

# **ASSESSING THE OVERLOOKED INFLUENCE OF WOMEN ON THE PROGRESSIVE ENVIRONMENTALIST MOVEMENT**

Vrishank Malik

## Introduction

When considering the individual or collective influence that have had the greatest impact on the contemporary environmentalism movement, most will immediately point to Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most widely acclaimed environmentally-minded presidents. After all, it was during his Progressive Era presidency that individual conservationist ideologies coalesced into organized groups. While it is true that Roosevelt's environmental initiatives significantly contributed to the modern environmental movement, it is important to remember that his presidency merely sparked the movement's beginnings. Environmentalism's evolution was made possible by the collaborative efforts of various groups, whose initiatives predated Roosevelt's tenure in office. The modern faction of the environmentalist movement began with the start of the Progressive Era in 1890. During this time period of the late 19th century and the early 20th century, business expansion and urbanization had taken over society. This rapid urbanization, however, soon brought on a host of environmental problems. Disease outbreaks, hazardous air quality, and miss-disposed waste all became apparent issues catching the attention of reformers. While at first these reformers worked individually at a local scale, Roosevelt's presidency served as a catalyst to highlight environmental issues nationally resulting in the emergence of organized reform efforts and prominent conservation groups.

While many environmentalist reform groups formed during Roosevelt's time at the White House, the primary focus of history has been towards male organizations as these were the ones who had political power and societal trust. However, some, arguably more prominent, groups that formed were from women. Women, who have conventionally been given minimal credit for the advancement

of the environmentalist movement, became especially alarmed by the impact of conservation on the home atmosphere.<sup>1</sup> With the after effects of urbanization becoming evident in society, women were alarmed at the effect it could entail for their direct family members. Recognizing the importance of enlightening the public about the value of preserving natural resources, they played a crucial role in advancing environmental awareness nationally. Women, despite lacking suffrage, were instrumental in the environmentalism movement by utilizing clubs and organizations to raise awareness. Middle and upper class women, in particular, saw environmentalism as a way to assert their political voice and relied greatly on the support of men to impact the national agenda.

### The Origin of Women's Involvement in Conservation

The United States underwent a second period of rapid economic growth in the years between 1870 and 1914 with the start of the second wave of the Industrial Revolution. While this was not the first time that Americans underwent such a transformative period, this one was much different from the others in terms of economical transition and technological advancement. It is this second transitional phase that is commonly attributed to the inception of a contemporary industrial economy, propelled by strides in steam power, transportation, and the dawn of a fresh age in communication. While the first wave of the Industrial Revolution made minor advancements in the fields of technology and transportation (the biggest advancement notably being the introduction of the steam engine), the second wave of the Industrial Revolution revolutionized not only how energy was produced, but also how it was consumed.<sup>2</sup> One modern advancement that originated during this time was electricity. The new use of electric motors replaced steam engines and led to greater efficiency and flexibility in the industrial environment. Similarly, during this period, another revolutionary advancement emerged: the invention of the light bulb. Its adoption replaced traditional oil lamps and candles, illuminating homes and workplaces with newfound brightness and convenience, fundamentally altering daily life and productivity. Tasks that could only be done in sunlight could now be done at any time, essentially doubling the length of the day. Additionally, the sudden widespread use of petroleum became essential for the refinement and the utilization of essential products, helping to facilitate the growth of transportation and manufacturing industries. Collectively, these advancements completely reformed American society.

This second Industrial Revolution, characterized by technological innovations and economic growth, came with its own set of advantages and disadvantages, reflecting the complexities the period

had on American life. To begin, there were numerous benefits of the various electrical and social reforms during the time. Inventions such as electric machinery, automobiles, and consumer appliances not only brought wealth to the companies that manufactured them, but also made life easier. In terms of transportation, having a means by which to travel long distances without needing to take numerous breaks allowed for more connected cities and limitless travel.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, as new inventions simplified previously arduous daily chores, people discovered they had more leisure time on their hands, making life less burdensome and more enjoyable. With this newfound surplus of time, individuals realized they could empower themselves to participate in a wider array of social activities and enjoyments through gatherings with others. Capitalizing on this newfound delight, social clubs and political organizations grew their memberships as people looked to undertake new endeavors, conquer new excursions, and fully exploit the newfound possibilities of enjoyment.

