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FOSL

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since I'm doing the academic thing for now, I thought that I should make myself useful and put my skills and resources into making an annotated reference list. The motivation underlying this project is my belief that we can potentially learn much from the study of environmental history, even when looking at times and places apparently very different from our own.

There are many ways to approach environmental history. My preferred description of the genre is: the history of the mutual relations between humankind and the rest of nature. Humankind has always been a part of nature, but a distinctive part, especially in the past few thousand years, when it acquired the power and numbers to become a rogue mammal, exerting ever-increasing influence upon the fate of ecosystems. Human history has always and will always unfold within a larger biological and physical context, and that context evolves in its own right. Especially in recent millennia, that context has co-evolved with humankind. Environmental histories are thus the narration of these interactions with, I would hope, the intention of learning something and applying it to making the future better, no matter how scrupulous we are in maintaining objectivity. In this respect, works of environmental history are particularly relevant to those such as the members of FOSL who are seeking to establish explicitly viable relations with the environment (and, *pari passu*, with each other).

A few notes on selection criteria: First, to assure ease of access, I am not including journal articles, obscure volumes, doctoral theses, or works in non-English languages. My hope is that the titles included are obtainable through any decent inter-library loan system or bookstore (local or online). Those interested in pursuing a topic further can follow the trail in the bibliographies of particular books. Second, what I have included is selective, with the goals of FOSL in mind. For instance, I have emphasized histories in Mediterranean ecosystems, since presumably FOSL's activities will take place primarily in the Californian variety. I hope that the annotations explain why I have made the selections that I have. And, it should be loudly noted, any bibliography reflects the idiosyncrasies of its creator. I find certain varieties of environmental history more valuable and interesting than others. Particularly for this bibliography, I am mainly concerned with the material and technical aspects of environmental history, and have also tended to include books that I believe have been wrongfully overlooked or forgotten. Finally, in the event that people find this bibliography at all helpful, I intend to produce others on different but related topics outside the realm of environmental history proper.

Needless to say, all the books in the world can't get us anywhere near ensuring sustainability, which can only be gained through on-the-ground work with nature and each other. But maybe this little contribution will help put the efforts of FOSL in their wider context.

I. GENERAL & WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORIES

Boyden, Stephen. 1992. *Biobistory: The Interplay between Human Society and the Biosphere*. Paris: UNESCO.

Christian, David. 2004. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mannion, Annette. 1991. *Global Environmental Change: A Natural and Cultural History*. Harlow, Eng.: Longman.

McNeill, J. R. 2000. *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York: Norton.

Ponting, Clive. 1991 [1993]. *A Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations*. New York: Penguin Books.

Richards, John F. 2003. *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Smil, Vaclav. 1994. *Energy in World History*. Boulder; San Francisco; Oxford: Westview Press.

de Vries, Bert and Johan Goudsblom (eds.). 2003. *Mappae Mundi: Humans and Their Habitats in a Long-Term Socio-Ecological Perspective: Myths, Maps and Models*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

The above books are a few of the high-quality wide-lens environmental histories that have recently come out. Glean their bibliographies for more sources if the mood suits you.

Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

In this ambitious synthesis, Scott connects state efforts at “heroic simplification” to some of the catastrophic human and environmental disasters of the twentieth century. He sees the solution in a better balance between universalistic, scientific knowledge and what he calls *metis* (a Greek word indicating know-how that can only be gained through on-the-ground, dirt-under-your-fingernails experience).

Crosby, Alfred. 1972 [2003]. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CN: Praeger.

----- . 1986 [2004]. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Crosby’s novel insights radically altered the field of environmental history and the conception of what “acceptable” history is more generally. He drew attention to the fundamental importance of germs, plants, and animals that co-evolved with humans in explaining macro-historical trends, such as why the temperate regions of the New World are overrun by people of European descent.

Griffiths, Tom, and Libby Robin, Editors. 1998. *Ecology and Empire: The Environmental History of Settler Societies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Griffiths looks at more than North American settlement; very interesting comparative analysis that in many respects picks up where Crosby leaves off.

Diamond, Jared. 1997 [2005]. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W. W. Norton.

In his now-canonical book, Diamond popularized and fleshed out the ideas put forth earlier by Alfred Crosby and others. Diamond can be said to have done the same in his latest work, *Collapse: How Societies Decide to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Viking, 2005), with the ideas originally presented in less accessible but more theoretically rigorous form in the following:

Tainter, Joseph. 1988. *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

A useful accompaniment to the above work, at least to those who've had to fight through the impenetrable thickets of environmental regulation and the challenges of applying earth sciences to policymaking, is:

Allen, T. H. F., Joseph Tainter, and Thomas Hoekstra. 2003. *Supply-Side Sustainability*. New York: Columbia University Press.

