THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

Tel: 845-575-3052
Fax: 845-575-3176
E-mail: *hrvi@marist.edu*
Web: *www.hudsonrivervalley.org*

Post: The Hudson River Valley Review
c/o Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College, 3399 North Road,
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

Subscription: The annual subscription rate is $20 a year (2 issues), $35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is $30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College, 3399 North Road, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

This issue of The Hudson River Valley Review
has been generously underwritten by the following:

Central Hudson
Gas & Electric Corporation
www.chenergygroup.com

Peter Bienstock
SHAWANGUNK VALLEY
CONSERVANCY
Conservation • Preservation • Education

The mission of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area Program is to recognize, preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant cultural and natural resources of the Hudson River Valley for the benefit of the Nation.

For more information visit www.hudsonrivervalley.com

• Browse itineraries or build your own

• Search 90 Heritage Sites

• Information on dining & lodging establishments—recommended by professional committees

• Upcoming events & celebrations

To contact the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area:
Mark Castiglione, Acting Director
Capitol Building, Room 254
Albany, NY 12224
Phone: 518-473-3835

Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself. All articles in *The Hudson River Valley Review* undergo peer analysis.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

HRVR will accept materials submitted as an e-mail attachment (*hrvi@marist.edu*) once they have been announced and cleared beforehand.

Since HRVR is interdisciplinary in its approach to the region and to regionalism, it will honor the forms of citation appropriate to a particular discipline, provided these are applied consistently and supply full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

Contributors

Stephen M. Mercier was the editor of a double special issue on John Burroughs for *ATQ: 19th C. American Literature and Culture* (September and December 2007) and contributed a chapter to *Writing the Land: John Burroughs and His Legacy* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008). He is a full-time teaching associate at Marist College and recipient of the Hudson River Valley Institute's 2008 Thomas W. Casey Fellowship.

H. R. Stoneback is Distinguished Professor of English at SUNY-New Paltz, where he has taught since 1969. He has lectured widely and published numerous essays on Burroughs, and served for decades on the board of the John Burroughs Association. He is the author or editor of seventeen books and more than 200 essays on American, British, and French literature. A leading Hemingway scholar, his most recent volume of literary criticism is *Reading Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises* (Kent State University Press, 2007). Also a poet of international reputation, his sixth volume of poems—*The Amazing-Grace-Wheelchair-Jumpshot-Jesus Love Poems*—will be published this fall by Portals Press.

Jeff Walker teaches in the Department of Earth Science and Geography at Vassar College, where he has developed a research program focusing on the geology of soils and their importance as a basis for natural and agricultural ecosystems. His recent publications on John Burroughs include a reissue of *Signs and Seasons* (with an introduction and critical commentary; Syracuse University Press) and "The Great Shaggy, Barbaric Earth: Geological Writing of John Burroughs" in *Coming into Contact: New Essays in Ecocritical Theory and Practice* (University of Georgia Press).

James Perrin Warren is S. Blount Mason Professor of English at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, where he teaches courses in nineteenth-century American literature and environmental literature. He also team-teaches a course in field biogeography. His book *John Burroughs and the Place of Nature* was published by University of Georgia Press in 2006.

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Thomas W. Casey.

Thomas W. Casey and Elizabeth Burroughs Kelly in the summerhouse at Riverby

From John Burroughs' "Waiting"

Serene, I fold my hands and wait
Nor care for wind, nor tide, nor sea;
Rave no more 'gainst Time nor Fate,
For lo! My own shall come to me.

I stay my haste, I make delays,
For what avails this eager pace?
I stand amid eternal ways,
And what is mine shall know my face.

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 25, No. 1, Autumn 2008

Regional History Forum

Regional Writing

Book Reviews

***On the Cover*: Portrait of John Burroughs by Orlando Rouland, Courtesy of Craig Chesek © American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)**

COURTESY VASSAR COLLEGE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

John Burroughs and the Hudson River Valley in Environmental History

Stephen M. Mercier

Long before the environmental movement as we now know it took shape; before the landmark Storm King case, the heated controversy over Consolidated Edison's proposed massive hydroelectric plant (1962-1980); before the General Electric Company dumped approximately 1.3 million pounds of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) into the Hudson River (1947-1977); before Pete Seeger envisioned the potential of raising environmental awareness through the building of the Hudson River Sloop *Clearwater* and its maiden voyage (1969); before the Hudson River Fisherman's Association and the publication of Robert Boyle's *Hudson River: A Natural and Unnatural History* (1969); and before ecology emerged as a formal field of study, John Burroughs was paying very close attention to the flora and fauna of the Hudson River Valley, particularly the birds.

In *The Hudson River: A Natural and Unnatural History*, Robert Boyle recognizes that "The sense of being at the center of the world—this has always been part of the lure of the Hudson. John Burroughs, the naturalist, felt it" (62). Boyle contends that during the period in which the Hudson River Valley saw the development of railroads, steamboats, and canals, writers and artists were helping the river to receive national attention and thus, "the case may be made that the valley, more than any other locale, inspired a new American attitude toward nature" (59). John Burroughs, as the most famous spokesperson for the region, should be rightly recognized for his role in shaping Americans' attitudes toward the natural world. Before such terms as "ecology," "ecosystem," and "bioregion," became popular parlance to environmentalists, Burroughs was detecting important dynamics between human cultural activity and natural systems.

In "The Hudson River Valley: A Bioregional Story," Catholic priest Thomas Berry views the Hudson Valley as a bioregion, "broadly defined as a geographical area of interacting life systems—geological, economic, cultural—that is life-sustaining" (quoted in Marranca, 387). In his hope to make a treaty or spiritual

bond with the land, Berry argues that the river:

> is the ultimate psychic as well as the physical context out of which we emerge into being and by which we are nourished, guided, healed, and fulfilled. As the gulls soaring above the river in its estuary region, as the blossoms along its banks, the fish within its waters, so, too, the river is a celebration of existence, of life lived in intimate association with the sky, the winds from every direction, the sunlight. The river is the binding presence throughout the valley community. (quoted in Marranca, 394)

John Burroughs likewise shared similar sentiments regarding the "binding presence" of the river. His celebration of the flora and fauna of the Hudson River Valley helped to make visions like Berry's possible. For over half a century, millions of readers enjoyed Burroughs' endearing accounts of rambles around the Hudson Valley.

In his *The Hudson: A History*, English Professor Tom Lewis writes: "Early in the twentieth century the Hudson served as the cradle for early environmental advocates, including John Burroughs and Edward Henry Harriman. They awakened citizens to the ravages of lumbermen who were systematically clear-cutting their way through the Adirondacks and the Catskills, and quarries who sought to carve up the Palisades and Highlands" (7). In the nineteenth century, Burroughs reacted to the over-commercialization of the river and to a spirit of industrialization that was gripping the nation. Although his writings were not characteristically "political," he should rightly be recognized as an early advocate for environmental protection of the Hudson River Valley. For example, he was sensitive to the mass-scale clear-cutting of hemlocks for tannin. He was so greatly troubled by the extinction of the passenger pigeon, once so incredibly abundant in the region, that he broadcast his concerns to the masses through his writing. Certainly, if Burroughs were alive today, he would be very cognizant of the impact of industrialization upon all his beloved creatures—especially the birdlife—of the region. Indeed, Burroughs can be identified with an environmental ethos still worthy of admiration.

