

PENNSYLVANIA CONSERVATION HISTORY

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.

*AN
ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY*

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About the Authors

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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

Longhurst, James. *Citizen Environmentalists*. Lebanon, New Hampshire: Tufts University Press, 2010.

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.

Luconi, Stefano, "The Enforcement of the 1941 Smoke-Control Ordinance and Italian Americans in Pittsburgh," *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 4, The Pennsylvania Environment (Penn State University Press, Autumn, 1999): 580-594.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774217>

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

Mershon, Sherie R. "Clearing the Air: Smoke Control in Pittsburgh, 1930-1960." *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10, no. 1 (May 2010): 26-31.

Snyder, Lynne Page. "'The Death-Dealing Smog over Donora, Pennsylvania': Industrial Air Pollution, Public Health Policy, and the Politics of Expertise, 1948-1949." *Environmental History Review* 18, no. 1, Special Issue on Technology, Pollution, and the Environment (Spring, 1994): 117-139.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3984747>

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

Stradling, David. *Smokestacks and Progressives: Environmentalists, Engineers, and Air Quality, 1881-1951*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

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

Carson and Pesticides

Brooks, Paul. *The House of Life: Rachel Carson at Work*. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.

Carson's editor portrays the remarkable story of her personal life and challenges.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

Pennsylvania native Carson's famous and eloquent work on the dangers of pesticides fundamental to the beginnings of the modern environmental movement.

Lear, Linda. *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1997.

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

Lytle, Mark Hamilton. *The Gentle Subversive: Rachel Carson, Silent Spring, and the Rise of the Environmental Movement* (New Narratives in American History). New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

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

Energy

Bertheaud, Michael A. and Howard M. Pollman. "Exploring the Pennsylvania Energy Trail of History" *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 3 (Summer, 2009).

<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).

Black, Brian. *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

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

Black, Brian. "'A Triumph of Individualism': The Rule of Capture and the Ethic of Extraction in Pennsylvania's Oil Boom," *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 4, *The Pennsylvania Environment* (Penn State University Press, Autumn, 1999): 448-471.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774212>

Nineteenth century oil boom and the rule of capture.

Black, Brian and Marcy Ladson. "Oil at 150: Energy Past and Future in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10, no. 1 (May 2010): 6-13. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5215/pennlega.10.1.6>

"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)

Black, Brian and Marcy Ladson. "The Legacy of Extraction: Reading Patterns and Ethics in Pennsylvania's Landscape of Energy." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 79, no. 4 (2012): 377-394. <http://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed April 30, 2014).

"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)

Brady, Kathleen. *Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker*. New York: Putnam, 1984.

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.

Cooper, Eileen. "Ernest: Life in a Mining Town." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 3, no. 3 (June 1977).

Coal mining in western Pennsylvania.

Cooper, Eileen. "Whiskey Run: Where Coal Dust Mixed With Murder." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 6, no. 2 (Spring, 1980).

Coal patch town that was also home to moonshiners.

DiCiccio, Carmen. *Coal and Coke in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1996.

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.

Jones, Christopher F. "A Landscape of Energy Abundance: Anthracite Coal Canals and the Roots of American Fossil Fuel Dependence, 1820-1860." *Environmental History* 15, no. 3 (July 2010): 449-484.

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)

Miller, Ernest. "John Wilkes Booth and the Land Of Oil." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 7, no. 3 (Summer, 1981).

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

Montrie, Chad. *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

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.

Morrison, Ernest. "Maurice K. Goddard, the Commonwealth's Conservation Czar." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 28, no. 4 (Fall, 2002).

Ockershausen, Jane. "The Valley That Changed The World: Visiting The Drake Well Museum." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 21, no. 3 (Summer, 1995).

Powell, H. Benjamin. "The Pennsylvania Anthracite Industry, 1769-1976." *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 47, No. 1, January 1980.

Randolph, Josephine D. "A Notable Pennsylvanian: Ida Minerva Tarbell, 1857-1944," *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 2, The Pinchot Family (Penn State University Press, Spring, 1999): 215-241.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774189>

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.

Sheppard, Muriel Earley. *Cloud by Day: The Story of Coal and Coke People*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

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.