The following are works in "historical ecology," a branch of study closely related to environmental history, but typically with a stronger scientific bent:

Russell, Emily. 1998. *People and the Land through Time: Linking Ecology and History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Whitney, Gordon. 1996. *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North America from 1500 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

II. REGIONAL HISTORIES

A. AFRICA

McCann, James C. 1999. *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800-1990*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

A brief introduction to the environmental history of an often-overlooked part of the world, unless the discussion involves AIDS, starvation, or child soldiers. McCann approaches the topic with a number of case studies; interesting tidbits of information for the sustainability-minded abound. Although well conceived in terms of overturning old stereotypes, in places it is awkwardly written. Two good complementary volumes, which cast the state and international aid agencies as just as much or more of the problem as they are the solution to Africa's environmental and agricultural dilemmas, are:

Leach, Melissa, and Robin Mearns (eds.) 1996. *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Richards, Paul. 1985. *Indigenous Agricultural Revolutions: Ecology and Food Production in West Africa*. London: Hutchinson.

Harms, Robert. 1987. *Games Against Nature: An Eco-Cultural History of the Nunu of Equatorial Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Giles-Vernick, Tamara. 2002. *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Schoenbrun, David. 1998. *A Green Place, A Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Webb, James. 1995. *Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic Change along the Western Sabel, 1600-1850*. Madison: University of Madison Press.

Gichuki, Francis. 1994. *More People, Less Erosion: Environmental Recovery in Kenya*. Chichester, Eng.: John Wiley.

B. THE AMERICAS

Mann, Charles C. 2005. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

This is an outstanding synthesis of masses of information from numerous fields—archeology, palynology, climatology, history, etc.—written in the clear and engaging style of an investigative journalist. Part Three of the book, “Landscape with Figures,” is particularly useful for an environmental history perspective. Mann adds another voice to the rising crescendo of scholars who convincingly argue that Native Americans intervened heavily in ecosystems and shaped the landscape significantly. Discusses *terra preta*.

Vecsey, Christopher T. and Robert W. Venables (eds.). 1994. *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Provides a very good overview of indigenous ecology.

Krech, Shepard. 1999. *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

This work is one of main general surveys that in recent years have successfully assailed the belief that Native Americans inhabited a “wilderness” and didn’t produce ecological degradation of the sort found in the historical record of Old World civilizations. However, Krech selectively focuses on the relatively few instances in which Indians did indeed foul their nests and overextends his argument by implying that it was rather widespread.

Cronon, William. 1983 [2003]. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Silver, Timothy. 1990. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

White, Richard. 1991. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The above three works do a masterful job of intertwining in one narrative the ecological, cultural, and social aspects of contact between Europeans and Native Americans (and Africans) on the North American “frontier.” Silver’s work is based on the methods pioneered in Cronon.

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

This is a praiseworthy survey-level examination of a number of the connections between Americans, their sense of identity, and the environment.

Worster, Donald. 1985. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*. New York: Pantheon Books.

This is a classic in the canon of American environmental history, although it has been criticized for giving too much primacy to the Federal government in determining the pattern of agricultural and urban development in the West. But it should be a must-read to dispel any of the individualist frontiersman myths someone with libertarian leanings might still have about the “taming” of the West. The volume is a good accompaniment to the following, also a classic:

Reisner, Marc. 1986. *Cadillac Desert: The West and Its Disappearing Water*. New York: Viking.

Manning, Richard. 1995. *Grassland: The History, Biology, Politics, and Promise of the American Prairie*. New York: Viking.

Cowdrey, Albert E. 1996. *This Land, This South: An Environmental History*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press.

Tucker, Richard P. 2000. *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World*. University of California Press.

Gaffield, Chad and Pam Gaffield (eds.). 1995. *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*. Toronto: Copp Clark.

Melville, Elinor. 1994. *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Melville tells the story of sheep replacing people in Mexico; a “case study” of Crosby’s broader generalizations in *Ecological Imperialism* (see above).

Fagan, Brian M. 1999. *Floods, Famines, and Emperors: El Niño and the Fate of Civilizations*. 1st Ed. New York: Basic Books.

Denevan, William M. 2001. *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dean, Warren. 1995. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of Brazil's Atlantic Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

----- . 1987. *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Onis, Juan de. 1992. *The Green Cathedral: Sustainable Development of Amazonia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Díaz-Briquets, Sergio, and Jorge F. Pérez-López. 2000. *Conquering Nature: The Environmental Legacy of Socialism in Cuba*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Rosset, Peter, and Medea Benjamin. 1994. *The Greening of the Revolution: Cuba's Experiment with Organic Agriculture*. Melbourne: Ocean.

The arguments of the two above books when combined make the optimistic point that a country whose state has almost no ideological commitment to living lightly on the land will nonetheless do admirably when faced with acute shortages.

C. CHINA & JAPAN

Elvin, Mark. 2004. *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Marks, Robert V. 1998. *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Elvin, Mark and Ts'ui-jung Liu. 1998. *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. 1993. *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853-1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Perdue, Peter. 1987. *Exhausting the Earth: State and Peasant in Hunan, 1500-1850*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shapiro, Judith. 2001. *Mao's War Against Nature*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smil, Vaclav. 1984. *The Bad Earth: Environmental Degradation in China*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

----- . 1993. *China's Environmental Crisis*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Walker, Brett. 2001. *The Conquest of the Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

D. EUROPE

Pfister, Christian and Peter Brimblecombe. 1990. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*. Berlin: Springer Verlag.