For Julianne Lutz Warren, Burroughs is the key figure who helped citizens realize that "in an era of rapid and immense changes, people might reconcile and perhaps even weave together love of nature, industrial and economic development, and the processes and facts of science into an enduring story of humans and nature living well and in concert." Most importantly, Burroughs sought "right relationships" between humans and the "earth as a whole" (232-34). Lutz Warren includes a quotation from Burroughs' *Leaf and Tendril* (1908) that indicates his realization

of the inescapable interdependence of humans upon their environment: "'We are rooted to the air through our lungs and to the soil through our stomachs,' he wrote. 'We are walking trees and floating plants. We cannot separate ourselves from nature any more than we can jump off the planet'" (200). Such large-scale reflections are abundant in Burroughs' writings, particularly in his later essays; importantly, they are grounded in his appreciation of local species of the Hudson River Valley. Considerations of his favorite species—birds—led Burroughs down the path of environmental awareness and protection. His writings and powerful acquaintances had a large impact on the development of environmentalism in the United States. His persuasive language deserves close attention, as his endearing combination of natural history observation and emotion may help to save species and habitats.

John O'Birds and the Hermit Thrush

In the spring of 1863, Burroughs began to study ornithology. According to biographer Edward J. Renehan, Jr., he:

> had become fascinated with a copy of Audubon's Elephant Portfolio edition of *The Birds of America* in the library of the [West Point] Military Academy. He bought binoculars. He invested sixty cents in an illustrated reference book for use in the field. He began recording his sightings of birds beside his notations to flowers. "… I am much interested in the birds," he wrote [Myron] Benton, "at least of late I can think or talk of nothings else." (64-65)

Biographer Clara Barrus explains that at the Library of the United States Military Academy at West Point Burroughs "chanced upon Audubon's 'Birds.' Its spirited illustrations at once fired his imagination and kindled his enthusiasm. Thenceforth love of flowers and birds went hand in hand" (74-75). The importance of Burroughs' encounter with Audubon's work cannot be overstated. As Jack Kligerman explains, "it was Audubon's monumental work that reoriented Burroughs' imagination and gave him a vocation" (13). In *Birds and Poets* (1877), Burroughs asserts that Audubon's sensibility was that of a great poet. On the opening page of the book, Burroughs writes that Audubon "certainly had the eye and ear and heart—'the fluid and attaching character,' as well as the 'enthusiasm,' and 'the love,' that characterizes the true and divine race of bards" (3). Burroughs was attracted not only to Audubon's accurate observations of birds' habitats and traits, but also to his devotion to them. Burroughs felt the same sentiment toward birds and repeatedly challenged ornithologists to go beyond strict systems of classification in their depictions. He wanted scientists and lay people to feel genuine

bonds with birdlife.

Burroughs contemplated his love of birds throughout his lifetime. In *Time and Change* (1912) he reflects: "If the bird has not preached to me, it has added to the resources of my life, it has widened the field of my interests, it has afforded me another beautiful object to love, and has helped make me feel more at home in this world" (253). Leading ornithologists, amateur birders, and lay people in various settings all testified that Burroughs' texts helped to foster in them a love for birds and an urge to learn more information about birdlife.

In particular, many readers were drawn to his depictions of birdsong. A strong emotional connection to birdsong may lead to the subsequent protection of birds on both a personal and political level. How do his texts accomplish this value-laden mission? What rhetorical strategies does he employ toward this end? How does perception interact with emotional response in a meaningful manner?

In his first book of natural history, *Wake-Robin* (1871), Burroughs explains his intention in the opening line of the preface: "This is mainly a book about the Birds, or more properly, an invitation to a study of Ornithology, and the purpose of the author will be carried out in proportion as it awakens and stimulates the interest of the reader in this branch of Natural History" (v). He shares his observations and experiences, "written less in the spirit of exact science than with the freedom and love of an old acquaintance" (v).

Indeed, a close look at Burroughs' construction of passages upon the hermit thrush reveals his sensory, cognitive, and emotional bonding with the natural world. To be sure, nowhere in Burroughs' writings does he celebrate birdsong more than the passages in which he sings paeans of joy to the hermit thrush. In what is one of the most striking and appreciative quotations on birdsong in *Wake-Robin*, Burroughs expounds upon his consideration of elated emotions in the presence of birdsong; he expresses his response while listening to "the serene beauty and sublimity" of the hermit thrush. In his respected opinion, "The emotions excited by the songs of these thrushes belong to a higher order, springing as they do from our deepest sense of the beauty and harmony of the world" (*Wake-Robin*, 25).

Aesthetic appreciation has its own intrinsic value. Three elements combine: the birdsong itself, the human auditory realization of how remarkabely it truly is, and the correspondent emotions to which these recognitions give rise. Burroughs intimately fuses these together as he labels the song of the hermit thrush "the finest sound in nature" (*Wake-Robin*, 51).

> I detect this sound rising pure and serene, as if a spirit from some remote height were slowly chanting a divine accompaniment. The song appeals to the sentiment of the beautiful in me, and suggests a religious beatitude as

> no other sound in nature does. [...] It is very simple, and I can hardly tell the secret of its charm. 'O spheral, spheral!' he seems to say; 'O holy, holy! O clear away, clear away! O clear up, clear up!' interspersed with the finest trills and the most delicate preludes. It [...] seems to be the voice of that calm, sweet solemnity one attains to in his best moments. It realizes a peace and a deep, solemn joy that only the finest souls may know. [...] Listening to this strain on the lone mountain, with the full moon just rounded from the horizon, the pomp of your cities and the pride of your civilization seemed trivial and cheap. (*Wake-Robin*, 51-52)

This treatment of the thrush's song expresses several ambient qualities, such as deeply sensed feelings of spirituality and serenity. To translate his appreciation into discourse, Burroughs makes the analogy between birdsong and human musical composition. Curiously, this joyous epiphany ends with a "social" critique that implies nature's "supremacy" over material constructs developed by civilization. Here, the song of the hermit thrush, in which he so wonderfully delights, is contrasted, albeit briefly and generally, with the pomp of "cities" and "pride." The emotion this passage attempts to realize is that of "peace" and "solemn joy," which Burroughs clearly does not associate with cities; he feels that the serenity of country life is not available in cities—that they corrupt the natural world and denigrate the moral values one gleans in the presence of a relatively pristine countryside. He often equates cities with a rather harried or frenzied emotion that is incompatible with the pastoral peace of the atmosphere surrounding his family farm. One might say that Burroughs' rural feeling here is rather idyllic. Nevertheless, this idyllic sensibility implies an unstated ethic about "modernization" at a surprising time in the text. In the context of a consideration of birdsong, the reader faces Burroughs' opinion that "natural" birdsong is far more impressive and beneficial to human emotion than "artificial" human constructions. Additional social critiques accompany the context of birdsong.