However, while this significant wave of industrialization in America did bring about many positives, its arguable certain negatives left a more enduring mark on American history. With industrialization came a surplus of national challenges, such as air pollution, biodiversity reduction, water contamination, and greenhouse gas emissions. As the need for conservation soon became apparent to the American public, citizens began to stand up for the environment. Facilitated by the emergence of outdoor activities such as hiking and camping, as well as the burgeoning of environmental professions such as landscaping and park development<sup>4</sup>, the environmentalism movement was born. Reflecting on the nation's attitudes toward natural reserves, influential writers such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir utilized their works as means to disseminate conservation and preservation ideals across diverse demographics.<sup>5</sup> Alarmed by the rapid environmental changes, citizens mobilized by establishing various organizations, a trend notably evident in the Progressive Era.

The Progressive Era, which followed the second Industrial Revolution and spanned from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, marked a transformative period in the United States. Coming out of the Gilded Age, this era addressed three major concerns of the American people on the political agenda<sup>6</sup>: the elimination of corruption, the expansion of widespread involvement in government, and belief that the current functions of government are overly limited and should be expanded to alleviate social and economic distress.<sup>7</sup> Individuals from this period have historically been known to exemplify moral fervor in their pursuit of enacting socially-impactful reform like conservation.<sup>8</sup>

One group whose contributions in this era have contributed to this perception is women. Women, whose primary role throughout the 19th century was running the house and taking care of children, began to see changes to their everyday lives when industrialization began in the United States.<sup>9</sup> With the invention of new technologies, such as the washing machine and the vacuum cleaner, that made work at home simpler and less time consuming, women of this period found themselves with a surplus of time to engage in their own life pleasures, including enrolling in various reform movements. In their pursuit of suffrage, women strategically engaged in reform activities to wield political influence, moving closer to achieving the right to vote. Although all women, regardless of wealth, were involved in the quest for voting rights, women of middle and upper class origins were more active in reform movements. Because women of wealthier backgrounds had financial resources typically unavailable to those lower on the socio-economic hierarchy and greater access to these home appliances, this group was able to exert immense influence on reform as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

Among the reformist atmosphere in American progressive society and the urgency for environmental action after the start of industrialization, women became involved in the fight for conservation. With pollution rates rapidly escalating, a phenomenon unfamiliar to previous generations, women's involvement in the environmental movement stemmed directly from their concern that future generations, including their own children, might not enjoy the same luxuries and quality of life they experienced. While the cause received widespread support from nearly all women, societal expectations often hindered active participation for many. Despite the prevailing reluctance towards women's involvement in the movement, naturists managed to encourage some women participation. As early as 1850, Susan Fenimore Cooper, a nature essayist, stated in her widely acclaimed nature book *Rural Hours* that women's roles as wives and mothers were just as valid outdoors as they were indoors.<sup>11</sup> Cooper developed her argument that the environment was an appropriate concern for women by stating that the concept of nature is really a family's larger home as women's domain really extended to anywhere her husband and children dared to go. Although a combination of arguments similar to Cooper's had provided moral justification for women to join the conservation movement, white middle and upper class females found themselves in a constrained, challenging position due to social norms at the time. While on one hand they were given the opportunity to attend elite colleges and read extensively about Romanticism and Transcendentalism, on the other hand they were not granted the opportunity to act on their impulses and partake in such movements.<sup>12</sup> Cultural stereotypes and physical challenges prevented numerous women from actively engaging in the exploration of the American wilderness,<sup>13</sup> and thus, caused women to find themselves

in an untenable position regarding their involvement in conservation. While many women were forced to advocate through their male counterparts, some more audacious women pushed back against the societal norms to help advance local environmental issues by combining their interest in ecology and the environment.<sup>14</sup> As a result of their efforts, women were as involved in conservation as men were during these years of social activism.

### Women In Environmental Conservation: Achieving Recognition

After getting involved, women didn't just cautiously approach nature; instead, they took the lead and wholeheartedly embraced efforts for environmental reform.<sup>15</sup> Commonly, women's support for conservation came from areas in the American midwest. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Western women faced a variety of hardships due to their arduous journey to the Western frontier.<sup>16</sup> These hardships included the lack of basic comforts, family, and friends in addition to an unfamiliar environment, resulting in an overall stressful experience for women. Driven by a desire for intimate social interaction with other women, women across the West started forming clubs through which they engaged in various activities such as bird watching, botany exploration, mountain climbing, and participated in fields like naturalism, photography, and writing, demonstrating their widespread involvement in conservation.<sup>17</sup> Although the primary emphasis of these groups was to participate in some sort of activity, group members generally placed extreme importance on advocating for local environmental issues. It was the start of these small local clubs that sparked women's involvement in larger environmentalist groups. However, even then, these groups were far from accepted in their community, especially by men.

