This bibliography gives the reader a comprehensive resource for discovering more information on the legacy of conservation in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the people who shaped that legacy.
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About the Authors

Dr. Brian Black is Professor of History and Environmental Studies at Penn State Altoona, where he currently serves as Head of Arts and Humanities. His research emphasis is on the landscape and environmental history of North America, particularly in relation to the application and use of energy and technology. He is the author of several books, including the award-winning *Petrolia: The Landscape of America’s First Oil Boom* (Johns Hopkins, 2003) and *Crude Reality: Petroleum in World History* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). He is also the editor of a number of books, including the *Nature’s Entrepot: Philadelphia’s Urban Sphere and its Environmental Thresholds* (University of Pittsburgh, 2013). He is a former editor of *Pennsylvania History* and he also served as co-editor of “Oil in American History,” the 2012 special issue of the *Journal of American History* (available at http://journalofamericanhistory.org/projects/oil/index.html).

Marcy Ladson graduated from Penn State Altoona with degrees in history and environmental studies. She received her Master’s degree in history from the University of Pittsburgh, where she is currently pursuing doctoral studies. Her research interests include land use and public policy concerning energy issues, extractive industries and agriculture during the 20th century, with particular focus on Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic. Her dissertation topic is the impact of natural gas drilling in Pennsylvania before the Marcellus boom.

*Research for this bibliography was generously supported by the Pennsylvania Association of Environmental Professionals.*
Pennsylvania Conservation History
Annotated Bibliography

**Air Pollution**

Demonstrates the role of civic activism in determining environmental policy through the case history of the Pittsburgh grass-roots organization GASP dedicated to cleaner air.

Pittsburgh ethnic working-class voters’ role in mid-twentieth century politics of air pollution.


Analysis of the public discussion and policy debates in the wake of deadly emissions from the zinc works in Donora.

History of the earliest national effort for clean air in the age of coal, in which Pennsylvania figures prominently.

**Carson and Pesticides**

Carson’s editor portrays the remarkable story of her personal life and challenges.
Pennsylvania native Carson’s famous and eloquent work on the dangers of pesticides fundamental to the beginnings of the modern environmental movement.

Definitive and exhaustive biography of the famous Pennsylvanian whose work *Silent Spring*, on the dangers of pesticides, helped launch the modern environmental movement.

Compact and accessible new biography of Carson, including the influence of her early life in Pennsylvania on her writing, her defining legacy.

**Energy**

http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/summer/20385
Details about and web links to the seventeen Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission sites that trace the historic pre-eminence and variety of Pennsylvania’s contribution to the national energy supply. Includes: “oil, anthracite coal, and lumber; colonial understanding of solar and heat energy for cooking and comfort; the use of animal, water, and wind power in agriculture and industrial uses; … an energy tour of the State Museum of Pennsylvania; the roles of energy, man, and machine in the modern military” (from the abstract).

Definitive history of the nineteenth century beginnings of America’s oil industry in Titusville, Pennsylvania, and the surrounding region, including historic photographs.

Article Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774212
Nineteenth century oil boom and the rule of capture.

“Icons shape many of our memories of historical events. This image of colonel Edwin Drake (in top hat, below) and a local druggist named Peter Wilson at the world’s first intentionally drilled oil well was shot by an unknown photographer in 1861. It illustrates the birth of the conspicuous consumption of hydrocarbons in the hills of Pennsylvania. We assume, with our subconscious knowledge of resources, that this oil well sparked a clear change in our usage that resulted in Henry Ford’s Model T, “Getting Our Kicks on route 66,” OPEC’s embargo, and American’s fetish with gas-guzzling vehicles like GM’s Hummer. Closer to home, we might see the natural connections to Breezewood, Pennsylvania, the city of motels, the Lincoln Highway, or the Pennsylvania Turnpike.” (6)


“The extraction of coal, oil, and natural gas has been a source of power and wealth, but also unintended consequences that have undermined the previously unquestioned faith in technological progress. An important role for historians—and particularly environmental historians—is to find the critical common theme to this story of humans’ most integral relationship with the natural environment, to mine the story for its important lessons about the past that will surely inform the nation’s energy future.” (397)


Biography of Tarbell, born 1857 in Hatch Hollow, Pennsylvania, whose early life in Titusville during the nation’s first oil boom inspired her famous muck-raking account of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company.