After summarizing his joy and vividly describing his surroundings with emotive language, Burroughs provides another subtle cultural critique that gives preference to the hermit thrush's song over human "artifacts," even of the arts:

> Mounting toward the upland again, I pause reverently as the hush and stillness of twilight come upon the woods. It is the sweetest, ripest hour of the day. And as the hermit's evening hymn goes up from the deep solitude below me, I experience that serene exaltation of sentiment of which music, literature, and religion are but the faint types and symbols. (*Wake-Robin*, 75)

This contrast shows his exceptional appreciation for the sound of the thrush, and the emotions to which it gives rise. On a larger scale, nature, signified by the thrush's song, is felt to be the primary place where a pure "sentiment" can be found.

One might consider these emphatic descriptions of the hermit thrush's song to constitute what rhetoricians call an "emotive appeal." Vivid and dramatic depictions, such as Burroughs' passage on the hermit thrush, may arouse an emotion in readers. Hyperbolic descriptions and honorific terms may further excite readers' emotional responses. Emotive prose often relies upon the cadence of a sentence as well as the smoothness of consonants and vowels. As the emotive language of the above passages on the hermit thrush demonstrates, Burroughs gears his writing style toward the creation of emotion in his readership. As rhetoricians have recognized, "The euphony and rhythm of sentences undoubtedly play a part in the communicative and persuasive process—especially in regard to producing emotional effects" (Corbett and Connors, 363). Although the creation of emotion for birdsong can be considered an act of persuasion in a "political" sense, Burroughs intends for his emotive language first and foremost to create a joyous love for birds in their natural habitats. Accordingly, he wishes for readers and others to enjoy the experience of birdsong for themselves. Burroughs not only loves the birds; he also relishes in his own deeply emotive responses to them, and hopes his readers will do the same.

In the following hermit thrush scene, Burroughs includes beautiful descriptions of flora and how he senses them; of course, his knowledge of the type of flora surrounding him heightens his appreciation. He once again attempts to paint an atmosphere of peace and serenity:

> At the foot of a rough, scraggy yellow birch, on a bank of club-moss, so richly inlaid with partridge-berry and curious shining leaves—with here and there in the bordering a spire of the false winter-green strung with faint pink flowers and exhaling the breath of a May orchard—that it looks too costly a couch for such an idler. The sun is just past the meridian, and the afternoon chorus is not yet in full tune. [...] it is not till the twilight that the full power and solemnity of the thrush's hymn is felt. (*Wake-Robin*, 59-60)

Burroughs describes the flora poetically as he absorbs himself in sensory and emotive experience. Burroughs continues to place himself in the setting by purposefully engaging his senses to enjoy various birdsong: "I lie on my back with eyes half closed, and analyze the chorus of warblers, thrushes, finches, and flycatchers; while, soaring above all, a little withdrawn and alone rises the divine contralto of the hermit" (*Wake-Robin*, 60). Fine crafting of language with such

profound eloquence and emotive power should be hailed by environmentalists for its potential impact upon readers and laws protecting species.

It is precisely Burroughs' intense love of birds, as represented through his writings, that allowed him to have such an impact upon future legislation on their behalf. His earlier exaltations of birdsong as somehow superior to the "pomp of your cities" and as more meaningful than the sentiment produced by "music, art, and religion" paved the way for a political process leading toward bird protection. Additionally, Burroughs' celebrity allowed him to influence acquaintances who had powerful influence in the political arena.

John Burroughs, Theodore Roosevelt, and the first National Wildlife Refuge of Pelican Island, 1903

Environmental history celebrates authors who in their own lives have fought great battles for protection of the natural world. Few critics have acknowledged or hashed out the possibility that Burroughs' friendship with President Theodore Roosevelt may have contributed to Roosevelt's love for—and eventual protection of—significant portions of the natural world.

One of the few scholars who emphasizes Burroughs' role in regard to bird protection is State University of New York at Oneonta English Professor Daniel G. Payne. Payne persuasively argues for Burroughs' indirect influence upon Roosevelt's conservation policies. As Payne recognizes, Burroughs was not directly on the battle lines of preservation: "Even though Burroughs was aware that many considered his political detachment to be a fault, writing: 'I was never a fighter. I feel at times I might have been a shirker, but I have shirked one thing, or one duty, that I might the more heartily give myself to another'" ("Camping," 3). Self-admittedly, Burroughs' constitution was not temperamentally suited for battle. Payne argues that Burroughs "wasn't argumentative by nature—this is why he was the most beloved naturalist of the time. He was a kindly, open teacher, for millions of people through his books, and in person" ("Interview," 2). Payne contends:

> If it was not for Burroughs, gathering together a huge, huge number of nature lovers through his writings, and popularizing other nature writers, such as John Muir, such as Henry David Thoreau—if it wasn't for Burroughs getting that audience together, who would have been there to listen to people like John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Bob Marshall? Burroughs does not get enough credit for getting the audience there. ("Interview," 3)

Payne asserts that Roosevelt was at relative ease with Burroughs and greatly enjoyed his texts and company; he explores the close personal friendship between

the two before, during, and after Roosevelt's presidency. Roosevelt stayed in contact with Burroughs well after his presidency, and continued to refer to him as "Oom John," meaning uncle in Dutch. In a letter dated September 22, 1911, Roosevelt writes:

> Dear Oom John: Did you ever get the pamphlet on Concealing Coloration? If not, I will send you another. I do hope that you will include in your coming volume of sketches a little account of the time you visited us at Pine Knot, our Little Virginia Camp, while I was President. I am very proud of you, Oom John, and I want the fact that you were my guest when I was President, and that you and I looked at birds together, recorded there—and don't forget that I showed you the blue grosbeak and Bewick's wren, and almost all the other birds I said I would! Ever yours, Theodore Roosevelt. (Vassar File 66.71)

As the letter indicates, Burroughs and Roosevelt birded together at the President's retreat, Pine Knot, and went on several camping trips together, most notably an outing to Yellowstone Park in 1903, on which Burroughs based *Camping and Tramping with Roosevelt*, published four years later. Payne investigates Roosevelt's life-long interest in Burroughs' literary naturalism: "Roosevelt had been familiar with Burroughs's essays on birds ever since his youth, and like tens of thousands of other Americans, those essays encouraged Roosevelt's early passion for natural history, particularly ornithology" ("Camping," 13). In regard to Roosevelt's eventual initiation of conservation policies, Payne explains, "Burroughs's essays seemed to at least confirm Roosevelt's tendencies toward nature appreciation, and helped him move in a direction he was already inclined to go" ("Camping," 13). Payne thus recognizes that Burroughs' strong influence upon Roosevelt was specifically in regard to bird protection.