A number of men came to criticize women's groups as they viewed them as mere distractions to women's primary role: taking care of the home.<sup>18</sup> Men felt that it was acceptable for women to meet for religious reasons, however meeting with each other for the reasons of mere pleasure was massively frowned upon. While women in nature was not seen much of a threat in the early stages of their environmental campaign, it became problematic when women cemented their claim and began activism. As Sherry Ortner stated in her essay regarding the subject, the issue was not that women are in nature, instead it was that women are closer to nature than men were. Despite any excuses provided, men primarily objected to women's achievements when they surpassed those of men. Nonetheless, women perceived their involvement as pivotal, recognizing their capacity to accomplish tasks that men could not. As a representative of a women's organization in the National Conservation Congress

stated, "We feel it is for us, who are not wholly absorbed in business, to preserve ideals that are higher than business..." Middle and upper class women often lead charge in bringing change to the environment. To make their participation in the environmental movement possible, club women took three steps: through their actions they demonstrated a strong willingness to connect with nature, they extended their "domestic" realm to encompass the outdoors, and they "feminized" perceptions of the formidable West to portray it as less intimidating. Eventually, women overcame the challenges instilled by men and fought on the front lines of the battle for conservation.

Some of the loudest voices sounding the alarm for conservation in the American frontier came from California. A rapid population increase attributed to the California Gold Rush created a high demand for timber in the housing, railroad, and mining industries. With a vast wilderness of what seemed like unlimited lumber, loggers soon came to take their share of forests. After witnessing the voracious appetite of the saws and the clear-cut carnage the loggers left behind, local women's residents promptly called for restraint.<sup>19</sup> This restraint can be seen in women's clubs. For the remainder of the century, California women's clubs invested considerable effort working on the front lines of this crusade to eventually garner political success. At the forefront of conservation in California stood Mrs. Lovell White and the 500-member-strong California Club. In order to attain success, Mrs. White used her connections to push the idea of land preservation. In February of 1900, at the beginning of the club's campaign, White requested her friend and fellow club member, Mrs. A.D. Sharon, to arrange a meeting with the California congressional delegation and urge them to propose a collaborative resolution in Congress, urging the federal government to acquire the Calaveras Grove of sequoias.<sup>20</sup> Mrs. Sharon worked collectively with President McKinley and the Senate to pass a bill that would authorize the purchase of the 8,000-acre grove with no appropriation of funds.<sup>21</sup> After just minimal local action, Mrs. White helped California Club secure not only the desired bill but also connections with their state legislation and president. While this action was directly responsible for their success, it was also responsible for something greater: California Club's national trajectory. In hopes of using their connections to collectively influence national legislation, California Club merged with women's clubs throughout the state in January of 1900 to form the California Federation of Women's Clubs. Thus, after this merger, it was no surprise that when the members of the California Federation of Women's Clubs created a petition drive to further the purpose of forestry, leading President Roosevelt himself delivered a message to congress regarding the initiative. In his address at "the request of an organization managed by women," Roosevelt stated "The Calaveras big tree grove is not only a Californian but a national inheritance, and all that can be done by the Government to ensure its

preservation should be done.”<sup>22</sup> By 1904, with the help of its connections and new partners, the group had collected 1,500,000 signatures nationwide.<sup>23</sup>