Coal mining in western Pennsylvania.

Coal patch town that was also home to moonshiners.

Bituminous coal regions examined as context for the efforts of the America’s Industrial Heritage Project, tracing the importance of soft coal and coke in four periods: The Emergence of Coal in the Age of Wood 1740-1840; Transportation, Iron and Railroad as Impetus for the Expansion of the Coal and Coke Industry; The Golden Era of King Coal, Queen Coke and Princess Steel, 1180-1920; and Retrenchment, Decline and the Mechanized Mine.


Case study of anthracite from the Schuylkill and Lehigh valleys: “Between 1820 and 1860, the construction of a network of coal-carrying canals transformed the society, economy, and environment of the eastern mid-Atlantic. Artificial waterways created a new built environment for the region, an energy landscape in which anthracite coal could be transported cheaply, reliably, and in ever-increasing quantities. Flush with fossil fuel energy for the first time, mid-Atlantic residents experimented with new uses of coal in homes, iron forges, steam engines, and factories. Their efforts exceeded practically all expectations. Over the course of four decades, shipments of anthracite coal increased exponentially, helping turn a rural and commercial economy into an urban and industrial one. This article examines the development of coal canals in the antebellum period to provide new insights into how and why Americans came to adopt fossil fuels, when and where this happened, and the social consequences of these developments.” (from the abstract)


Just before the Civil War, Booth and several associates formed the Fuller Farm Oil company along the Allegheny River.


Chapter 3, “Selfish Interests: Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Pennsylvania,” pp. 43-60, covers the coalition between rural landowners, sportsmen’s clubs and labor activists and their efforts to support regulation of surface mining.


Tarbell’s career in investigative journalism, especially concerning the abuses of the early oil industry, had its roots in her childhood spent in the nineteenth century western Pennsylvanian oil fields.


Early local labor history in Connellsville.

Shirk Jr., Willis L. “‘Atoms for Peace’ in Pennsylvania.” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 2 (Spring, 2009).

**http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/spring/20386**

Less well known than the Three Mile Island nuclear facility, America’s first commercial nuclear plant was the Eisenhower-era plant located in Shippingport, PA.


The first hydroelectric power plant on the lower Susquehanna, part of a widespread initiative for water-generated power in the early twentieth century.

Smith, Michael F. “Dan Desmond, Eyewitness to Energy History.” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 2 (Spring, 2009).

**http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/history/4569/viewpoint_on_energy/471313**

Interview with Pennsylvania’s ‘Energy Czar’ who has spent more than thirty years working to develop sustainable energy sources in the state.


“In 1852 the railroad crossed the Appalachian Mountains, opening the rich bituminous coal fields of Western Pennsylvania to extensive exploitation and development. In the process, some of the most fertile valleys in Western Pennsylvania were exposed to widespread environmental damages from the mining of coal, the making of coke, and the smelting of iron.” (12)
Deadly labor conflict in the anthracite coal fields.

Nineteenth century Lehigh Valley ironworks begun after the industry changed fuels from charcoal to coal.

Names activist groups in Southwestern PA that successfully lobbied for surface mining legislation, shows where environmental concern was focused in the early environmental era.

[http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/spring/20386](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/spring/20386)
Interview with Drake Well Museum administrator Barbara T. Zolli on the nation’s first oil well.

[http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/fall/20384](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/fall/20384)
The long tradition and new investment in wind power use in Pennsylvania, with photographs.

[http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/events/4279/lattimer_massacre/478735](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/events/4279/lattimer_massacre/478735)
Bitter and deadly labor dispute in the hard-coal region of northwestern Pennsylvania.