Payne relates a specific instance in which Burroughs' particular influence over Roosevelt did yield some political fruit: the case of Pelican Island in Florida, a small island that provided important habitat and protection for numerous exotic birds being hunted for the millinery trade. "On March 14, 1903, just days before leaving Washington, D.C., with John Burroughs for the Yellowstone trip, Roosevelt asked his advisors, 'Is there any law that will prevent me from declaring Pelican Island a Federal Bird Preservation?' When assured there was none, he said, 'Very well, then I so declare it.'" In the next six years, Roosevelt created fifty more wildlife refuges, primarily aimed at the protection of birds" ("Camping," 13-14). Most significantly, as Payne observes, Roosevelt's "love of birds which Burroughs helped to foster resulted in direct action" ("Interview," 1). The president's declaration of Pelican Island as a federal preserve represents a momentous occasion in the

history of environmental conservation.

"The Evolution of the Conservation Movement," published by the federal government, emphasizes the importance of this initiative to protect Pelican Island as the first of over fifty "wildlife sanctuaries Roosevelt creates while President" (1); most importantly, it "establishes the precedent on which the system of national wildlife refuges will be based" (2). Following Payne's argument that Burroughs had an influence upon Roosevelt's decision to preserve Pelican Island—along with the fact that Pelican Island became the precedent upon which later wildlife refuges are enacted—Burroughs may properly be seen as having an impact upon far-ranging environmental policy designed to protect species.

Today, the refuge system totals "nearly 95 million acres" and "consists of 540 refuges spread across all 50 states and 12 US territories" (Ross, 2). The national parks cover thirteen percent less acreage. Officials designate refuges to support wildlife and to "protect the last existing habitats for some of the most endangered animals and plants. The majority of wildlife refuges are "concentrated along major bird migration corridors and serve as vital sanctuaries for millions of migratory birds" (Scheer, 2). In addition to the more than 700 species of birds, refuges protect "229 mammal species, 250 reptile species and more than 200 species of fish" as well as providing habitat for "nearly 250 threatened and endangered species" (Scheer, 2). Burroughs would have been pleased with the creation of the National Wildlife Refuge system, the very habitats Roosevelt put aside for the protection of species from human interference.

My research has indicated that a speech delivered by Roosevelt at the Governor's Conference on May 13 to 15, 1908, in Washington, D.C., directly mirrors a famous passage in one of Burroughs' essays. (It should be noted that Burroughs had lunch with President Roosevelt on February 27, 1908, though I have found no record of their conversation.) In an essay titled "The Grist of the Gods" (*Leaf and Tendril*, 1908), in which Burroughs appreciates the life-giving and sustaining forces of the soil, he contemplates the impact of industrial development upon natural resources in a prescient manner:

> …one cannot but reflect what a sucked orange the earth will be in the course of a few more centuries. Our civilization is terribly expensive to all its natural resources; one hundred years of modern life doubtless exhausts its stores more than a millennium of the life of antiquity. Its coal and oil will be about used up, all its mineral wealth greatly depleted, the fertility of its soil will have been washed into the sea through the drainage of its cities, its wild game will be nearly extinct, its primitive forests gone, and soon how nearly bankrupt the planet will be! (204)

Note the direct comparisons implicit in Roosevelt's famous speech:

> In the development, use, and therefore the exhaustion of certain of the natural resources, the progress has been made more rapid in the past century and a quarter than during all preceding time of which we have record (4). …Finally, we began with soils of unexampled fertility, and we have impoverished them by injudicious use and by failing to check erosion and their crop-making power is diminishing instead of increasing. In a word, we have thoughtlessly, and to a large degree unnecessarily, diminished the resources upon which not only our prosperity but the prosperity of our children and our children's children must always depend. … the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils shall have been further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields, and obstructing navigation. (7)

It may be argued that Roosevelt shared, to some extent, Burroughs' environmental ethos; they may have been kindred spirits in this regard. Roosevelt was able to convey in speeches and put in practice with federal legislation some of the sentiments Burroughs expressed in his writings. His status as the most famous writer of his day allowed Burroughs to become friends with the powerful and influential.

John Burroughs, Henry Ford, Ernest Thompson Seton, and the Weeks-McLean Law of 1913

The Weeks-McLean Law, sometimes referred to as The Federal Migratory Bird Law, was the first law designed to protect birds on a national level. On March 14, 1913, the Weeks-McLean Act was introduced by Representative John W. Weeks of Massachusetts and Senator George P. McLean of Connecticut to eliminate commercial hunting and shipping of migratory birds across state lines.

> Be it enacted […] That all wild geese, wild swans, brant, wild ducks, snipe, plover, woodcock, rail, wild pigeons, and all other migratory game and insectivorous birds which in their northern and southern migrations pass through or do not remain permanently the entire year within the borders of any State or Territory, shall hereafter be deemed to be within the custody and protection of the Government of the United States, and shall not be destroyed or taken contrary to regulations herein provided therefore. (*Congressional Record*, 1484)

By the late nineteenth century, ornithologists recognized the need for a federal law to protect migratory birds. For decades, states had tried to institute laws within their own borders to protect birds. However, as migrating birds do not recognize state borders, these measures proved ineffective.

On January 14, 1913, a little over a week before the vote, there was a long and intense congressional debate over the act's passage. Senator McLean was the leading proponent. He presented a scientific, constitutional, and emotionally impassioned case in what would amount to about forty pages of standard text. He argued for the national protection of birds on economic grounds, as they protected crops from insects (such as the army worm, boll weevil, and gypsy moth), and read from agricultural reports and testimony of farmers. In addition, McLean contrasted the false notion of the "land of plenty" with the effects of economic development upon the populations of species: "The splendid abundance… in pristine times caused our people to prosecute a campaign of relentless annihilation upon the treasures of nature's storehouse, believing that the supply could not be exhausted" (*Congressional Record*, 1488). (Environmental historians continue to point to the notion that flora and fauna are overabundant, or constantly renewable, as a factor leading to their decline.) McLean argued in anthropocentric terms for the importance of birds as a natural way of keeping down insect damage on agricultural crops. This strategy had great weight in Congress.

McLean's plea for national uniformity of protective laws constituted an extension of powers of government, applying the Constitution's declared national priority to "promote the general welfare" toward the protection of species. McLean urgently argued for the protection of migratory birds: "Future generations will never forgive us if we delay this matter longer, and we will not deserve forgiveness if we delay longer" (*Congressional Record*, 1492). Species protection is thus figured as a question of natural heritage for citizens. McLean pronounced in strong language: "if the birds are worth saving, we had better save them before they are all destroyed" (*Congressional Record*, 1494).