Shirk Jr., Willis L. "Holtwood Hydroelectric Power Plant." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 3 (Summer, 2009).

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/vieuwpoint_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.

Stinson, Robert. "The Ida Tarbell Nobody Knew." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 2, no. 2 (March 1976).

Tarr, Joel A. "Searching for a 'Sink' for an Industrial Waste: Iron-Making Fuels and the Environment." *Environmental History Review* 18, no. 1, Special Issue on Technology, Pollution, and the Environment (Spring, 1994): 9-34.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3984743>

"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)

Turner, George A. "The Lattimer Tragedy of 1897." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 3, no. 3 (June 1977).

Deadly labor conflict in the anthracite coal fields.

Varricchio, Louis. "The Anthracite Iron Furnaces Of Alburdis." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 7, no. 3 (Summer, 1981).

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

Vietor, Richard H. K. "Environmental Politics in Pennsylvania: The Regulation of Surface Mining, 1961–1973" *Pennsylvania History* 45, no. 1 (Penn State University Press, January 1978):19-46.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27772495>

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

Wolensky, Kenneth C. "Barbara T. Zolli on 'A Drop of Oil'." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 2 (Spring, 2009).

<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.

Wolensky, Kenneth C." Harnessing the Power of the Wind: A Contemporary Use for a Historic Energy Source." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35, no. 4 (Winter, 2010).

<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.

Wolensky, Kenneth C. "The Lattimer Massacre" *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 15*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1997.

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.

Wolensky, Robert, Kenneth Wolensky and Nicole Wolensky. *The Knox Mine Disaster: The Final Years of the Northern Anthracite Industry and the Effort to Rebuild a Regional Economy*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999.

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.

Wolensky, Robert, Kenneth Wolensky and Nicole Wolensky. *Voices of The Knox Mine Disaster*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001.

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

Balogh, Brian. "Scientific Forestry and the Roots of the Modern American State: Gifford Pinchot's Path to Progressive Reform." *Environmental History* 7, no. 2 (2002): 198-225.

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)

Clepper, Henry. "Rise of the Forest Conservation Movement in Pennsylvania" *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, July 1945.

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.

Clepper, Henry. "Forest Conservation in Pennsylvania: The Pioneer Period, From Rothrock to Pinchot" *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1981.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Pennsylvania forestry initiatives.

Cox, Thomas R. "The Diary of William Langdon for 1855: A Pennsylvania Lumber Raftsmen's Year." *Journal of Forest History* 26, no. 3 (Jul., 1982): 124-139.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4004580>

"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)

De Coster, Lester A. *The Legacy of Penn's Woods: A History of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, 1995.

State agency book-length history of deforestation and reforestation.

Dudley, Susan and David R. Goddard. "Joseph T. Rothrock and Forest Conservation." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (1973): 37-50.

Rothrock and political action to establish government division of forestry in Pennsylvania.

Furlow Jr., John. "Cornelia Bryce Pinchot (1881-1960)." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 1, no. 2 (March, 1975).

Gifford Pinchot's wife and partner in Progressive reform.

Illick, Joseph S. "Joseph Trimble Rothrock: Father of Pennsylvania Forestry." *Pennsylvania German Society* 34 (1929): 84-94.

Short biographical article on Rothrock by a contemporary.

Lewis, James G., "The Pinchot Family and the Battle to Establish American Forestry." *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 2 (Penn State University Press, Spring, 1999): 143-165. Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774186>

The Pennsylvanian Pinchot family was instrumental in introducing the science and practice of modern conservation forestry to the United States in the early twentieth century.

Linehan, Peter. "Saving Penn's Woods: Deforestation and Reforestation in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10 (2010): 20-22.

The founding of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association in response to massive environmental problems caused by deforestation in late 19th century Pennsylvania, through the efforts of Joseph Rothrock and Mira Lloyd Dock.

Linehan, Peter. "The Teacher and the Forest: The Pennsylvania Forestry Association, George Perkins Marsh, and the Origins of Conservation Education." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 79, no. 4 (2012): 520-536.

How the Pennsylvania Forestry Association initiated education to promote forestry in the late nineteenth century.

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.'

McShane, Bill. "‘With a Woman’s Instinct’: Mira Lloyd Dock, The Mother of Forestry in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 39, no. 2 (Spring, 2013).