Aside from the Western coast, the Massachusetts Audubon Society is another women’s group whose local origins became felt politically. Founded by Harriet Lawrence Hemenway, a wealthy woman of Boston high society, the Audubon Society initiated a campaign for bird protection that would later serve as the foundation for the Modern National Audubon Society.<sup>24</sup> By 1880, birds and feathers had begun to take over the millinery styles that had been featured in popular publications like *Godey’s Lady’s Book*.<sup>25</sup> Before the turn of the century, bird feathers in fashion had become an established trend due to their affordability and beauty.<sup>26</sup> This popular style, widely embraced, led to the demand for feathers and skins in the hat-making industry, ultimately contributing to the annual decline of up to fifteen million American birds.<sup>27</sup> While Hemenway was not the first to act on this problem and there had been many previous audubon societies – some established by males – in pursuit to resolve the same issue, her command of society (due to resources and connections) was quite different from the rest causing her societies to end with a different, more favored outcome. When Hemenway opted to establish a society for the preservation of America’s birds, she found herself well-suited for the task not only due to her connections with the “ladies of fashion” whose style preferences contributed to bird killings, but also because she possessed knowledge of the contentious and political efforts required for achieving success in such endeavors.<sup>28</sup> With the help of her cousin, Minna Hall, Hemenway garnered support for her organization by personally contacting the most fashionable women in Massachusetts and asking if they would be willing to give up their hats and join a society dedicated towards bird protection.<sup>29</sup> After receiving initial support from the high class of Massachusetts, Hemenway was able to reach her second group of supporters – middle class women, especially teachers and librarians – by setting low lifetime membership fees and discounted fees for school children and teachers.<sup>30</sup> With successful support acquisition, the organization rapidly grew from local to state level. Although women held prominent leadership roles in the Massachusetts Audubon Society, these roles were able to translate to the political realm. Women leaders of the National Audubon Society worked collectively to successfully influence legislation at the state and national levels.<sup>31</sup> One important piece of legislation that embodied the society’s mission was the Lacey Act. Passed in 1900 and sponsored by Representative John B. Lacey of Iowa, the Lacey Act was a major step towards bird protection in the United States and one of the biggest achievements of the Audubon Society.

As evidenced by the California Club and the Massachusetts Audubon Society, a women's club of that era was forced to embrace a distinct approach in order to attain their objectives. Despite being in the extreme opposite parts of the country, White and Hemenways's clubs followed a fairly identical trajectory. Just like any club of the time period, both started off with rigorous local action. Before having the ability to influence any major piece of the environmental agenda, both the California Club and the Massachusetts Audubon Society were forced to garner immense influence locally. Following their efforts to raise awareness for their respective causes, both used their connections to reach the state legislator. Following their presence on the state level, both groups were able to fulfill their goals through influencing specific legislation and impacting a greater audience. For California Club, they were able to cement their presence in conservation by not only directly influencing national legislation but by also merging with a large, broader, and already established organization, the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In terms of the Massachusetts Audubon Society, Hemenway was able to concrete her legacy by exerting interstate influence and igniting conservationist thinking among American women through the halting of millinery styles. While both club's exact trajectory was slightly different, the overarching patterns remain similar and can be related to most women's environmental clubs of the time. At first, most start off locally with a specific goal in mind. Then, due to their lack of suffrage, these clubs are forced to rely solely on their connections to advance them to the state and finally national level.

However, what is important to note is that, despite often arguing otherwise, it was the help and support of men that allowed women to reach the level they achieved. Many times men stood as adversaries while other times men were their companions. Women, spearheading their own initiatives, sought support from men to surmount challenges, yet it was their own leadership and organization that orchestrated these efforts and mobilized male assistance to attain their objectives. This can be seen with both California Club and the Audubon Society. For White and the California Club, it was President Roosevelt's assistance that enabled the club to connect with the national audience. For Hemenway and the Audubon Society it was Rep. John B. Lacey whose support propelled the group to pass national legislation. Yet, despite their profound influence on what was thought to be predominantly male topics, women and their impact in conservation has often been forgotten and ignored. This is primarily due to what women did after they exerted their influence. When women did gain recognition in conservation efforts, they often aligned themselves with movements spearheaded by men, inadvertently relegating their contributions. Despite their significant involvement, women's roles within these male-led movements were frequently overshadowed, resulting in their historical



contributions being overlooked or forgotten. This phenomenon underscores the pervasive gender dynamics of the time, wherein women's achievements were often marginalized or attributed to male leadership.