McLean's final presentation before Congress in support of Weeks-McLean followed. Appearing under the heading "Protection for Birds" for January 22, 1913, the *Congressional Record* includes a transcript of his last request to "secure the consent of the Senate to a vote upon" the bill. McLean told Congress he had received many telegrams, letters, and petitions. Then he asked the secretary to read the following telegram:

> You cannot possibly comprehend how widespread and deep is the sentiment generally in favor of your bill for the protection of migratory birds. Your appeal for an early and favorable vote on this matter should have the

> earnest support of all the Members of the United States Senate who would serve their country by saving for it one of our most valuable and interesting natural resources, now being rapidly destroyed. No measure now pending before Congress is more far-reaching in its importance or is more greatly needed. We strongly urge its passage. Glenn Buck. For John Burroughs and Ernest Thompson Seton. (*Congressional Record*, 1870)

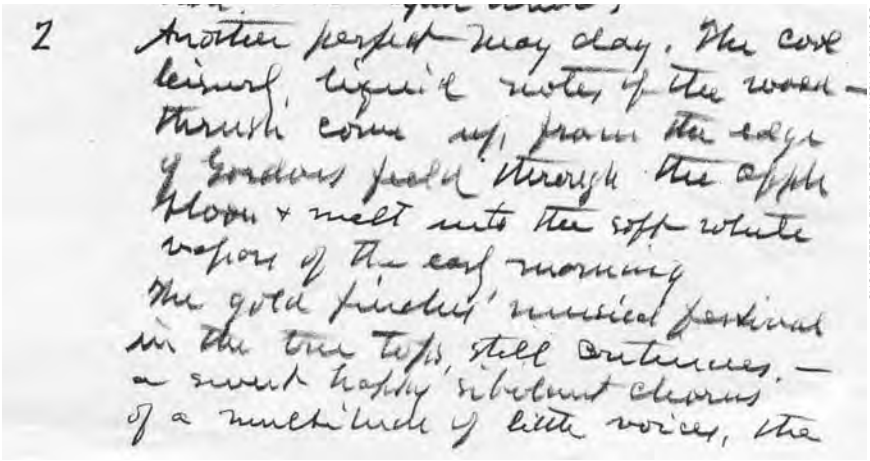
McLean then addressed Congress directly: "The telegram, as you will note, was received from John Burroughs and Ernest Thompson Seton, who represent the very highest authority we have upon this subject, and it seems to me that it is an authority to which we should lend a willing ear before it is too late" (*Congressional Record*, 1871). The record then continues with: "The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed" (*Congressional Record*, 1871). The fact that McLean chose to read a telegram from Burroughs and popular author Ernest Thompson Seton as the final piece of support in favor of the bird protection bill emphasizes the extreme importance of those two figures. One might suggest that McLean saw in Burroughs a figure commanding respect. In addition to affixing his name to the telegram, Burroughs appeared in person in Washington to show his support for Weeks-McLean.

In his autobiography, Seton explained that after the first passage of Weeks-McLean, which he described as "a most important bill that was essential to the preservation of our migratory birds," the House encountered difficulty owing to two senators "rabidly opposed to it." Seton wrote: "There was only one hope left. If some person or persons could influence the obstinate Senators to let the bill come up at once, 'by consent' it had a chance of becoming law" (372). Seton and Burroughs were called upon by industrial magnate Henry Ford, who Seton describes as "greatly interested in bird conservation." His affection for birds had been nurtured by the writings of Burroughs and prompted Ford to send his own personal assistant, Glenn Buck, to drive to Slabsides. Buck picked up Burroughs and drove him to Washington, D.C., in order to win over the bill's passage. Ford paid all of the expenses. There, Seton and Burroughs met with the "two recalcitrant Senators… in one of the committee rooms" (372). There is no record of what was said behind closed doors, yet Burroughs' presence alone as a noted and famously loved authority on birdlife must certainly have created a degree of persuasion. Owing largely to the presence of Burroughs and Seton, the two senators eventually gave their consent for the bill to come up at session (Seton, 373). However, their effort would not have been possible if not for the enthusiasm and support of Ford.

By all accounts, Ford was very taken with Burroughs' writings since his childhood, and was himself a serious amateur birder. Ford and Burroughs went on several camping expeditions together. Some contend that Ford saw Burroughs as a father figure. Furthermore, when Burroughs' family had financial difficulty in 1913, Ford helped Burroughs purchase the deed to his old homestead in Roxbury. Directly nurtured by Burroughs' texts, Ford developed a long-standing love for birds so deep that he fought for laws to protect them. His appreciation for birdlife was largely instilled by Burroughs, and therefore, one might argue, Burroughs had the same kind of salutary influence upon Ford in regard to bird protection as he did with Roosevelt. Ford's role as a wealthy and famous tycoon allowed him to lobby very effectively for Weeks-McLean. Without Ford's finances, a powerful lobby for Weeks-McLean would have been very unlikely, and Burroughs and Seton certainly would not have arrived in person to face the opposing senators.

One can only hypothesize about the vast amount of support Burroughs' texts served in increasing public opinion toward the safeguarding of birds. Birdsong was one of Burroughs's favorite phenomena in nature and he wrote about it during his entire career, which spanned over fifty years. Even in his journal, continual love of birdsong is quite clear, as he writes in an entry for May 2, 1913:

> Another perfect May day. The cool leisurely, liquid notes of the wood-thrush come up from the edge of Gordon's field through the apple bloom & melt into the soft white vapors of the early morning. The gold finches' musical festival in the tree tops still continues.—a sweet happy sibilant chorus of a multitude of little voices. (Vassar Folder 21.6)


2 another perfect May day. The cool leisurely, liquid notes of the wood-thrush come up, from the edge of Gordons field through the apple bloom & melt into the soft white vapors of the early morning The gold finches' musical festival in the tree tops, still continues.— a sweet happy sibilant chorus of a multitude of little voices, the

COURTESY VASSAR COLLEGE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Detail from John Burroughs' journal

Weeks-McLean passed as a rider on the Agricultural Appropriation Bill and was finally signed by President William Howard Taft on March 14, 1913. Weeks-McLean was later challenged and ultimately deemed unconstitutional; nevertheless, it had an enormous influence upon succeeding bird protection and the direction of future legislation.

In *The Audubon Ark,* historian Frank Graham, Jr., states one of the most significant consequences of the bill: "the Biological Survey immediately banned the hunting of waterfowl in spring and put in motion the machinery to assume responsibility of regulating the hunting of game birds and the outright protection of other migratory species" (93). Perhaps most significantly, Weeks-McLean led to the firm establishment of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918. This act followed closely "on the heels" of the Weeks-McLean Law and "decreed that all migratory birds and their parts (including eggs, nests, and feathers) were fully protected" ("US Fish and Wildlife Service," 2). The treaty established a federal and international prohibition against the killing, selling, purchasing, or delivery of birds within several countries, including Mexico, Japan, and Russia. Though amended since its first passage, it maintains to this day its core mission of protecting birds. Wildlife officials continually safeguard migratory birds owing to the legislation that started with Weeks-McLean.

"The Spring Bird Procession" and the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918

It is not a coincidence that Burroughs wrote and published timely essays with emotional responses to persuade readers and influence legislation. In fact, Burroughs' texts may have had an influence upon the passage of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act. My research has revealed that Burroughs published one particularly brilliant article in appreciation of migratory birds in April 1918, just three months prior to the act's passage. Although *Field and Study* was published in 1919, its opening chapter, "The Spring Bird Procession"—a major aesthetic celebration of migratory birds—was published originally as a journal article in *The Atlantic* in April 1918. The appearance of Burroughs' article coincides remarkably with the passage of the federal law. In this essay, Burroughs spends a great deal of time explaining his feelings over the extinction of the passenger pigeon.