The 1959 mining tragedy caused when a mineshaft was improperly bored under the Susquehanna River, which broke through the roof and flooded the tunnel. The disaster marked the end of the anthracite industry, and had environmental impacts as well.
First person, newspaper and other published accounts, as well as music about the 1959 mine disaster.

Woolever, Kristin. “Pithole City.” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 10, no. 3 (Summer, 1984).
Infamous boomtown in Pennsylvania’s first oil fields, founded in 1865 and gone by 1877.

**Forestry**

To better assess the achievements of “the Forrest Gump” of progressive environmentalists, “this article reconsiders the political ground that Pinchot stood on when he launched his career in the late nineteenth century.” (198)

Early legislation and the building of public support for the conservation of Penn’s Woods following the wholesale nineteenth century deforestation, with discussion of Joseph Rothrock and the Pennsylvania Forestry Association.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Pennsylvania forestry initiatives.

“Even before Americans declared their independence from Great Britain, demands on the forests for building materials, firewood, potash, and charcoal had combined with agricultural clearing to eliminate most readily accessible timber along the Atlantic seaboard. But timber remained plentiful in the interior, and enterprising Americans were not long in tapping it. To get wood from where it grew to the population centers nearer the coast, frontiersmen developed a system of rafting that they and their descendants were to continue to use, in one watershed after another, for over two centuries.” (124)


Maass, Eleanor. *Forestry Pioneer: The Life of Joseph Trimble Rothrock*. Lebanon, PA: Pennsylvania Forestry Association, 2003. Most recent and only complete biography of the organizer of Pennsylvania’s forestry agency and first forestry school who was also a Civil war veteran, surgeon, botanist and ‘Father of Pennsylvania Forestry.’
Dock was a strong supporter of conservation in the era of Pinchot, McFarland and Rothrock.

Rated best modern biography of Pennsylvania governor, founder of the U.S. Forest Service under Theodore Roosevelt, a leader of the early conservation and progressive movements.

Miller reexamines Pinchot’s intellectual contribution to environmentalism outside the common judgment of him as a strictly utilitarian conservationist diametrically opposed to John Muir in the conservationist/preservationist dichotomy.

First in-depth study of Dock, activist, botanist, suffragist, first woman appointed to a Pennsylvania government position, spent twelve years in the Pennsylvania Forest Commission, worked with Rothrock and Pinchot to found the Mount Alto forestry school.

Story of the administration of the New Deal era program in PA, and the men who performed conservation and preservation work, planted trees, fought forest fires, constructed facilities in parks.

Pinchot kept extensive diaries throughout his life.
A generation before Gifford Pinchot, Rothrock is termed the ‘Father of Pennsylvania Forestry.’ A scientific Progressive and conservationist whose values were formed in an era when wood provided the primary domestic and industrial fuel, he nevertheless was also interested in the preservation of forests apart from their utilitarian value.

Founding of the Mont Alto Forestry School as part of Pennsylvania State University system.


Pennsylvania’s state forest overview, and individual histories of the twenty state forests, illustrated.

**General Conservation**

Highly informative and illustrated summary of the state’s environmental resources and history, includes many maps.

Biographies of individuals important to Pennsylvanian environmental history from colonial times to postwar modern America.

Discusses Gifford Pinchot’s pivotal conservation work in the context of the Progressive Movement.


Reexamination of the origins of environmentalism in Christian stewardship of God’s creation; “we still imperfectly understand the multiplicity of relationships of our colonial ancestors to the “newfound-land” of the western hemisphere.” (69)

The best account of the great flood. Discusses contributing factors including the effects of industrialization and deforestation in Pennsylvania.


History of citizen participation in Pennsylvania environmental protection.

This is a proposal made during the early 1970s energy crisis, backed by the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy, for an integrated statewide plan to manage the state’s land and resources. It address cropland loss, suburban sprawl, extractive industries, wilderness protection, and flood control. Included is a detailed survey of PA residents’ attitudes toward land-use regulation.