Myllylantaus, Timo and Mikko Saikku (eds.). 2001. *Encountering the Past in Nature: Essays in Environmental History*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Simmons, I. G. 2001. *An Environmental History of Great Britain: From 10,000 Years Ago to the Present*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kjaergaard, Thorklid. 1994. *The Danish Revolution 1500-1800: An Ecobistorical Interpretation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kjaergaard's book has raised considerable controversy (albeit probably very polite) in Denmark, since apparently there are ideological attacks implicit in his analysis. But he provides a good narrative of the labor-intensive and ultimately pro-peasant path that Denmark took to avoid ecological degradation and Malthusian pressures.

Sieferle, Rolf-Peter. 2001. *The Subterranean Forest: Energy Systems and the Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge, U.K.: The White Horse Press.

E. MEDITERRANEAN, MEDITERRANEOID & MIDDLE EAST

Attenborough, David. 1987. *The First Eden: The Mediterranean World and Man*. London: Collins; BBC.

McNeill, J. R. 1992. *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Thirgood, J. V. 1981. *Man and the Mediterranean Forest: A History of Resource Depletion*. London; New York: Academic Press.

Hughes, J. Donald. 1994. *Pan's Travail: Environmental Problems of the Ancient Greeks and Romans*.

The four foregoing books roughly follow the "declensionist" or "desertification" view of Mediterranean history, in which overgrazing, deforestation, extractive farming, and resource-greedy urban centers have seriously disrupted the region's "fragile" environment, leaving behind denuded landscapes and poverty. This is no doubt true in a number of cases, and makes these books worth reading as cautionary tales and instruction manuals. But the following book by Rackham and Grove is much more empirically nuanced, and much less pessimistic about the possibility for human beneficence in intensively managing Mediterranean environments:

Grove, A. T. and Oliver Rackham. 2001. *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

An interesting point that Rackham and Grove make is that it was often government elites and travelers, their heads filled with ideas from the Classics about a more fruitful Mediterranean in times past, who cooked up

the idea that shortsighted peasants, shepherds, and *latifundistas* were causing desertification in order to validate their intervention in “re”-forestation and fire suppression programs. This was one of the justifications behind, for example, the British seizure of Cyprus in 1878.

Braudel, Fernand. 1973 [1995]. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*. Trans. Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper and Row.

This is not explicitly an environmental history, but Braudel was a pioneer in taking the environmental and geographical context as the basic starting point for making sense of any “big history.” Before the works of Braudel and his compatriots in what came to be known as the *Annales* School, historians typically considered political and religious and civilizational entities, rather than ecological and geographical ones, as the basic units of analysis. The breadth of knowledge that Braudel draws upon is breathtaking, although unfortunately he considers the environmental context for human action as static.

Tyrrell, Ian. 1999. *True Garden of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930*.

Tyrrell was one of the first historians to explore the environmentalist movement as a transnational phenomenon. In this case, it is notable how pervasive among Californians and Australians the fear had become by the nineteenth century of desertification and the subsequent replay in the New World of what they saw as the literal and figurative erosion of civilization in the Mediterranean. Tyrrell also provides an interesting history of the arguments behind the promotion and spread of eucalyptus species from Australia to California. Another good comparative study is:

Beinart, William. 1995. *Environment and History: The Taming of Nature in the USA and South Africa*. New York; London: Routledge.

Hillel, Daniel. 1994. *Rivers of Eden: The Struggle for Water and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Hillel offers a historically grounded treatment of this gorilla in the closet of Middle Eastern geopolitics. The heroically unnatural national boundaries drawn up in the Middle East, among other factors, are bound to cause conflicts over water resources, but Hillel is hopeful.

Swearingen, Will D. 1987. *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Deceptions and Dreams, 1912-1986*.

This work uncovers the fascinating story of Morocco’s efforts, as both French semi-colony and thereafter as independent nation-state, to import the technology- and resource-intensive “California Model” of export agriculture to its Mediterranean climate. As so often happens where the original inhabitants aren’t wiped out or removed, the peasants and pastoralists tended to get in the way. Also of note is the degree to which French administrators’ quasi-mythical image of North Africa as the “granary of Rome” underpinned their (in retrospect, at least) foolhardy technocratic efforts.

Diana K. Davis. 2007. *Resurrecting the Granary of Rome: Environmental History and French Colonial Expansion in North Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Virgil. 1999. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough; revised G. P. Gould. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Need to know when the right time is to plant the barley or cut the elm branches for bullock fodder? Virgil is still highly informative for the potential Mediterranean rustic. Also fun to recite half-drunk around a campfire.

Christensen, Peter. 1993. *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500*. Trans. Steven Sampson. Odense: Museum Tusulanum Press.

This is one of the very few wide-scope works on Middle Eastern environmental history. What I appreciate is that the author, rather than look at the Middle East as a homologous collection of despotically inclined “hydraulic civilizations,” acknowledges that each river system in the region had its own unique ecological context and dynamics, and therefore set unique parameters for the kinds of societies and land-use regimes that could arise by manipulating them. Nonetheless, the historical record here is rather depressing overall.

F. PACIFIC BASIN & OCEANIA

McNeill, J. R. (ed.). 2001. *Environmental History in the Pacific World*. Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate.

