations—played host to something called the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association, for a delegation which traveled around this country. And in return, the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association invited the Academy and the National Academy of Engineering and the Social Science Research Council, all to form a delegation. So in 1973 this was done, and Harrison and a bunch of others—and I was included—all went to China for a month. This was early on for Americans traveling in China. At the National Academy, he was, as a proper foreign secretary, working for exchange with scientists of other countries and stimulating research to take care of the world's hunger while trying to control the world population.

COHEN: So he really had two avenues: One was the natural getting together of the academies, which is what the purpose of the foreign office is, although he evidently developed this; it had not been very active.

BROWN: Well, it hadn't been anything at all, as I understand it. I think Bob Robertson had half a secretary.

COHEN: But then he really came back to his own real interest, which was population and hunger?

Brown: Yes. Well, you know, he had a joint appointment between geology and humanities. And I don't know when that was, because that came later [1967]. And he had an office in Baxter.

COHEN: Was this after Harold Brown came, when the social sciences faculty was established in the humanities division? Or was this earlier?

BROWN: I'm not sure [Brown's joint appointment was made in 1967, two years before the advent of Harold Brown as Caltech president—ed.]. That was his main office. That appointment was called "professor of science and government."

COHEN: So he was really doing public policy.

Brown: Yes, I suppose.

COHEN: Was he doing very much geochemistry anymore?

BROWN: Probably not very much at all. I really don't know. What has to be said here parenthetically, is that although we were indeed married, legally speaking, for twenty-five years, it was not a close, communicating marriage for the last ten or fifteen years. We were perfectly friendly, but he wasn't inclined to come home and say, "Let me tell you what happened at the office today, honey," and so forth. I was off doing my own thing. So that being the case, I can only give you certain clues.

COHEN: So when he finally left here, you really were not very much in communication.

BROWN: When he left here [1977]—we had dissolved the marriage in 1975. And in 1976, I guess it was, he had surgery for cancer of the lung; it was picked up in a routine physical exam. It was in one lung, and the malignancy was still in a capsule, apparently, and they felt—if anything is good—that he had a good chance. Afterwards, he thought about this. He knew a lot of medical people all over the country, too. So he called all of his medical buddies and talked about what you do after cancer of the lung. And he found that there were very good statistics for what you did if you had radiation, but very little was known about how you'd come out if you didn't have radiation. So he decided to have radiation, though the state of the malignancy was the best it could be, given that it was there at all.

Then about two or three years after that, he began to have a little problem with one foot dragging. And then he became increasingly incapacitated. And then the question was, What was it? At the time, nobody knew what it was. Though three or four years later, when I was talking to a doctor about it, the doctor said, "Oh, yes, that was such-and-such." And by then it had been seen enough so that it could be diagnosed. And apparently what happens is—according to what I have been told—that in one person in a thousand who has radiation, the radiation causes damage to the nerves and they slowly decay and cease to function. So Harrison became increasingly incapacitated.

When he went to Hawaii—he went in '77 or '78—he said to me that he figured he had enough time to do one more thing well in his life and that if he had stayed at Caltech he would have been arguing about budget and money. And the University of Hawaii, the East-West Center, had given him essentially a carte-blanche offer to do whatever he wanted to do. So that's why he went. He stayed there until 1982 or '83, when he had reached the point that this incapacity had become so severe that he felt he was no longer able to pull his weight, to do the job properly. So then he retired.

COHEN: By this time, he had given up the foreign secretary office in the National Academy?

BROWN: I think he did not run for reelection somewhere along there. We were really not very much in communication at all at this point, so I can't really tell you when that was. [He served as foreign secretary until 1974.—ed.]

COHEN: So how long did he actually live in Hawaii?

Brown: Five or six years.

COHEN: And he had remarried at this point?

BROWN: Yes. He married Theresa Tellez, who had worked for him at the National Academy. She was an expert on Latin American affairs.

COHEN: And you remained here, of course, and made your own life here. Is there anything you wanted to add about the years you were here with Harrison?

BROWN: Well, if you want me to talk about him, I can talk about him; I can talk about Caltech. About him, I would say that one of the things that was pronounced about him was that when I first met him, he was a very funny man—given to fairly harmless practical jokes. Every year on New Year's Eve, he would stand on his head. He liked to laugh. He was good company. We had a succession of—she said modestly—dazzling parties [laughter], where we'd completely redo the house and everybody would be in fancy dress. And Harrison just thought it was terrific. He liked people. He was a warm and entertaining man.