To exert an influence on public consciousness, Burroughs relies upon several rhetorical techniques to gather sympathy and appreciation for birdlife. He employs his trope of childhood to make a sympathetic analogy between birds and human beings, expresses joy over the presence of migratory birds, mourns with pathos over their disappearance, bonds meaningfully with one particular bird, and main-

tains his enthusiasm for common species. These techniques all combine to make "The Spring Bird Procession" one of Burroughs' most effective essays in terms of his crafting of rhetorical strategies.

In the essay, Burroughs shares his love of this aerial parade with his readership: "One of the new pleasures of country life when one has made an acquaintance with the birds is to witness the northward bird procession as it passes or tarries with us in the spring—a procession which lasts from April to June and has some new feature daily" (*Field and Study*, 3.) The very scale of this bird "procession" is fascinating and worthy of observance and respect: "The migrating wild creatures, whether birds or beasts, always arrest attention. They seem to link up animal life with the great currents of the globe. It is moving day on a continental scale" (*Field and Study*, 3). The phrase "arrest attention" marks the vital importance of sensory perception. For Burroughs, the presence of migratory birds near his residences of Woodchuck Lodge, Riverby, the Bark Study, and Slabsides would never become an old story. He wants to experience the procession of birds with the excitement of a novel event, even though the sight of migratory birds is rather common. However, for certain species—such as the passenger pigeon—the event had become far less common by 1918.

> In my boyhood the vast armies of the passenger pigeons were one of the most notable spring tokens. Often late in March, or early in April, the naked beechwoods would suddenly become blue with them, and vocal with their soft, childlike calls; or all day the sky would be streaked with the long lines or dense masses […]. The last great flight of them that I ever beheld was on the 10th of April, 1875, when, for the greater part of the day, one could not at any moment look skyward above the Hudson River Valley without seeing several flocks, great and small, of the migrating birds. But that spectacle was never repeated as it had been for generations before. The pigeons never came back. Death and destruction, in the shape of greed and cupidity of man, were on their trail. The hosts were pursued from State to State by professional pot-hunters and netters, and the numbers so reduced, and their flocking instinct so disorganized, that their vast migrating bands disappeared, and they were seen only in loosely scattered and diminishing flocks in different parts of the West during the remainder of the century. (*Field and Study*, 4)

In this passage, Burroughs develops several means of appreciation. He first connects the birds to an event in his youth to garner an emotional connection, while his own observation acts as evidence of the great number of birds. Vivid and emotive descriptors blanket the passage as the sky becomes "suddenly blue,"

and filled with their "childlike calls." Burroughs thus introduces a figurative equation between pigeons and children. The juxtaposition between images of childhood and war may be particularly striking to readers and catch their attention. To imagine something "childlike" shot out of the sky may horrify certain readers. Furthermore, Burroughs' humanization of "Death and destruction" stresses the need for defense. Finally, he makes the direct link between hunters and the falling numbers of birds. Importantly, this realization may be seen as a rebuttal to arguments that deny the relationship between hunting practices and species decline. Historical accuracy regarding the slaughter of passenger pigeons helps us to understand the plight of these now-extinct birds.

Burroughs' response to the dwindling numbers of passenger pigeons is better understood when one learns more about the birds themselves and considers the human practices that contributed to their extinction. Passenger pigeons were beautiful birds. According to Christopher Cokinos, author of *Hope is The Thing With Feathers*, "the pigeons' necks shimmered purple, gold, yellow and green, as if the feathers had been sprinkled with a metallic rainbow dust" (200). With blue-gray heads, backs, and wings, they were shaped like mourning doves, but larger, and their legs and feet were pinkish and red. Burroughs kept a large painting of two passenger pigeons in his Bark Study at Riverby that still hangs there today. Burroughs' son Julian also was fond of passenger pigeons and painted a large picture of a flock majestically sweeping through the beech woods near Woodchuck Lodge.

Most startling are accounts of their mass numbers: Pioneering naturalist Alexander Wilson estimated one flock in Kentucky to consist of 2,230,272,000 birds. With each bird about sixteen inches long, this one flock would stretch around the equator 22.6 times. There were approximately five billion birds. According to Joel Greenberg, "It was the most abundant bird the world has ever known and may have comprised 25-40% of this country's avian population" (348). Flocks were sometimes one mile wide by 300 miles long. Passenger pigeons engaged in communal breeding and nested in colonies; sometimes 100 nests were located in a single tree.

The name "passenger pigeon" was actually coined by early French settlers who first referred to the birds as "Pigeon de passage," meaning Pigeon of passage, or migratory pigeon because their immigration (i.e., their passage) was so phenomenal, as they *passed* overhead in such tremendous numbers. Even their scientific name, *Ectopistes migratoria*, translates to "Wandering wanderer." They ate beechnuts, acorns from oak trees (called "mast"), and also blueberries, huckleberries, pokeberries, fruits, and sometimes grasshoppers, locusts, and caterpillars.

The two main reasons for the extinction of the passenger pigeon are generally considered to be habitat loss (deforestation) and their slaughter in mass numbers, the result of their roosting and nesting in colonies. Hunters developed diverse methods of trapping and killing the pigeons. They were shot down and netted with 100-foot-long nets. Chicks were knocked out of their nests with poles, trees were felled, roosting and nesting sites were set ablaze, and sulfur was burned to asphyxiate squabs and brooding adults. People soaked grain with alcohol to intoxicate the birds so they would be easier to catch. Strychnine also was used. People would shoot randomly into flocks; one shot would kill and injure dozens of birds. So easily targeted were the pigeons, it was more like shooting fish in a barrel; in fact, shooting pigeons was not even considered a sport. One observer called the killing sprees "a pandemonium for a saturnalia of slaughter" (quoted in Cokinos, 216). People had to shout to be heard above the din of injured birds and gunfire. In Petoskey, Michigan, at one of the largest nesting sites in 1878, 50,000 birds were killed each day for nearly five months. Most gruesomely, hunters would blind a single bird by sewing its eyes shut with a needle and thread. These live decoys would be placed on a stump. Hunters would allow them to flutter up and down a bit, to perform a fake landing, so others would land. (This is the origin of the term "stool pigeon.")

Passenger pigeons were hunted for several reasons. They were commercially exploited for their meat, providing cheap food for slaves and the poor. They also were used for agricultural fertilizer, and to feed pigs. It may disturb modern readers' sensibilities to learn that these beautiful birds were used as live targets in shooting contests. In 1851, 1.8 million pigeons were shipped from Plattsburgh, New York. In 1875, 2.4 million were shipped from Michigan. In 1881 on Coney Island, one pigeon shoot killed 20,000 birds. In 1878, three million birds were shipped by a single market hunter. Developments in modern technology greatly aided the hunting and shipping. The telegraph helped hunters track the pigeons and communicate their whereabouts. In 1830, the United States had twenty-three miles of railroad; by 1860 there were 30,000 miles of track with which to ship "goods" to market. By the beginning of the twentieth century, only one passenger pigeon, raised in captivity and named "Martha," was known to exist. Many scholars believe that the extinction of the passenger pigeon resulted in legislation that has prevented other species from extinction.