Nunn, Patrick. 1999. *Environmental Change in the Pacific Basin: Chronologies, Causes, and Consequences*. Chichester; New York: Wiley.

Pawson, Eric and Tom Brooking (eds.). 2002. *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Flannery, Tim. 1995. *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*. New York: Braziller.

G. SOUTH & SOUTHEAST ASIA

Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha. 1992. *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

This is still the main survey-level environmental history of India, although it has recently come under criticism for drawing too sharp of a contrast between the pre- and post-British conquest periods. It is an admirable effort at writing an environmental history of a large nation-state that has within its borders many very different bioregions. See also:

Arnold, David and Ramachandra Guha. 1995. *Nature, Culture, and Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Grove, Richard, Vinita Damodaran, and Satpal Sangwan (eds.). 1998. *Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Guha, Sumit. 1999. *Environment and Ethnicity in India, 1200-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webb, James. 2002. *Tropical Pioneers: Human Agency and Ecological Change in the Highlands of Sri Lanka, 1800-1900*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Boomgaard, Peter, Freek Colombijn, and David Henley (eds.). 1997. *Paper Landscapes: Explorations in the Environmental History of Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

H. CALIFORNIA

Anderson, M. Kat. 2005. *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

This is a very well researched and comprehensive, if somewhat redundantly presented, treatment of Californian Indian interactions with, and manipulation of, the environment. Anderson puts another nail in the coffin of the old thesis that Native Americans “lived lightly on the land.” One of Anderson’s most powerful arguments is that the ideal-typical anthropological categories—hunter-gatherers, horticulturalists, agriculturalists—are largely fictional. California Indians did some of each depending on the circumstances, and thus are better seen as occupying a continuum.

Margolin, Malcolm. 1978 [2003]. *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area*. Berkeley: Heyday Books.

This is still one of the only accessible works on the subject of the Bay Area’s indigenous inhabitants. Margolin provides a compassionate but not blandly hortatory speculation on what life was like for the Ohlone Indians, including how they interacted with the abnormally abundant and temperate environment. (I wonder if the Ohlones took it for granted like its present-day “natives” do?) Of particular interest for this reader was the centrality of the acorn to the Ohlone diet, culture, and sense of time. A related book for the non-specialist, which focuses on the period when Bay Area cultures and thus land management techniques fell into disarray, is:

Milliken, Randall. 1995. *Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769- 1810*. Menlo Park, CA: Bellena Press.

Isenberg, Andrew C. 2005. *Mining California: An Ecological History*. New York: Hill and Wang.

A clearly written and concise introduction to the environmental history of California, with an emphasis on the first several decades of Euro-American takeover. Given the vastness of the topic he is taking on, Isenberg wisely focuses on several areas: hydraulic mining, the urban development of Sacramento, redwood lumbering, and grassland exploitation in Southern California and the High Lake Country.

Walker, Richard. 2004. *The Conquest of Bread: 150 Years of Agribusiness in California*. New York: Norton.

With this book Walker has done us the huge favor of sketching California’s agrarian history and geography from an immense amount of pre-existing material. This sketch doesn’t stop at the farm, but also incorporates California’s varied ecological contexts; commodity chains (including processing, shipping, and sales); labor markets, division of labor, and class conflict; and the involvement of the state and legal systems.

Stoll, Steven. 1998. *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stoll focuses on the rise of the economic behemoth that is California's horti-business. Although it was probably not Stoll's intention, reading this book made me more optimistic about the environmental feasibility of small-scale irrigated farming in areas that are now being monocropped and chemicalized to provide fruit and nuts for people thousands of miles distant. A similar history on the interplay of social, environmental, and economic forces in the development of California factory farming, in this case the orange "industry," is:

Sackman, Douglas C. 2005. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Igler, David. 2001. *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850-1920*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Igler uncovers some intriguing connections between the early enclosure and exploitation of pasturelands by farseeing entrepreneurial families and the later resource-intensive corporate practices that have helped to make California so incredibly wealthy over the past century.

III. TECHNOLOGY & THE ENVIRONMENT

A. GENERAL

Pacey, Arnold. 1990. *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand-Year History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

There is a bone-crushing number of works written on the history of technology, but this is a good overview, from a global perspective, of the co-evolution of human societies, technology, and the environment.

Mumford, Lewis. 1934. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co.

Although the emergence of electronics, cybernetics, and biotechnology has changed the context somewhat, this work is still unsurpassed in explaining the interactions between humans, their tools, their environment, and their values. Mumford was one of the first to make the perfectly good point that people's technical capabilities and lifestyles before the era of fossil-fueled industrialism in the nineteenth century warrants our (qualified) admiration, and was in many ways superior to what followed.

Giedion, Siegfried. 1948. *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

This is an overlooked masterpiece in the history of everyday things. Giedion combed through masses of different sources—books, paintings, patent records, advertisements, museums, etc.—and focused on very different aspects of life—the furnishing of rooms, bathing, baking bread, slaughtering animals, cooking and cleaning, traveling, etc. He put forth some very intriguing explanations for how and why "mechanization took command" by the twentieth century. He was one of the early dissenting voices in the optimistic "Age of the Push-Button" to call for a re-balancing of people and their machines in the interest of humanizing and sustaining the environment. It is richly illustrated, though in monochrome.