This issue is prominently exemplified by one of the largest environmental organizations, the Sierra Club. Organized in San Francisco during the early years of the forestry movement, Sierra Club was originally created to not only aid in that movement but also to explore the mountain ranges of the West Coast and explicate “authentic information” concerning them.<sup>32</sup> At the time of its unveiling, Californians had minimal knowledge of or interest in the Sierra Mountains, one of the largest mountain ranges in the world. Therefore, a primary purpose of the club was to spread awareness of the mountains on a local level, which soon expanded to become a national movement. While the male founder, John Muir, established Sierra Club in 1892, it was not until the early 1900s where women began to join. It was not until women's involvement in the club that the club attained success. One woman whose lifelong devotion to the club helped transform society was Marion Randall Parsons. After becoming an active member in 1903, Parsons was soon elected to lead the club as a board director, becoming the first woman to do so. As a means of furthering Sierra Club's original motives, Parsons helped foster support for the Sierra's through her writing, music, and painting. While Parsons' approach towards conservation was more social, she also had a profound impact in the political realm: Parsons was also responsible for making the issues of Sierra national by directly aiding in the creation of the National Park Service in 1916. However, despite Parsons and other women's sizable contributions to the Sierra Club, their efforts have largely been overlooked or forgotten due to the perception of men having more sizable impacts.

## Conclusion

The modern environmentalism movement traces its origins to the Progressive Era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a period marked by rapid industrialization and urbanization in the United States. With this second wave of technological advancement dominating American society, women's role saw a massive shift: with the invention of various technologies that made women's primary responsibility, taking care of the home, easier and less time consuming, women discovered they had the time to pursue their own interests and act on one of their major concerns: countering the adverse impact of development on the environment. They formed various organizations to highlight the issue and to advocate for conservation action. Groups such as the California Club and the Massachusetts

Audubon Society exemplify the significant impact of women's activism that led to legislative successes. Despite their lack of suffrage, women were instrumental in advancing the environmentalism movement through their connections with men in powerful positions. In order to exert even greater influence than that from exclusive women's organizations, women joined organizations with male leaders. However, despite making significant contributions, women remain unrecognized in most mainstream accounts of environmental history.

Many of the books that form the basis of the American view of conservation discuss politicians and organizations; however, they almost exclusively describe these groups as male. One book, published in 1959 by Samuel Hays, titled the *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* perfectly exemplifies this characteristic. Being the earliest publication of conservation in the Progressive Era, Americans look upon Hays' work to understand trends towards forestry and conservation practices. However, in this premier book of conservation in America, women and women's groups are only mentioned within a mere three pages.<sup>33</sup> Sadly, the story by Hays is no outlier. Women have been and continue to be looked upon as mere footnotes of the story.

Today, even though there has been a cultural trend towards investigating previously silenced groups in history, women fail to be credited to their conservation efforts. While this issue may seem minor, as it is believed history has already passed and miscredits only affect fame, this belief is largely erroneous. Historical bias often results in a skewed perception of a group's contributions, their past insignificance leading to a deflated portrayal of their achievements and capabilities today while obscuring a nuanced understanding of their impact. This marginalization still affects women in all spheres today. There is a persistent pattern of gender-based disparities, as women consistently face lower wages, fewer promotions, reduced citations, and are less likely to be invited to participate in editorial boards, research panels, and grant proposals.<sup>34</sup> Illustrating this inequity, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Special Report on 1.5°C had fewer than 27% of women among the nominated authors.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, on a global scale, women continue to be underrepresented, and in some instances, entirely excluded from participation in climate negotiations.<sup>36</sup>

Today, as women struggle with gender inequality, it has become more important than ever to realize women's true historical impact. For any successful movement, participation and recognition of all concerned parties is important. Modern male environmental conservationists should remember that women have always been partners and at times drivers of environmental protection. When men

consider women equal stakeholders in protecting the environment, the whole movement will benefit and succeed. If society continues to hold the erroneous belief that women are irrelevant in conservation, humanity risks the consequences. Without women's involvement in forestry and nature, it is possible that the world would be in a situation worse than before. By not acknowledging this fact today, society risks losing to the changing climate forever.

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<sup>1</sup> Vera L. Norwood, "Heroines of Nature: Four Women Respond to the American Landscape," *Environmental Review: ER* 8, no. 1 (1984): 35, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3984520>.

<sup>2</sup> Haradhan Kumar Mohajan, "The Second Industrial Revolution has Brought Modern Social and Economic Developments," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 6 (2020): 12.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon B. Dodds, "The Historiography of American Conservation: Past and Prospects," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1965): 9, JSTOR.