Dock was a strong supporter of conservation in the era of Pinchot, McFarland and Rothrock.

Miller, Char. *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2001.

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, Char. "The Greening of Gifford Pinchot." *Environmental History Review* 16, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992):1-20.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3984750>

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.

Rimby, Susan. *Mira Lloyd Dock and the Progressive Era Conservation Movement*.

University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

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.

Speakman, Joseph M. *At Work in Penn’s Woods: the Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania*. Penn State University Press, 2006.

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.

Steen, Harold, ed. *The Conservation Diaries of Gifford Pinchot*. Durham, North Carolina: Forest History Society, 2001.

Pinchot kept extensive diaries throughout his life.

Swanger, Rebecca Diane. "Something akin to a second birth': Joseph Trimble Rothrock and the Formation of the Forestry Movement in Pennsylvania, 1839–1922." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 134, no. 4 (October 2010): 339-363.

Article Stable URL:

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5215/pennmaghistbio.134.4.0339>

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.

Thomas, Elizabeth H. "Forest Protection and the Founding of Pennsylvania's First Forestry School, 1901–1903," *Pennsylvania History* 44 (1977): 291–315.
Founding of the Mont Alto Forestry School as part of Pennsylvania State University system.

Thomas, Elizabeth H. *A History of the Pennsylvania State Forest School, 1903-1929*. Mount Alto, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Forest Academy/School Founders Society, 1985.

Thorpe, Richard R. *The Crown Jewel of Pennsylvania: The State Forest System*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, Bureau of Forestry, 1997.
Pennsylvania's state forest overview, and individual histories of the twenty state forests, illustrated.

General Conservation

Cuff, David J. *Atlas of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1989.
Highly informative and illustrated summary of the state's environmental resources and history, includes many maps.

Cutcliffe, Stephen H. "From Seed Men to Bird Women: Pennsylvanians and the Environment." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 79, no. 4 (2012): 495-506. <http://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed April 9, 2014).
Biographies of individuals important to Pennsylvanian environmental history from colonial times to postwar modern America.

Hays, Samuel P. *Conservation and the Gospel Of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.
Discusses Gifford Pinchot's pivotal conservation work in the context of the Progressive Movement.

Kastner, Joseph. *A Species of Eternity*. New York: Knopf, 1977.

Account of early American naturalists that includes Philadelphian botanists John and William Bartram, Charles Wilson Peale and his museum, and their associate John James Audubon.

Hummel, William. "Geography and Resources." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 7, no. 5 (Winter, 1981).

Kelley, Donald Brooks. "'A Tender Regard to the Whole Creation': Anthony Benezet and the Emergence of an Eighteenth-Century Quaker Ecology." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 106, No. 1 (Jan., 1982): 69-88.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20091642>

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)

McCullough, David. *The Johnstown Flood*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968.

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

Mowery, J. Ronald. "Geologic History Of Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 4, no. 4 (September 1978).

Pennsylvania Citizens Advisory Council. *20 years of service, 1971-1991 / Citizens Advisory Council to the Department of Environmental Resources*. Harrisburg, Pa.: The Council, 1991.

History of citizen participation in Pennsylvania environmental protection.

Pennsylvania Land Policy Project. *A Land Use Strategy for Pennsylvania: A Fair Chance for the "Faire Land" of William Penn*. (Pittsburgh: The Project, 1975).

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.

"Pennsylvanians and the Environment." *Stories from PA History*. ExplorePAhistory.com Website. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. (accessed April 29, 2014).

<http://explorepahistory.com/story.php?storyId=1-9-E&chapter=0>

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

Pinchot, Gifford, Al Sample and Char Miller. *Breaking New Ground*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press; Revised edition (July 1, 1998).

Pinchot's autobiography originally published in 1947, with new introductions.

Schulz, Jr., William F. *Conservation Law and Administration: A Case Study of Land and Resource Use in Pennsylvania*. New York: Ronald Press, 1953.

Mid-century critique of the disconnections and contradictions in conservation regulations based on Pennsylvania examples, with a recommendation for a comprehensive program to balance the needs of industry with conservation goals.

Wolensky, Kenneth C. "‘He, on the Whole, Stood First’: Gifford Pinchot." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 30, no. 1 (Winter, 2004).