Adas, Michael. 1989. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*.

----- . 2006. *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press.

These are not environmental histories *per se*, but in the former book, Adas does an excellent job of revealing how deeply embedded industrio-centric prejudices have been in the ranking of societies on the ladder of “progress” or “development.” In the latter, he convincingly argues that the American national identity and sense of exceptionalism, from the first New England colonies up to the recent invasion of Iraq, has been significantly shaped by our technological prowess (or hubris, depending on your perspective). These works might help to understand why there is so much inertia behind switching to a soil-centered way of life and so much persistent faith that hybrid cars and compact fluorescent light bulbs will get us out of the soup. Adas at times veers in the direction of the more profound but less empirically rigorous insights of Ivan Illich in *Tools for Conviviality* and *Toward a History of Needs*.

Josephson, Paul. 2002. *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Technology and the Transformation of the Natural World*. Washington, D.C.: Island Books.

Pursell, Carroll. 2007. *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

B. WATER

Smith, Norman. 1975. *Man and Water: A History of Hydro-Technology*. UK: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A definitive survey. There might be a pretty good deal of useful information in this book (and its bibliography) for the enthusiast of low-tech, sustainable hydro-technology.

Watson, Andrew M. 1983. *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Watson argues that the diffusion of Asian crops—various legumes, eggplants, citrus, bananas, sugar cane, etc.—to the Mediterranean basin could not have succeeded as they did without the concomitant spread of novel irrigation techniques and technologies. The following by Glick takes a similar tack:

Glick, Thomas F. 1996. *Irrigation and Hydraulic Technology: Medieval Spain and Its Legacy*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Doolittle, William Emery. 1990. *Canal Irrigation in Prehistoric Mexico: The Sequence of Technological Change*. Austin : University of Texas Press.

van de Ven, G. P. (ed.). 1994. *Man-Made Lowlands: History of Water Management and Land Reclamation in the Netherlands*. Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs.

Guillerme, André. 1988. *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300-1800*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press.

Although he focuses on the north of France, Guillerme has changed the way I look at cityscapes everywhere—that is, much more frequently in a downward direction. It is only recently in urban history that waterways, natural and man-made, have been covered over. Fortunately for those of us looking at a fossil-fuel-scarce future, there is a lot of potential for transport, mechanical power, irrigation, and esthetic pleasure locked underneath the pavements.

Cioc, Mark. 2002. *The Rhine: An Eco-Biography, 1815-2000*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Cioc, a professor at UCSC, tells the story of how the Rhine, a rather modest river hydrologically, became one of the world's most economically important transport canals and industrial effluent sluiceways. Like White's book below, Cioc uncovers the layers of meaning that different people at different times have imposed on the natural world.

White, Richard. 1995. *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*. New York: Hill and Wang.

McCully, Patrick. 2001. *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*. London; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Van Slyke, Lyman P. 1988. *Yangtze: Nature, History, and the River*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Alumni Association.

This little book was inspired by a much bigger book—Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (see above). Van Slyke adopts, with modifications, the Braudelian perspective and method to study the Yangtze River and its drainage basin over the *longue durée*. The Yangtze region is notable, among other things, for the fact that it supports a population greater than that of the entire U.S.

C. WOOD, TREES, FORESTS

Perlin, John. 1989. *A Forest Journey: The Role of Wood in the Development of Civilization*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company.

In this first systematic and comprehensive study of its kind, Perlin assesses the role of forests and their use by humans from Mesopotamia at the dawn of civilization up to late-nineteenth-century America. If anything, it's a joy to read.

Williams, Michael. 2003. *Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meiggs, Russell. 1982. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rajan, Ravi. 2006. *Modernizing Nature: Forestry and Imperial Eco-Development, 1800-1950*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Although the book focuses on the British Empire, Rajan (also a professor at UCSC) illuminates the connections between German, French, British, and American forest experts. What is perhaps most helpful is Rajan's argument that state power (often in an imperial guise) and institutionalized science have left an ambiguous legacy in the history of nature conservation, but shouldn't be jettisoned.

Totman, Conrad. 1989. *Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rackham, Oliver. 1986. *The History of the Countryside*. London: J. M. Dent.

Rackham discusses the history of the English countryside more generally, but he gives due attention to the importance of trees and woody vegetation in a productive landscape and agrarian economy.

----- . 2001. *Trees, Wood, and Timber in Greek History*. Oxford: Leopard's Press.

D. FIRE

Pyne, Stephen. 1995. *World Fire: The Culture of Fire on Earth*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

----- . 1997. *Vestal Fire: An Environmental History, Told through Fire, of Europe and Europe's Encounter with the World*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

----- . 2001. *Fire: A Brief History*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Goudsblom, Johan. 1995. *Fire and Civilization*. New York: Penguin USA.

E. BUILDING & ARCHITECTURE

Alexander, Christopher, Sara Ishikawa, Murray Silverstein, with Max Jacobson, Ingrid Fiksdahl-King, Shlomo Angel. 1977. *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Constructions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kennedy, Joseph, et al. (eds.). 2002. *The Art of Natural Building: Design, Construction, Resources*. Gabriola Island, BC.: New Society.