I must report that sometime in 1967, '68—certainly in the late sixties, early seventies—this changed. And this is not just my observation; it's other people's observations, too. He became far more somber. I don't know what it was. There are various thoughts about it.

COHEN: Is there anything in particular about how people accepted Harrison here that you'd like to say? I have a feeling he was a great favorite.

BROWN: I have no idea about that. He never said anything to suggest that he was unhappy in any way. Every now and then, he used to grumble quietly about politics in the geology division—not about what was happening to him but the skirmishing and scrambling that he was aware of other people doing. And I kind of thought that that may be a little bit because he came in as a professor and therefore he didn't have to skirmish and scramble. And he was—just because of his position, perhaps—above the battle and therefore couldn't understand it. He was

doing his own thing, perfectly amiably. I'm trying to think if I ever heard him say that there was anybody he really disliked.

COHEN: Who were his close friends here?

BROWN: I don't know that men have friends. Do you think men have friends? They have associates, but do they have friends?

COHEN: Well, they sometimes have buddies that they do things with.

BROWN: Uh-huh. Well, he didn't watch the Super Bowl or play golf or tennis. He didn't do "buddy" kinds of things.

COHEN: So it would have been the large social groups that he enjoyed so much.

BROWN: Yes, he enjoyed that. He liked being the center of attention. He liked playing the piano, and everybody would gather around.

COHEN: And just the give-and-take of a good dinner party.

BROWN: Yes, he liked that. And he liked to talk. And he was interested in ideas and interested in people. He was very gregarious. He was very happy to have parties.

COHEN: Harrison did some political work.

BROWN: Well, he did. I was heavily involved in politics, as you know; and therefore I had a lot of political associates and buddies. And Harrison was recruited by one of my political buddies to run for the Democratic County Central Committee. Committee people are elected on the primary ballot—or they were then. And nobody ever campaigns for it, because it's an unpaid assignment. So you just put your name down and your ballot designation. And Harrison was recruited because "professor" or "teacher" was a good ballot designation. And so he got elected. So he used to go down to the County Central Committee. And the friend who had recruited him

was a political organizational genius called Helen Myers. She would coach Harrison and the other members [laughter] about what issues are important and how to vote and what to do, and so forth. He probably stayed with this for one term, which is two years.

I'm telling you all of this because when he was foreign secretary of the academy, he used to go to international meetings. And he used to go with a great book prepared full of things he was trying to do and people and all this stuff, and the motions he was going to make, and the resolutions, and how he was going to get these things accomplished. He would pat the book and say to me, "All of this is courtesy of the Democratic County Central Committee. That's how I learned to do it all." [Laughter]

COHEN: But it was just a very interim thing; he really wasn't interested in—

BROWN: Oh, no, he wasn't interested in running for office. However—very interesting—back when we were in Chicago, there was a brief time when the congressman representing the district in which we were living near the university was a man called Barratt O'Hara, and somebody asked, "Is he son of the Barratt O'Hara who was involved in the scandal of 1903?" No, it turned out he was the Barratt O'Hara who was involved, the same one. [Laughter] In any event, Leo Szilard and Harrison decided that Harrison should run for Congress. [Laughter] Briefly they entertained this notion. So the first thing he did was to—typically, you had to go to church on Sunday morning, so we all went out and went to church. But it didn't last.

COHEN: Politics wasn't worth that much trouble.

BROWN: [Laughter] I think that the essentially untidy nature of politics, the uncontrolled nature of it—neither Leo, who is a great backroom operator, as I'm sure you know, and was a great skilled lobbyist in Washington—I don't think that Leo or Harrison could have stood what it took to be in politics.

COHEN: So actually he probably came into politics through your interest?

BROWN: Yes. He used to go when I was running for office, and I would be sitting at the table where the nominees were all sitting, and Harrison would be sitting at the spouses' table. He

thought this was very funny. It was really very nice. Because he was never threatened at all by any degree of celebrity I achieved when I was a political hotshot. I had some visibility in those days, and it never bothered him. He was proud of it and pleased with it. He was comfortable in his own skin, and secure, and so it didn't trouble him. He said that you could have in this world either power or influence, and from his position in the academy, he figured that what he could achieve was influence.

COHEN: And he did.

Brown: Yes. You know, he was on television shows all the time. He was interviewed and he would appear and talk about this or that.

COHEN: How many books did he write?

Brown: Oh, heavens! Must Destruction Be Our Destiny? was the first. And then Challenge of Man's Future. And then he did one with John Weir and Jim Bonner called The Next Hundred Years [1957]. And then they did a thing called *The Next Ninety Years* ten years later. The three of them had a seminar. Jim Bonner and John Weir and Harrison Brown put together a seminar at Caltech's request, and went around and presented the panel of lectures to corporations who provided money for Caltech.