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

Parks and Wilderness

Barrett, Brenda. "How to Make History Matter: The Maurice K. Goddard Legacy Project." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 79, no. 4 (Autumn, 2012): 550-565.

"To build awareness of Pennsylvania's rich heritage of state parks, the Goddard Legacy Project funded the installation of twenty-five interpretive signs at parks created or completed under his leadership." (556) The project also produced a documentary of Goddard's life.

Cahalan, James M. *Edward Abbey: A Life*. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2002.

A recent biography of the famous wilderness advocate who began life in Pennsylvania.

Cary, John. "Park Planning and Historic Resources: the Upper Delaware Valley." *Pennsylvania History* 32, no. 2 (April 1965).

Cahalan, James M. "‘My People’: Edward Abbey's Appalachian Roots in Indiana County, Pennsylvania," *Pittsburgh History*, 79 (Fall, 1996): 92-107. And (Winter, 1996/1997), 160-178.

Discusses the Pennsylvanian origins of influential twentieth century author and wilderness advocate Abbey.

Cupper, Dan. "A Century Of Conservation: The Story Of Pennsylvania's State Parks." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 20, no. 1 (Winter, 1994).

Harvey, Mark W. T. and William Cronan. *Wilderness Forever: Howard Zahniser and the Path to the Wilderness Act*. Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

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

Hendrickson Jr., Kenneth E. "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania: A Case Study of a New Deal Relief Agency in Operation." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100, no. 1 (Jan., 1976): 66-96.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20091029>

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.

Johnson, William C., Ronald C. Carlisle and James B. Richardson III. *A Cultural Resource Survey of the Erie National Wildlife Refuge : Crawford County, Pennsylvania*.

Atlanta, Georgia: Interagency Archeological Services, 1978.

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

Mittlefehldt, Sarah. "The People's Path: Conflict and Cooperation in the Acquisition of the Appalachian Trail." *Environmental History* 15, no. 4 (October, 2010): 643-669.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25764487>

"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.

Morrison, Ernest. *--a Walk on the Downhill Side of the Log: The Life of Maurice K. Goddard*. The Pennsylvania Forestry Association, 2000.

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.

Muller, Edward K., ed. *An Uncommon Passage: Traveling Through History on the Great Allegheny Passage Trail*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.

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.

Oyama, Susan. "A Walk On The Wild Side: Philadelphia's Wissahickon Creek." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 19, no. 4 (Fall, 1993).
Part of the Fairmount Park system in Philadelphia.

Smith, Thomas G. *Green Republican: John Saylor and the Preservation of America's Wilderness*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006.

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.

Smith, Thomas G. "Voice For Wild and Scenic Rivers: John P. Saylor," *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 66, No. 4, *The Pennsylvania Environment* (Penn State University Press, Autumn, 1999): 554-579.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774216>
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

Goldsteen, Raymond L., and John K. Schorr. *Demanding Democracy After Three Mile Island*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991.

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

Keisling, Bill, with Buckminster Fuller, Richard Pollock and Ernest J. Sternglass. *Three Mile Island: Turning Point*. Seattle, Washington: Veritas Books, 1980.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission. *Three Mile Island (TMI) Nuclear Power Plant Accident: NRC Official Lessons Learned Task Force Final Report (NUREG-0585) - 1979 Partial Meltdown with Radiation Releases*. Progressive Management, March 24, 2011.

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

Osif, Bonnie Anne, Anthony J. Baratta, and Thomas W. Conkling. *TMI 25 Years Later: The Three Mile Island Nuclear Power Plant Accident and Its Impact*. Penn State University Press, 2004.

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

Rees, Joseph V. *Hostages of Each Other: The Transformation of Nuclear Safety since Three Mile Island*. University of Chicago Press, 1996.

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=congregc&index=alpha/T_cbhear1

Walker, J. Samuel. *Three Mile Island : A Nuclear Crisis in Historical Perspective*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

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

Black, Brian C. and Michael J. Chiarappa, eds. *Nature's Entrepôt: Philadelphia's Urban Sphere and Its Environmental Thresholds*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.

"... 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.

Contosta, David R. and Carol Franklin. *Metropolitan Paradise: The Struggle for Nature in the City*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's Press, 2010.