Rudofsky, Bernard. 1964. *Architecture without Architects: An Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Steen, Athena, Bill Steen, and Eiko Komatsu. 2003. *Built by Hand: Vernacular Buildings around the World*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith.

The foregoing are not environmental histories of building and architecture *per se*, but are nonetheless some of the best historically sensitive appreciations of accumulated wisdom that I've encountered, and the authors advocate the use of pre-industrial materials and techniques. These works are especially illuminating because, as the title of one of them indicates, the authors seek to discern the underlying "pattern languages" that makes places (rooms, buildings, streets, neighborhoods, cities, and regions) desirable and comfortable to inhabit. The books are chockablock with illustrations, diagrams, and beautiful photographs.

Butti, Ken, and John Perlin. 1980. *A Golden Thread: 2500 Years of Solar Architecture and Technology*. Palo Alto: Cheshire Books; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

IV. CITY & COUNTRYSIDE

Mumford, Lewis. 1961. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*.

This is a classic that hasn't been surpassed in its explanatory depth and vast erudition, although toward the end the ethical strength that gives Mumford's writing its verve turns into preachiness. Mumford was a humanist who sought to preserve the fruits of civilization by re-balancing the relationship between urban and rural, machine and man, mechanical and organic. He made the point, still overlooked by both back-to-the-landers and Information Age techno-utopians, that the delicate hothouse plant of civilization (in the positive sense of the word) requires an actual physical container, limited in size though it may need to be by ecological considerations.

Williams, Raymond. 1973. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Although this is not explicitly an environmental history, I am including it in the list because Williams does a masterful job of showing how one can read into literature (or almost any other source) in order to understand how landscapes and environments, and peoples' perceptions of them, have changed over time and fed back on each other. In the course of his explorations, Williams also reveals in himself the kinds of ambiguities and tensions that anyone sensitive to the virtues of both the country and city, the past and present, feels.

Diefendorf, Jeffrey M., and Kurk Dorsey (eds.). 2005. *City, Country, and Empire: Landscapes in Environmental History*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburg University Press.

A collection of essays by prominent environmental historians. Ranges widely across continents and time periods.

Brechin, Gray. 1999. *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Brechin writes about the relationship between city and country—in this case San Francisco and its vast hinterlands and hinter-seas—in the finest Mumfordian tradition, including even the pessimistic hyperbole. Brechin organizes his book around what he calls the “Pyramid of Mining,” whose base consists of mechanization, metallurgy, militarism, and moneymaking (or finance), and whose apex is mining. This Pyramid is in fact the author's modification of the concept of the “Megamachine” that Mumford puts forth in *The City in History* (see above).

Cronon, William. 1991. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

This quickly became a classic in environmental history whose framework is just recently being applied to analyze other cities. Cronon makes the deceptively simple point that Chicago and its hinterlands—agricultural, silvicultural, natural, and urban—have been in a reciprocally constitutive relationship from the outset. He then spends several hundred but fascinating pages explaining this point. I have a personal

attachment to this book, because I grew up in Chicago's tourist backcountry in southern Wisconsin, with all its substantial costs and benefits. We call them Flatlanders or Illinoyances and, yes, they are terrible drivers.

Other American urban case studies:

Craig Colten (ed.). 2001. *Transforming New Orleans and Its Environs: Centuries of Change*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Elkind, Sarah. 1998. *Bay Cities and Water Politics: The Battle for Resources in Boston and Oakland*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

Hurley, Andrew (ed.). 1997. *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*. St. Louis, MO: Missouri Historical Society Press.

Kelman, Ari. 2003. *A River and Its City: The Nature of Landscape in New Orleans*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kunstler, James H. 1993. *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Before Kunstler got knee-deep into the Peak Oil scene with the publication of *The Long Emergency* (2005), he was a vociferous cultural and social critic of the modern American built environment. There are many critical works on suburbia, but I believe this is still one of the finest of the genre, since Kunstler takes seriously the long history of American antipathy toward the city and romanticism toward the countryside. The deep imprint of Mumford on his thought is easily detectable. A classic study of Americans' inability to fully enjoy either the country or the city, and their consistent attempts (usually unsuccessful) to marry them together, is:

Mark, Leo. 1964. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tarr, Joel and Gabriel Dupuy (eds.). 1988. *Technology and the Rise of the Networked City in Europe and America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Tarr, Joel. 1996. *The Search for the Ultimate Sink: Urban Pollution in Historical Perspective* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press).

Melosi, Martin. 2000. *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure from Colonial Times to Present*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tarr and Melosi's work has done a great deal to bring to life the darker ecological underside of urbanization, although they don't consider in any great detail the ecological relationships between city and country. A volume in a similar vein for England is:

Porter, Dale. 1998. *The Thames Embankment: Environment, Technology, and Society in Victorian London* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press).

V. CULTIVATION AND CULTURE

Grigg, D. B. 1974. *The Agricultural Systems of the World: An Evolutionary Approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

A good overview. Grigg reinforces the fact that environmental conditions do not determine human cultures, nor vice versa. Rather, they are in a historically grounded reciprocal relationship.