Burroughs continues his paean to the passenger pigeon:

> What man now in his old age who witnessed in youth that spring or fall festival and migration of the passenger pigeons would not hail it as one of the gladdest hours of his life if he could be permitted to witness it once more?

> It was such a spectacle of bounty, of joyous, copious animal life, of fertility in the air and in the wilderness, as to make the heart glad. (*Field and Study*, 4-5)

He furthers the sense of sentimental bonding by associating this "festival" with a glad "heart." He valorizes the human joy that the procession brings him as the most important factor of consideration. In his introduction to The *Biophilia Hypothesis*, Stephen R. Kellert recognizes that many thinkers have tried to comprehend "how human life is enriched by its broadest affiliation with the natural world—and, conversely, how the impoverishment of this relationship with nature could foster a less satisfactory experience" (20). Burroughs clearly develops a sensibility in favor of preserving biodiversity. Furthermore, he asks readers to consider the happiness of physically witnessing this spectacle of bird migration in their own experience. Thus, his appreciation of viewing such natural processes as the migration of birds, and his subsequent implication that these migrations could *end* due to human violence, represents a powerful way to engage the sympathy of the reader. Migration is an event worthy of commemoration; the loss of this symbol of fertility of life is an event to mourn. Burroughs impressively frames his pathos, the intense sentimental feeling of loss, to illuminate a potentially harmful contemporary situation: the extinction of species caused by human error and interference.

Virtually everyone can share the experience of watching migrating birds. Firsthand aesthetic perception unites citizens all over the country: "in every neighborhood throughout the State, and throughout a long, broad belt of States, about several millions of homes, and over several millions of farms, the same flood-tide of bird-life is creeping and eddying or sweeping over the land" (*Field and Study*, 13-14). To add specifics to his poetic characterization, Burroughs lists several migratory birds in addition to the passenger pigeon, such as "warblers, flycatchers, finches, thrushes, [and] sparrows," among others. Burroughs presents bird migration as a majestic biological event sweeping across the nation. The migrating birds signify evidence of nature's bounty and vitality; he envisions the world as teeming with life. He then beckons directly to his reader: "think of all this and more, and you may get some idea of the extent and importance of our bird-life" (*Field and Study*, 13).

Burroughs uses another rhetorical strategy: he focuses on an individual bird: "One winter, in December, a solitary red-breasted nuthatch took up his abode with me, attracted by the suet and nuts I had placed on a maple-tree trunk in front of my study" (*Field and Study*, 22). A friendship between Burroughs and this nuthatch ensues, and he becomes emotionally attached: "He was my tiny guest

from unknown lands, my baby bird, and he left a vacancy that none of the others could fill" (*Field and Study*, 23). While some may consider this last statement to be overly sentimental, the passage shows the important function of particularizing a species. Some readers may have difficulty developing a high regard for random masses of migrating birds; however, some may more easily appreciate one distinct bird in their vicinity.

In fact, through letters of testimony Burroughs became well aware of readers' attachments to individual birds near their homes. Overall, letters to Burroughs reveal readers' deep affection toward his writings. In a correspondence dated November 17, 1877, Mrs. Almon J. Gibbs shares her experience with a hummingbird and writes that nature observers "listen breathfully for your translation of her [nature's] mood" (Vassar File 67.32). This emotional response characterizes most letters. On August 20, 1917, J. Nelson Gowanlock writes: "In ten years time—I began to study birds when I was twelve—I have become familiar with over two hundred and thirty species of our wild-birds and I owe all the large measure of my delight to the first glimmer of the open sunshine caught in reading your 'Sharp Eyes'" (Vassar File 67.32). Throughout his career, Burroughs deeply invested himself in sharing his experiences with readers, and in creating "human interest" in birdsong. In "The Invitation" in *Wake-Robin* (1871), for example, he encourages his readers to experience "the thrill of delight" and "feeling of fresh, eager inquiry" while birding (218).

Through his various strategies of aesthetic appreciation, Burroughs' essay performed a very important national function at the critical historical moment when citizens and politicians were debating over the constitutionality of national legislation in regard to protecting birds versus states rights. "The Spring Bird Procession" is a rhetorical masterpiece for instilling love for birds. Burroughs' piece helped create a national atmosphere in which many citizens came to see emotional bonding with birds as acceptable. Following such deep emotional attachment, protection becomes imperative.

Marshlands, bird sanctuaries, and preserves come into being through the efforts of caring individuals and societies. Without the kind of love developed in Burroughs' texts, it is very unlikely that the Weeks-McLean Law, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, the National Wildlife Refuge system, or the Endangered Species Act would ever have been incorporated into law. Emotions influence the politics of preservation in essential ways. An intense love for other life forms may lead to their preservation. Caring for other life forms and the habitats that support them may in fact be the most central force toward their survival. The combination of scientific knowledge and emotion is more effective than either alone. By the very

nature of his methodology as a literary naturalist, John Burroughs emphasizes both. He teaches readers "about" birds and also ways to love birds. His works contain the strategies many environmentalists seek in their fight to save species.

Works Cited

Barrus. Clara. *The Heart of Burroughs's Journals*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928.

Burroughs, John. *Birds and Poets*. 1877. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904.

---. *Field and Study*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1919.

---. *Leaf and Tendril*. 1908. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1908.

---. *Literary Values*. 1902. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904.

---. *Locusts and Wild Honey*. 1879. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907.

---. *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*. 1867. Haskell House Publishers, Ltd. New York: NY, 1971.

---. *Signs and Seasons*. 1886. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904.

---. *Time and Change*. 1912. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912.

---. *Wake-Robin*. 1871. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904.

---. *Winter Sunshine*. 1875. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904.

Burroughs, Julian. *Hudson River Memories*. West Park, New York: Riverby Books, 1987.

Berry, Thomas. *A Hudson Valley Reader: Writings from the 17th Century to the Present*. Ed. Bonnie Marranca. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook P, 1995. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969.

Boyle, Robert. *The Hudson River: A Natural and Unnatural History*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1962.

Cokinos, Christopher. *Hope is the Thing with Feathers*. New York: NY: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2000.

Congressional Record—House. (February 7, 1913): 2725-2728

Congressional Record—Senate. (January 14, 1913): 1484-1494; (January 22, 1913): 1870-1871.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Pioneers*. 1823. Rpt. London: Dutton, 1970.

Corbett, Edward P. J. and Robert J. Connors. *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* Fourth Edition. New York: Oxford UP, 1999.

Evers, Alf. *In Catskill Country*. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook P, 1995.