• Overview: Pennsylvanians and the Environment
• Chapter One: Penn’s Woods
• Chapter Two: Exploitation and Renewal
• Chapter Three: Creatures Great and Small


Zimmerman, L. Wilbur. “Like Father, Like Son: The Extraordinary Bartrams.” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 21, no. 3 (Summer, 1995)

**Parks and Wilderness**


Pennsylvanian native Zahniser was instrumental in the passage of the landmark 1964 Wilderness Act, and made many other contributions to environmental causes.


The CCC in Pennsylvania under Governor Pinchot was one of the most successful state New Deal programs. Over the course of its existence it built forest trails, dams, bridges, and planted over 50 million trees.


Subject headings: Erie National Wildlife Refuge; and Crawford County, Pennsylvania antiquities and local history.


“When Congress passed the National Trails Act of 1968, the Appalachian Trail shifted from being a regional grassroots endeavor to being part of the national park system. As the National Park Service began to acquire land for the corridor, private citizens who once maintained the trail through informal handshake agreements became directly involved in one of the most complex federal land acquisition programs in U.S. history. Local communities responded to the unusual public-private partnership in a variety of ways—from cooperation to contestation. This analysis reveals the relational, complex, and fluid nature of the categories of “public” and “private” and demonstrates how a dynamic interplay of power and authority between different interests blazed the way for the kinds of public-private partnerships that have come to characterize twenty-first century environmental policy.” (From the abstract) Discusses the Appalachian Trail route through Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania, and reactions from Pennsylvania farmers.


Goddard served 24 years in the cabinets of six governors of Pennsylvania, during which time he oversaw the establishment of the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources, and initiated the creation of 45 state parks managed and staffed with people educated in wildlife science.

The history, transformation and preservation of the road that has been an Indian trail, trade route, railway path, Braddock’s Road and first National Road, and now through the work of the Allegheny Trail Alliance part of the Great Allegheny Passage that links Pittsburgh with Washington, D.C.


Part of the Fairmount Park system in Philadelphia.


Saylor was a Republican congressman who represented a Pennsylvania coal district. He was active in the fight to save wild and scenic rivers nationally, and advocated coal-fire electrical generation instead of hydroelectric dams. But he also advocated for reclamation of mined lands.


Profile of conservative Republican congressman from Johnstown, nonetheless active in wild river preservation on the national level, and also fought the proposed damming of the Allegheny River.

**Three Mile Island**


Community organization and participation, and the social aspects of nuclear power and radiation pollution.


Reproduction of the NRC final report that included fundamental changes in safety policy for nuclear plants.

The accident and its cleanup, with background on nuclear power, discussion of public information and understanding, and future energy alternatives.


Nuclear safety and the problem of industry self-regulation.

Three Mile Island Nuclear Powerplant Accident: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Nuclear Regulation of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, United States Senate, Ninety-Sixth Congress, First Session, November 8 and 9, 1979 (accessed May 1, 2014).

http://www.heinonline.org.pitt.idm.oclc.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.cbhear/thrmislnp0001&id=1&size=2&collection=congrec&index=alpha/T_cbhear1


Part of a series on nuclear power sponsored by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, but is not a policy statement. The author, whose home is within twenty miles of Three Mile Island, wrote according to his own perspective as a scholar and Pennsylvanian.

**Urban Environment**


“. . . the planning, expansion and sustainability” of Philadelphia’s urban environment encompassing natural advantages, population and resources, and also “disease, sanitation, pollution, sewerage, transportation,” from the city’s beginning to the present.