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

its preservation." Review by William Pencak, *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 80 no. 2 (2013): 326-328.

Levine, Adam. "Sewers, Pollution, and Public Health in Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10 (2010): 14-19.

Olton, Charles S. "Philadelphia's First Environmental Crisis." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no.1 (January 1974): 90-100.
Water pollution in early Philadelphia.

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)

Schultz, Ellen Freedman. "Water: An Environmental Crisis in 19th-Century Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10, no. 1 (May 2010): 32-33.
DOI: 10.5215/pennlega.10.1.32
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5215/pennlega.10.1.32>

Smith, Roland M. "The Politics of Pittsburgh Flood Control, 1908-1936." *Pennsylvania History* 42, no. 1 (January 1975).

Tarr, Joel A. Ed., *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.
Urban environmental histories of air, water, sewage and mining pollution

Tarr, Joel A. *The Search for the Ultimate Sink: Urban Pollution in Historical Perspective*. Technology and the Environment. Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 1996.
History of air, water and land pollution that draws heavily on case studies from Pennsylvania and the Ohio River valley.

Wilson, William H. "'More Almost than the Men': Mira Lloyd Dock and the Beautification of Harrisburg." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99, no. 4 (Oct., 1975): 490-499.
Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20091005>
Urban pollution abatement, clean water and the establishment of landscaping and parks as part of the City Beautiful Progressive movement by civic activist and botanist Dock in her home city.

Water and Fisheries

Albert, Richard C. "The Historical Context of Water Quality Management for the Delaware Estuary." *Estuaries* 11, no. 2 (June 1988): 100–101.

Casner, Nicholas, "Angler Activist: Kenneth Reid, the Izaak Walton League, and the Crusade for Federal Water Pollution Control," *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 4, The Pennsylvania Environment (Penn State University Press, Autumn, 1999): 535-553.

Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774215>

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)

Gerstell, Richard. *American Shad in the Susquehanna River Basin*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 1998.

Illustrated, accessible and informative overview of important fish species.

Kauffman Jr., Gerald J. "The Delaware River Revival: Four Centuries of Historic Water Quality Change from Henry Hudson to Benjamin Franklin to JFK." *Pennsylvania History* 77, no. 4 (Autumn, 2010): 432–65.

"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)

Parker, Arthur. *The Monongahela: River of Dreams, River of Sweat*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

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

Pinchot, Gifford. "The A B C of Conservation" *Debaters Handbook Series: Conservation of Natural Resources*. C. E. Fanning, ed. (Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1913): 39-47.

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

Sajna, Mike. *Days on the Water: The Angling Tradition in Pennsylvania*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999.

Environmental history of fishing combined with memoir.

Sajna, Mike and Jim Schafer. *The Allegheny River: Watershed of the Nation*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 1992.

"... 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."

Schullery, Paul. "Cumberland Valley Mornings: George Gibson and The Dawn Of American Spring Creek Fishing." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 22, no. 2 (Spring, 1996).

Stranahan, Susan Q. *Susquehanna: River of Dreams*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

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

Stutz, Bruce. *Natural Lives, Modern Times: People and Places of the Delaware River*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1992.

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

Wildlife

Braun, Maurice. *Hawks Aloft: The Story of Hawk Mountain*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2000.

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.

Eastern Energy and Land Use Team. *An Evaluation of "A Procedure for Describing Fish And Wildlife In Pennsylvania": a Task Force Report*. Kearneysville, W.Va.: The Team, 1980. DOI: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007419132>

"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)

French, John C. *The Passenger Pigeon in Pennsylvania*. Altoona, Pa.: Altoona Tribune Co., 1919. <http://www.rootsweb.com/~srgp/books/1916pig1.htm>

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

Furmansky, Dyana Z. *Rosalie Edge, Hawk of Mercy: The Activist Who Saved Nature from the Conservationists*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

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.

Gordon, Seth E., ed. *Game, Fish And Forest Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1919.

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.

Gordon, Seth E., ed. *The Game Law of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Edited Under the Direction of Seth Gordon, Executive, Director, Pennsylvania Game Commission. 1937-1938*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Game Commission, 1937.

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."