<sup>4</sup> "The Evolution of the Conservation Movement, 1850-1920," Library of Congress, last modified May 3, 2002, accessed February 1, 2024, <https://webarchive.loc.gov/all/20220203190507/https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amrvhtml/conshome.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Erik Hage, "American Wilderness Writing (February 2016): Home," Choice, last modified February 2016, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://ala-choice.libguides.com/c.php?g=435377>.

<sup>6</sup> David M. Kennedy, "Overview: The Progressive Era," *The Historian* 37, no. 3 (1975): 454, JSTOR.

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Parke De Witt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 5.

<sup>8</sup> Kennedy, "Overview: The Progressive," 455.

<sup>9</sup> Przemyslaw Nowakowski, "The Role of Woman and Man on Shaping the Old and Modern Households," [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-642-39188-0\\_36](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-642-39188-0_36).

<sup>10</sup> Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement: 1900-1916," *Environmental Review: ER* 8, no. 1 (1984): 57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3984521>.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Rural Hours* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1995), 161.

<sup>12</sup> William Frederic Badè, *The Life and Letters of John Muir* (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 222.

<sup>13</sup> Norwood, "Heroines of Nature," 35.

<sup>14</sup> Theresa Yelverton and Margaret Sanborn, *Zanita: A Tale of the Yo-semite* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>15</sup> Glenda Riley, "Victorian Ladies Outdoors: Women in the Early Western Conservation Movement, 1870-1920," *Southern California Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (2001): 61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/41172052>.

<sup>16</sup> *Steering the Ship: Women and Forest Conservation in the Progressive-Era West*, May 2022, 49.

<sup>17</sup> Riley, "Victorian Ladies," 63.

<sup>18</sup> Karen Blair, "The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914," *New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers*, 1980, 70.

<sup>19</sup> Eric Rutkow, *American Canopy: Trees, Forests, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: Scribner, 2012), 189.

<sup>20</sup> *Steering the Ship*, 80.

<sup>21</sup> Merchant, "Women of the Progressive," 59.

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<sup>22</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *Preservation of Calaveras Groves of Big Trees. Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Petition to the President of the United States to Aid in Preserving the Calaveras Groves of Big Trees, Submitted by Citizens of California and Elsewhere*. 93 (January 15, 1904).

<sup>23</sup> Dorothea Moore, "The Work of the Women's Clubs in California," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 28 (1906): 258, JSTOR.

<sup>24</sup> Kathy S. Mason, "Out of Fashion: Harriet Hemenway and the Audubon Society, 1896–1905," *The Historian* 65, no. 1 (2002): 1, JSTOR.

<sup>25</sup> Robin W. Doughty, *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1975), 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Kastner, "Long before Furs, It Was Feathers That Stirred Reformist Ire.," *Smithsonian* 25, no. 4 (1994): 99, MasterFILE Premier.

<sup>27</sup> Kastner, "Long before," 97.

<sup>28</sup> Kathy S. Mason, "Out of Fashion: Harriet Hemenway and the Audubon Society, 1896–1905," *The Historian* 65, no. 1 (2002): 9, JSTOR.

<sup>29</sup> Mark V. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds: American Ornithology after Audubon* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 127.

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Massachusetts Audubon Society*, 10.

<sup>31</sup> Mason, "Out of Fashion," 102.

<sup>32</sup> Marion Randall Parsons, "The Sierra Club," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, no. 2 (1910): 420, JSTOR.

<sup>33</sup> Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (n.p.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), 142-144, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7zw8b4>.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew B. Ross et al., "Women are credited less in science than men," *Nature*, last modified June 22, 2022, accessed January 16, 2024, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41586-022-04966-w>.

<sup>35</sup> Valérie Masson-Delmotte, Panmao Zhai, and Hans O. Pörtner, *Global Warming of 1.5°C: An IPCC Special Report on Impacts of Global Warming of 1.5°C above Pre-industrial Levels and Related Global Greenhouse Gas Emission Pathways, in the Context of Strengthening the Global Response to the Threat of Climate Change, Sustainable Development, and Efforts to Eradicate Poverty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 355.

<sup>36</sup> Noémi Gonda, "Re-politicizing the gender and climate change debate: The potential of feminist political ecology to engage with power in action in adaptation policies and projects in Nicaragua," *ScienceDirect*, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0016718519302301>.

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