COHEN: Was this done as part of the Industrial Relations Center?

Brown: Yes, I think that's what it was. They went around and came back full of all kinds of stories about the different management personalities, the styles of the different corporations they visited. And you know, he was the editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. And when he fetched up in Albuquerque finally—he retired to Albuquerque from Honolulu—and was severely incapacitated, he became the *Bulletin* editor again and was very proud and pleased to do that. And something called the Westview Press brought out a new edition of *Challenge of Man's* Future [1984]. So he was pleased with that. So he was working up to within weeks of the end of his life [1986].

COHEN: This disability didn't affect his mind.

BROWN: No. And he was very, very pleased about that. In 1984 I was in Santa Fe, at the time of the Olympics, and as we drove down from Santa Fe towards Albuquerque, a friend and I, the Olympic torch was being carried north—we saw the runner going along. And when I was in Albuquerque, I went to see Harrison. At that point, he was confined to a wheelchair, and he'd gotten a computer—a PC—and was very pleased. It did everything but make coffee, and he didn't think he would need a secretary ever again. He was busy writing papers and working.

COHEN: He really made a very large contribution.

BROWN: I think he was a very valuable man. It seems to me that if either of us had had better sense, we might have kept the marriage together. But in any event, he was a valuable man. I really didn't want to be married to him. I liked him a lot better when we weren't married than I did when we were. When we were married, I wanted him to do things he couldn't do or wouldn't do, or didn't care to do. And when we weren't married, I didn't expect him to do much of anything, so whatever he did, I liked. [Laughter] He was a valuable and useful man, and the world's a better place because he was on the Earth.

COHEN: Talk just a little bit about Harrison's attitude toward money.

BROWN: Yes, he was not interested in money. He wanted enough so that he could live comfortably, but he was not interested in big and fancy cars, and he was not interested in a lot of clothing. I did some lecturing for money after I was involved with politics, and the manager I worked for—a management company in San Francisco—was eager to sign Harrison up. And Harrison wasn't a bit interested. And they kept saying, "Oh, we can get this and this and this." He said, "I only lecture when I've got something to say." The only time he lectured for money was when I was running for office. It was costing us a lot of money to have a campaign in the household. So he would go out and give a lecture and get paid for it so he could pay the political bills. [Laughter]

COHEN: What else were you running for, Rudd?

BROWN: Oh, I ran for Congress. I was the Democratic nominee for Congress in 1958 and 1960 in the 21st District. And in '58 I came very close. Not only that, but was declared the winner for twenty-four hours. So it was all very exciting.

COHEN: So he was willing to pitch in, in that respect.

BROWN: Oh, well, he was the finance chairman. He said he had to be, for the sake of fiscal solvency. In those days, first-class postage was three cents, so you could have a campaign that cost a lot less than they cost nowadays.

COHEN: And you didn't have to buy television time. Or *did* you buy television time?

BROWN: No, we didn't. But we bought radio time. And we did have a half-hour television show.

COHEN: So he was actively involved in your political campaigns.

BROWN: Oh, yes, because he was raising money. In any event, money was not of interest to him. And all the trappings—he was not concerned. We lived pleasantly in a small house. He did attain considerable prestige and considerable visibility, and he didn't have any particular desire to move to a larger or fancier house or drive a bigger or fancier car. I must say, one of the things that I personally like so much about the academic world—this is generally speaking—they derive their satisfaction in other places. My sister was married to three very wealthy men, whereas I never get involved with men who care about money.

COHEN: Speak a little bit about the early colleagues who came with or worked with Harrison.

BROWN: Well, Heinz and Ilse Lowenstam came from Chicago after we were settled in here. They turned up on a Monday evening; we met them at the airport—they were staying until Friday morning. And between Monday and Friday, they were going to find and buy a house and go into escrow. Ilse had kids in each of the levels of school, so she was going to visit the primary, secondary, and high schools. And Heinz was going to do two days of collecting on the

beach. And believe it or not, he only got half a day collecting on the beach, but they found and bought a house and went into escrow and visited all the schools. After they moved out here, I was close and good friends with them.

COHEN: Did you know them in Chicago?