Four volumes titled “Wilderness,” “Park,” “Valley,” and “Corridor.” The last two especially deal with development and conservation. “Conservationists fought to save the Valley from developers, dumping, periodic floods, stagnant water during droughts, damages from storms, loss of biological diversity, and the increasing need for traffic to traverse the park as Philadelphia and its suburbs grew. The friends of the Valley won in many, although not all, instances. The New Deal put a great deal of effort into improving and maintaining the park, with volunteers, community groups, foundations, and the City of Philadelphia doing most of the work since. The authors offer biographical sketches of people who loved and made a significant difference in the Valley through their work for


Scarpaci, Joseph L. ed., with Kevin J. Patrick. Pittsburgh and the Appalachians: Cultural and Natural Resources in a Postindustrial Age. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. “ . . . the steps Pittsburgh has taken through redevelopment, green space acquisition, air and water quality improvement, cultural revival, and public-private partnerships to create a more livable, economically viable region for future populations.” (From the cover)


**Water and Fisheries**


Biographic work on Kenneth Reid, Pennsylvania native, ‘wise use’ conservationist turned preservationist, Governor Gifford Pinchot’s PA Fish Commissioner, national director of the Izaak Walton League, who helped shape water quality policy debate 1930s-1940s. “The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is not generally associated with environmental activism, but the state has actually made enormous contributions to the structure of American environmental policy and attitudes. In the 1930s and 1940s, national debates over the role of the United States government in water quality issues focused on Pennsylvania problems. Pennsylvania native Kenneth Reid, the vigorous leader of the Izaak Walton League of America, advocated a shift from local to national pollution authority—a shift that has sparked debate across the country for the balance of the century.” (535)


Illustrated, accessible and informative overview of important fish species.


“Since Henry Hudson sailed to the bay 400 years ago in August 1609, water quality in the Delaware River has changed from pristine, to polluted, to partly recovered. Water pollution was so noticeable by 1769 that a visiting Englishman named Isaac Weld was moved to comment on the “mess” in the Delaware River at Philadelphia. Due to pollution in the river after the American Revolution, Ben Franklin left money in his will to build a drinking water supply system in America’s largest city. In 1940 the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River called the tidal river at Philadelphia ‘one of the most grossly polluted areas in the United States.”’ (432)

“River historian Richard C. Albert wrote in 1988 that ‘the cleanup of the Delaware Estuary represents one of the premier water pollution control success stories in the United States.’ Historic water quality recovery occurred in the Delaware River during an environmental era that coincided with the return of migratory fish populations.” (433)

*The Mon:* its role in westward expansion, as hub of Pennsylvania industrialization, and post industrial rustbelt, many excellent photographs.


Pinchot answers questions about conservation for the general public and the upcoming congress, especially in regard to control of water resources.


*Environmental history of fishing combined with memoir.*


“... the Allegheny River’s history from its creation during the Ice Age to the present. Using historical records and accounts, interviews, personal experiences, and over 150 contemporary and historical photographs ...” Includes information on the Allegheny's connections to “George Washington, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and Andrew Carnegie, to Seneca Chief Cornplanter, John Wilkes Booth, ‘Johnny Appleseed,’ and Rachel Carson.”


*Comprehensive and excellent environmental history of the major watershed for the Chesapeake Bay.*


*Environmental history of one of the last major undammed rivers that combines both wilderness and industrialized waterfront.*

**Wildlife**


The Berks County, Pennsylvania Hawk Mountain Sanctuary’s first director tells the history from 1934 to 1966 of this first refuge for birds of prey in the world.

“A great deal of information on the distribution and habitat requirements of fish and wildlife species of the United States is available; however, this data is neither readily available nor comparable. The Eastern Energy and Land Use Team (ILUT) has developed a standard reference tool for summarizing animal species habitats, distributions, and life requirements.” (1)


Contemporary accounts, primary documents and other material on the passenger pigeon just as it became extinct.


A generation before Rachel Carson wrote about DDT, Rosalie Edge warned of its effects. An activist for species preservation and critic of the 'best use' school of conservation, she founded the Hawk Mountain sanctuary for birds of prey in 1934.


DOI: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011196422

Pamphlet containing the game, fish, and forestry laws prefaced by a plea for citizens to help preserve these resources in the early twentieth century.


DOI: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006735298

“This, the Revised Game Law of 1937, is the result of an honest effort on the part of Pennsylvania's sportsmen, land-owners, conservationists and lawmakers to co-ordinate the best thoughts of all those interested in the maintenance of an adequate supply of wildlife within the Commonwealth. A careful study of its provisions will reveal its serious intent to make life much safer and happier for the legitimate hunter and the landowner, and to keep in check those who have no regard for the rights and safety of others. Much of it is new, designed to meet modern conditions. Its real value as an ideal conservation code has yet to be proven.”