Kosack, Joe. *The Pennsylvania Game Commission, 1895-1995: 100 Years of Wildlife Conservation*. Harrisburg, Pa. : Pennsylvania Game Commission, 1995.
History of wildlife management.

Pennsylvania Game Commission. *Pennsylvania's Postwar Wildlife Program*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania, 1946.

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.

Pennsylvania Game Commission. *Pennsylvania's Wildlife Conservation History*.

<http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt?open=514&objID=683433&mode=2> (accessed April 29, 2014).

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

Rhodes, Richard. *John James Audubon: The Making of an American*. New York: Knopf, 2004.

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

Sajna, Mike. *Buck Fever: The Deer Hunting Tradition in Pennsylvania*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990.

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

Shoemaker, Henry W. *Pennsylvania Deer and their Horns*. Reading, Pennsylvania: Faust Publishing Co., 1915.

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.

Streshinsky, Shirley. *Audubon: Life and Art in the American Wilderness*. New York: Villard Books, 1993.

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

Stroud, Patricia Tyson. "Forerunner of American Conservation: Naturalist Thomas Say." *Forest & Conservation History* 39, no. 4 (October, 1995): 184-190.

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)

Tome, Philip. *Pioneer Life, or Thirty Years a Hunter: Being Scenes and Adventures in the Life of Philip Tome, Fifteen Years Interpreter for Cornplanter and Gov. Blacksnake, Chiefs on the Allegany River*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Aurand, 1928.

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

Tome, Philip, and forward by Robert Wegner. *Pioneer Life, or Thirty Years a Hunter*. Classics of American Sport. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, October 19, 2006.

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.

Waddell, Louis M. “Into the Woods: The Blooming Grove Hunting and Fishing Club.” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 33, no. 3 (Summer, 2007).

<http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/summer/20407>
The varied fishery, wild life and forest conservation activities and successes of a private club that predate state and federal efforts in the state.

Wildlife for Everyone Foundation. “History of Wildlife Conservation in Pennsylvania.” <http://www.wildlifeforeveryone.org/history/> (accessed April 29, 2014).

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, Edward. *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness*. New York: Random House, 1968.

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

Andrews, Richard N. L. *Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy*, 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Definitive overview of the role of government in environmentalism.

Andrews, Thomas. *Killing for Coal: America’s Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008.

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

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1983; 20th anniversary edition, 2003.
Ground-breaking environmental history that helped establish the field.

----. *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991.

The fundamental environmental and economic relationships between city and hinterland.

Cronon, William, ed. *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996.

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.

Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1972.

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

Fox, Stephen. *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1981.

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

Graetz, Michael. *The End of Energy: The Unmaking of America's Environment, Security, and Independence*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2011.

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.

Harvey, Mark. *Wilderness Forever: Howard Zahniser and the Path to the Wilderness Act*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

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

Hays, Samuel P. *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States 1955-1985*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

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.

Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes Against Nature: Poachers, Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

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.

Kirby, Jack Temple. *Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Landmark interdisciplinary work on the nature of southern environment and culture from prehistory to the present.

Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac, with Essays on Conservation from Round River*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1966.

Contains Aldo's argument for a new land ethic, which changes human beings from conquerors to citizens of nature.

Lowenthal, David. *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

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

McNeill, J. R. *Something New Under The Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.

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

McPhee, John. *Encounters with the Archdruid*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1971.

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.

Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

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

Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

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

Ponting, Clive. *A New Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations*. Revised ed. New York: Penguin Books, 2007.

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

Rome, Adam. *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

The cultural and land-use transformations after WW II.

Steinberg, Ted. *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

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

Stewart, Mart A. *“What Nature Suffers to Groe”: Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1690-1920*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
Low country pre- and post-Civil War power, land use, and sense of place.

Sutter, Paul. *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.
The ironic threat to wild areas from the increasing number of Americans who valued them for recreation, especially beginning in the 1930s.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and the Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Indians and whites found ways for a time to construct a common ground of accommodation and meaning in the mix of their cultures.

----. *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.
Energy, work and the river in the Pacific northwest, in relation to the native and white inhabitants.

Worster, Donald. *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
Classic narrative of arguably the biggest environmental disaster in United States history.

Worster, Donald. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
The history of the efforts to supply the water needed to develop the west’s industry and agriculture, and the resulting environmental and social consequences.