BROWN: No. I didn't know them in Chicago. I think Harrison did. I knew Clair Patterson in Chicago. And I can't remember whether I met Lorie there or not. And when they came here, I saw them. I didn't see them very much. They got a house in La Cañada, not far from where we lived. They had four adorable children, practically a year apart. And Sam Epstein. I remember the Engels very clearly; they were here when we got here. And I remember Dick [Richard H.] and Frances Jahns; they were in geology, too. The line I remember [laughter]—Dick was doing something, and Frances, who specialized in being the adoring wife, said, "After all, Dick is a legend at Caltech." [Laughter] That electrified the other wives.

Talk about socializing, what was striking to me was that in the social gatherings what tended to happen was that the women would stand and sit on one side of the room, and discuss babies and baby formula. And the men would be on the other side talking shop. [Laughter] And I didn't have a baby and also couldn't talk geological shop. I found I had limited interests in other people's babies and formula problems and no ability to talk shop. So I'd stir around, trying to do something. Ilse Lowenstam was sort of a buddy; and we thought this was pretty funny. I remember Jean Sharp was a very kind lady. She was a weaver.

COHEN: Wasn't she a professional geologist, too? Or she had some interest in geology.

BROWN: I can't remember. Celeste Engel did. The Engels left, and they went to San Diego or somewhere south. Celeste was a geologist.

COHEN: You said the Sharps were always very friendly.

BROWN: Yes. You know, Bob is a very, very nice guy. [Laughter] When we first came, there was some talk about who was going to be chairman of the division—as I recall, something about Harrison being consulted on this. Did he approve of this? Somehow Harrison had some kind of

position, so that his opinion was valued. And I remember Charles Richter and Lillian Richter. They lived in a house built by Richard Neutra—which I think has been destroyed by the 210 freeway. It was one of Neutra's small houses, in which we had dinner one evening. And they showed home movies that were the ultimate in cliché home movies—you know, where you couldn't identify the people, and he would stand and mug in front of the camera, and they'd flap their arms. [Laughter]

And Imra Buwalda was very much a figure on the scene. Imra was a marvelous lady. I guess she was about five feet eleven, or six feet tall. I think Imra had been a policewoman before she married John Peter Buwalda. John Peter Buwalda had vanished by the time we turned up, so I just knew Imra, and Imra and I became friends. She was acquainted with a jeweler somewhere over on La Cienega, called Svoboda. And Imra and I would go over to Svoboda's and buy Christmas presents together. And Imra had a mother who was in her nineties, I guess, and was worried about that.

COHEN: Did Harrison ever have anything more to do with Harold Urey when they moved down to San Diego?

BROWN: You know, what happens is these guys all get together at scientific meetings, and they have a lot to do with each other. But if you're sitting at home, you don't know about this. So I have no idea what Harrison and Harold had to do with each other.

Another person who was a friend was Roger Revelle. We went down and visited, and Roger and Ellen had a marvelous house in La Jolla—attractive people, those two.

I hadn't mentioned that Harrison was head of the International Council of Scientific Unions at one point [1974-1976]. There was a meeting in Erevan, I remember.

COHEN: So you traveled a good bit with Harrison?

BROWN: I did, indeed; not nearly as much as he did, but a lot. He got an honorary degree from Cambridge University in England once.

COHEN: So he was well honored in his lifetime.

BROWN: Oh, yes. One cannot say that he was not honored. He didn't achieve the highest star on the Christmas tree. But then there are so few of those.

Harrison was for several years a consultant, or somehow affiliated with, an organization called the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions—also called the Fund for the Republic—which was first here in Southern California. Robert Hutchins was the head of it. It was here in San Marino, I guess, and then it moved up to Santa Barbara; it was up on Eucalyptus Hill in Montecito. His connection was that two or three times during the year, maybe four times a year, he'd go up for three or four days and stay there. And then in the summer we'd be up there for three or four weeks, and we'd stay at San Ysidro Ranch—which wasn't as hideously expensive as it is now, but mighty attractive. And he would do this or that at the center. And so he did that, and he wrote papers. He and Jim Real worked together on things. And Walter Millis, I think. I think it had to do with preventing war. This was in the sixties. Robert Hutchins asked Harrison to come and join the staff of the center full-time. I don't think he thought about it a nanosecond.

COHEN: He wasn't interested?

BROWN: No. The building was bewitching, up on a hill with a view of the ocean. We were driving up there one morning—it was one of those incredible Santa Barbara days. The coastline was curvy, and no oil platforms in those days. And the sun was shining and the sea was silver chain mail—just marvelous! We looked out over this beautiful countryside and these beautiful estates, and one of us said to the other, "Why is paradise so unappealing?" Because it really was, completely unappealing. And the answer was it had nothing to do with real life, nothing at all.

[Tape ends]