History of wildlife management.
DOI: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001508919
Illustrated public information booklet on wildlife protection programs and how individuals can help implement them successfully to enhance hunting opportunities.

Thumbnail sketch timeline of wildlife conservation history from 1643 to 2011.

Thoroughly researched biography of the famous painter of birds and associate of the Bartrams.

The whole tradition of the “pumpkin army” from pioneer times to the present interspersed with the story of the author’s particular deer camp.

History of hunting when deer and elk were nearly exterminated in Pennsylvania, after the extensive nineteenth century hunts. Memories from one hundred years ago from people who were old then.

Audubon was born in France, but his life at Mill Grove, Pennsylvania just outside Philadelphia greatly influenced his developing interest in birds.

Article Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3983959
Native Philadelphian and nineteenth century naturalist Thomas Say was “…one of the first naturalists in the United States to advocate the preeminent importance to science of naming and describing native flora and fauna…” “… credited as the first New World native to write an article on an insect--his observations on ‘the great black wasp of Pennsylvania’…” (184-185)

The title says it all: a great Pennsylvania hunter tells his story.

The “Pine Creek deerslayer” of the Allegheny watershed, Philip Tome (1782-1855) was a pioneer, farmer and hunter of deer, elk, panthers and bears, who used a .45 caliber Kentucky-style Flintlock rifle.


The varied fishery, wild life and forest conservation activities and successes of a private club that predate state and federal efforts in the state.


One page overview of wildlife history in PA, both successes and failures. “The Pennsylvania Game Commission and the many partners who support its mission is the reason why Pennsylvania has such diverse wildlife.”

**Core Environmental History Readings**


Abbey’s three seasons spent in Moab, Utah, and the account of his walk through Glen Canyon before it was dammed and flooded.


Definitive overview of the role of government in environmentalism.


The 1914 Ludlow massacre in Colorado, and labor conflict in the context of the arid west.


Ground-breaking environmental history that helped establish the field.


The fundamental environmental and economic relationships between city and hinterland.
Contains Cronon’s controversial essay “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature” in which he argues that ‘wilderness’ as we understand it is a cultural construction that excludes people from ‘nature,’ which makes modern efforts for a life of connection and harmony with the rest of the living world even more problematic.

The hinge moment in the mingling of eastern and western biota, with global biological consequences.

Biography of Muir, and chronology and analysis of conservationism, drawing on Muir’s collected papers.

Surveys more than forty years of energy policy, and argues that consumers have never paid the true cost of the fuels that power our society.

Biography of the native Pennsylvanian who spearheaded the effort to pass the 1964 Wilderness Act.

Ground-breaking analysis of the far-reaching social and economic changes in post-WW II America and the role of environmental issues in shaping the policies of that era.

The effect of the conservation movement on traditional cultures of common land and wildlife use in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in the Adirondacks, the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park.

Landmark interdisciplinary work on the nature of southern environment and culture from prehistory to the present.
Contains Aldo’s argument for a new land ethic, which changes human beings from conquerors to citizens of nature.

Biography of a pioneer of environmental preservation, whose *Man and Nature*, first published in 1864, warned of the historic link between deforestation and desertification.

Study of the unprecedented changes in the human relationship with nature over the past hundred years.

Travels with wilderness advocate and Sierra Club president David Brower, in the company of a mineral geologist, a real estate developer, and dam-builder Floyd Dominy.

The “colonial industrial revolution” that replaced the Indian land use patterns until superseded by the nineteenth century “capitalist industrial revolution.”

Classic study from the beginning of the modern environmental movement on the evolution of the concept of wilderness in America.

The fall of large and powerful societies through overexpansion and associated environmental degradation.

The cultural and land-use transformations after WW II.

Excellent overview and thorough introduction to the field of environmental history.