Netting, Robert McC. 1993. *Smallholders, Householders: Farm Families and the Ecology of Intensive, Sustainable Agriculture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Netting provides a wide-ranging treatment of smallholders from an anthropological and historical perspective. He convincingly challenges the myth that only modern, large-scale, mechanized, industrial agriculture can provide the food needed for the world's rapidly growing population. Netting also critiques prevailing theories—neoclassical and socialist, Left and Right—which for over a century have both been agreed upon the inefficiency and anachronism of smallholders. Another important point he makes, which is especially germane for would-be eco-community pioneers, is that the dichotomy between communal and private property is a fiction, and that only combinations of them have ever been shown to work in the long haul (viz. the following books by Ostrom and Donahue for more contemporary engagements). This is a good accompaniment to such hands-on smallholding guidebooks as John Jeavons' *How to Grow More Vegetables (than you ever thought possible on less land than you can imagine)* and *The Backyard Homestead*.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Donahue, Brian. 1999. *Reclaiming the Commons: Community Farms & Forests in a New England Town*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

Schusky, Ernest L. 1989. *Culture and Agriculture: An Ecological Introduction to Traditional and Modern Farming Systems*. New York: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.

This is another excellent source of empirical support for those on the path of setting up “traditional” smallholdings and communities. Schusky's historically inflected survey fortunately doesn't romanticize the peasantry or their mentalities, but his sensitivity to energetic and other ecological criteria makes the past century of industrialization and its related sociological phenomena look like an absurd interlude in the millennia-long evolution of (one hopes) stable agricultures. A similar message, albeit told much differently and more polemically, can be found in the following:

Manning, Richard. 2004. *Against the Grain: How Agriculture Has Hijacked Civilization*. New York: North Point Press.

Ambrosoli, Mauro. 2003. *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe: 1350-1850*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

I never thought the history of ethnobotany could be so absorbing! Ambrosoli traces the emergence of the so-called “agricultural revolution” of the 1750s, which found its culmination in the “high farming” system that made England's landowning elite à la *Pride & Prejudice* so fabulously wealthy, all the way back to the 1350s, to the humble plots of clover and fodder crops that had been recently re-domesticated by peasants in Italy, Spain, and southern France. His main point is that agricultural “revolutions” have in fact been the

result of slow, largely unrecorded accumulative processes of trial and error. This should give hope to anyone seeking to domesticate apparently unproductive plant species in their little corner of the world. Ambrosoli also provides a rather exhaustive discussion of European botany and agronomy books from roughly the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, which might be worth studying for those interesting in the history or practice of intensive rotational agriculture involving domesticated legumes (trefoil, sainfoin, lucerne, alfalfa, vetches, etc.).

Stoll, Steven. 2002. *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Stoll tells the story of the unsuccessful attempt by agricultural reformers to adopt soil-building “high-farming” practices in the U.S. in the first several decades of the nineteenth century. He incidentally provides a good explanation for why North American farming has never been sustainable on any reasonable time scale: basically, that abundant land, scarce labor, and hungry markets never gave the American farmer much reason to husband the soil. Stoll helps to dispel the myth of the eco-friendly yeoman farmer who existed at some point in America’s past—in fact, it was often Atlantic seaboard elites, steeped in the European agronomic literature, who pushed for what we would call “sustainable” methods.

King, F. H. 1927 [1911]. *Farmers of Forty Centuries*. New York: Harcourt & Brace.

This is a classic work that played no small part in kick-starting the organic farming movement in the 1920s. Although he certainly didn’t find a universally rosy picture, F. H. King was deeply impressed on his journeys by the intensive cultivation and soil improvement techniques of the peasants in Japan, Korea, and China. In the latter case, it is all the more remarkable, since the Chinese imperial state had been disintegrating and was in terminal condition when King visited it in the early 1900s.

Smith, J. Russell. 1953 [1929]. *Tree Crops: A Permanent Agriculture*. New York: Devin-Adair Co.

Smith’s deep affection for trees comes through in this book, but he was clearly no arm’s-length wilderness worshipper. In the midst of growing concern over irreversible soil erosion and the long-term decline of the U.S., he traveled the world’s many environments in search of trees suitable for food and fuel. He was hopeful that scientific breeding know-how could be applied to improve many varieties of underappreciated tree crops—acorns, hazels, chestnuts, hickory nuts, pecans, persimmons, carob, locust bean, etc.—and used to diversify farm output, reduce erosion and water wastage, and extend food production to agriculturally marginal areas. His ideas are still not anywhere near the radar screen of establishment agriculture as far as I can tell, although the “woody agriculture” movement is quietly building momentum (viz. Mark Shepard’s research work at www.badgersett.com).

Fitzgerald, Debora. 2003. *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Wines, Richard. 1985. *Fertilizers in America: From Waste Recycling to Resource Exploitation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Russell, Edmund. 2001. *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

The three above-listed books are recommended in the event that you want to be further depressed by the history of industrial agriculture and its worldwide ramifications. But the authors do an admirable and sympathetic job of explaining why the ideal of the factory, the mine, and the battlefield has been applied to the farmyard, especially in the U.S.