Gould, Rebecca Kneale. "Making the Self at Home: John Burroughs, Wendell Berry and the Sacred Economy." *Sharp Eyes: John Burroughs and American Nature Writing*. Ed. Charlotte Zoe Walker. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000. 140-62.

Graham, Frank Jr. *The Audubon Ark: A History of the National Audubon Society*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1990.

Greenberg, Joel. *A Natural History of the Chicago Region*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago P, 2002.

Hicks, Phillip Marshall. *The Development of the Natural History Essay in American Literature*. A Thesis in English. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1924.

Kellert, Stephen R. "Introduction." *The Biophilia Hypothesis*. Ed. Stephen R. Kellert and Edward O.

Wilson. Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993. 20-27.

Kligerman, Jack. *The Birds of John Burroughs: Keeping a Sharp Lookout*. New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1976.

Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Oxford UP, 1949. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2005.

Lewis, Tom. *The Hudson: A History*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2005.

Marks, Alfred H. "John Burroughs and the Hudson Valley." *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* 12.2 (September 1995): 1-10.

Norwood, Vera. *Made From this Earth*. Chapel Hill: The U of North Carolina P, 1993.

Parisio, Richard. "The First Cut from the Log: John Burroughs and the Art of Finding." *Sharp Eyes: John Burroughs and American Nature Writing*. Ed. Charlotte Zoe Walker. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000. 132-39. Payne, Daniel G. Personal interview. 23 October 2003.

Pierce, David. "John Burroughs and the Dilemma of Naturalism." *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* 12.2 (September 1995): 14-40.

Renehan Jr., Edward J. *John Burroughs: An American Naturalist*. Post Mills, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing Co., 1922.

Roosevelt, Theodore. Letter to John Burroughs. 22 September 1991. Vassar File 66.71.

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Proceedings of a Conference of Governors." *The Evolution of the Conservation Movement*. Online. American Memory. http://memory.loc.gov.

Ross, John R. "Where the Wild Things Are." *Smithsonian* 33.12 (March 2003): 10-13.

Scheer, Roddy. "Seeking Sanctuary." *E Magazine: The Environmental Magazine* 14.2 (March/April 2003): 34-39.

Seton, Ernest Thompson. *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940.

Stanne, Stephen P., Roger G. Panetta, and Brian E. Forist. *The Hudson: An Illustrated Guide to the Living River*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1996.

Stoneback, H. R. "John Burroughs, Regionalist for the Millennium." *Sharp Eyes: John Burroughs and American Nature Writing*. Ed. Charlotte Zoe Walker. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000. 265-78.

"U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service: Office of Law Enforcement." Date accessed: 6 November 2002. *http://www.le.fws.gov/1900-1950.htm*.

Walker, Jeff, ed. "Critical Commentary." *Signs and Seasons*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 2006.

Warren, James Perrin *John Burroughs* and the *Place of Nature*. Athens, GA: The U of Georgia P, 2006.

Warren, Julianne Lutz. "Alienation or Intimacy?: The Roles of Science in the Cultural Narratives of Gifford Pinchot and John Burroughs." *ATQ: 19th C. Literature and Culture* New Series 21.4 (December 2007): 249-59.

Whitman, Walt. *Specimen Days*. Boston, MA: David R. Godine, Publisher, 1971.

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

Wilson, Edward O. *Biophilia*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984.

We invite you to subscribe to

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

To subscribe to the HRVR, simply complete this form and send to the address below. Two issues published each year.

Name_____

E-mail _____

Membership

- ❑ **Membership in the Hudson River Valley Institute Patriots Society includes a multiyear complimentary subscription; for more information please see the back of this form.**
- ❑ **A 1-year Individual subscription (two issues) is $20**
- ❑ **A 2-year Individual subscription (four issues) is $35**
- ❑ **A 1-year Library/Institutional subscription (two issues) is $30**
- ❑ **A 2-year Library/Institutional subscription (four issues) is $60**
- ❑ **A 1-year foreign subscription (two issues) is $30**

Subscription Preferences:

- ❑ **begin subscription with current issue**
- ❑ **begin subscription with next issue**

Back Issues **@$10.00/post paid for HVRR (ending with volume 19.1); $8.00 for each additional copy of same order.**
Vol._____ No._____ Quantity_____

Back Issues **@$15.00/post paid for HVRR (beginning with volume 19.2); $13.00 for each additional copy of same order.**
Vol._____ No._____ Quantity_____

The following issues are no longer available: Vol. and No.: 8.1, 8.2, 9.1, 11.2, 14.1, 15.2, 16.1, 16.2, 17.2, 19.2, and 20.2.

Mailing Address: _____

_____

Please complete form and return with your check or money order, payable to Marist College/HRVI, to:

Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College
3399 North Rd.
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

For more information, email hrvi@marist.edu, visit www.hudsonrivervalley.org, or call (845) 575-3052

The Hudson River Valley Institute

The Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College is the academic arm of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area. Its mission is to study and to promote the Hudson River Valley and to provide educational resources for heritage tourists, scholars, elementary school educators, environmental organizations, the business community, and the general public. Its many projects include publication of the *Hudson River Valley Review* and the management of a dynamic digital library and leading regional portal site.

Patriots' Society

Help tell the story of the Hudson River Valley's rich history and culture by joining **The Patriots' Society** and supporting the exciting work of the **Hudson River Valley Institute** at Marist College. Contributions such as yours ensure that the scholarly research, electronic archive, public programming and educational initiatives of the Hudson River Valley Institute are carried on for generations to come. **The Patriots' Society** is the Hudson River Valley Institute's initiative to obtain philanthropic support from individuals, businesses and organizations committed to promoting our unique National Heritage Area to the country and the world. Please join us today in supporting this important work.

Each new contributor to **The Patriots' Society** will receive the following, as well as the specific gifts outlined below:

- **Monthly Electronic Newsletter**
- **Specially-commissioned poster by renowned Hudson Valley artist Don Nice**
- **Invitation to HRVI events**

I wish to support The Patriots' Society of the Hudson River Valley Institute with the following contribution:

❑ **$100 Militia** (includes 1 issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review*)

❑ **$250 Minute Man** (includes 1-Year Subscription to *The HRVR* and choice of Thomas Wermuth's *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* or James Johnson's *Militiamen, Rangers, and Redcoats*) Please circle choice.

❑ **$500 Patriot** (Includes same as above and a 2-Year Subscription to *The HRVR*.)

❑ **$1,000 Sybil Ludington Sponsor**
(Includes all above with a 3-year subscription to *The HRVR*)

❑ **$2,500 Governor Clinton Patron**
(Includes all above with a 5-year subscription to *The HRVR*)

❑ **$5,000 General Washington's Circle** (Includes all above with 5-year subscription to *The HRVR* and a copy of Myra Armstead's *Mighty Change, Tall Within: Black Identity in the Hudson Valley*)

❑ Enclosed is my check, made payable to Marist College/HRVI.

❑ Please charge my credit card: #_____

Expiration Date _____ Signature _____

❑ Visa ❑ Discover ❑ Master Card

Phone: _____

Please fill out your contact information on the other side of this form.