There are many works that examine the fundamental role of soil in the human enterprise, but, as would be expected, debates abound on the details. Although observers since at least the ancient Greeks have understood the connection between soil and civilization, the following is a sampling from a rather more modest scope of time:

Hyams, Edward. 1952. *Soil and Civilization*. London: John Murray.

Carter, Vernon Gill and Tom Dale. 1955. *Topsoil and Civilization*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hillel, Daniel. 1991. *Out of the Earth: Civilization and the Life of the Soil*. New York: Macmillan.

Blaikie, Piers, and Harold Brookfield. 1994. *Land Degradation and Society*. London; New York: Routledge.

Montgomery, David. 2007. *Dirt: The Erosion of Civilizations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

VI. ENVIRONMENTAL THOUGHT & ENVIRONMENTALISM

Bramwell, Anna. 1989. *Ecology in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Worster, Donald. 1994 [1977]. *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (2nd Edition). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

The two above books are admirable surveys of the history of ecological and environmental thought in its many manifestations, although Bramwell and Worster focus mainly on Britain, Germany, France, and North America. Thus, good accompaniments for those interested in a more comprehensive worldwide treatment are:

Guha, Ramachandra. 2000. *Environmentalism: A Global History*. New York: Longman.

Martinez-Alier, Joan. 2002. *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*. Calttenham, Eng.: Edward Elgar.

Pepper, David. 1996. *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

The following intriguing works trace the origins of environmentalism to European (mainly British) imperialist projects:

Grove, Richard. 1995. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*. New York; Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Anker, Peder. 2001. *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Barton, Gregory. 2002. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Beinart, William. 2003. *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martinez-Alier, Juan. 1987. *Ecological Economics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

In this history of a discipline that never was, Martinez-Alier attempts to figure out why mainstream economics failed to incorporate ecological and energetic considerations, despite the fact that since the nineteenth century there have been a number of figures who have noisily raised this significant fact.

Duncan, Colin. 1996. *The Centrality of Agriculture: Between Humankind and the Rest of Nature*. Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press.

The above by Duncan is probably one of the best works of synthesis I have ever encountered. Given that the book doesn't fall neatly into a disciplinary category, it has not surprisingly gone largely unnoticed. Duncan is mainly working from and addressing the socialist tradition, but his insights have much wider applicability. Highly recommended for someone familiar with the main contours of intellectual and economic history.

The following are a hodgepodge of works that explore some of the cultural and intellectual aspects of environmental history:

Glacken, Clarence. 1967. *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the Eighteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarence Glacken's original ideas remained obscure and underappreciated when he was at Berkeley in the 1960s, but this magisterial book has since gained some much-deserved attention. A book along similar lines is:

Coates, Peter. 1998. *Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Merchant, Carolyn. 1980 [1989]. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Merchant's thesis regarding the gendered nature of environmental exploitation and Western science has come under justified critical scrutiny, but it's definitely still worth considering.

Schama, Simon. 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Knopf.

Thomas, Keith. 1983 [1995]. *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corbin Alain. 1994. *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750-1840*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Conford, Philip. 2001. *Origins of the Organic Movement*. Edinburgh: Floris Books.

Beeman, Randal and James Pritchard. 2001. *A Green and Permanent Land: Ecology and Agriculture in the Twentieth Century*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

The above two works should give a solid grounding to anyone interested in the history of the interface between agriculture and ecology. Conford focuses on Great Britain, where the organic movement proper began in the 1930s, although he recognizes the influence of foreigners as well as British researchers working in their far-flung empire. Beeman and Pritchard provide a good survey of the equivalent American movement, variously called “permanent,” “alternative,” “organic,” “eco,” “biological,” and “sustainable” agriculture. You can mine the bibliographies for references to such prominent figures as Sir Albert Howard, J. I. Rodale, and Wendell Berry. The organic and permanent agriculture movements were, as they are today, associated with ideas and movements for less complicated, less urban, less industrial living. The following two books provide overviews of the history of this connection in the U.S. and U.K.:

Shi, David E. 1985. *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Marsh, Jan. 1982. *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, 1880-1914*. London: Quartet.

These final books by Sale and Kohr are not environmental histories in a narrow sense, but they provide key analytical tools for moving toward sustainability above the level of the household:

Sale, Kirkpatrick. 1980. *Human Scale*. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan.

Sale’s fat volume is a more exhaustive and wide-ranging treatment of the original insights in:

Kohr, Leopold. 1978 [1957]. *The Breakdown of Nations*. Foreword by Kirkpatrick Sale. New York: E.P. Dutton.

----- . 1977. *The Overdeveloped Nations*. New York: Schocken Books.

----- . 1979. *Development Without Aid: The Translucent Society*. New York: Schocken Books.

Almost alone in an era when “bigger is better” was the mantra, Leopold Kohr was one of the first to put forth the vitally important idea that appropriate scale should be a category of sociological and political analysis, as well as of economics and development theory. Kohr had a deep intellectual and personal influence on E. F. Schumacher, who is famous for his classic *Small is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered* (1973). Also, Kohr is one of the funniest academic writers I’ve ever had the fortune to read.