

## Clarence Glacken: Pioneer Environmental Historian

S. Ravi Rajan

Abstract:

Clarence Glacken's magnum opus *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, first published in 1976, was an intellectual history about ideas of nature and culture from ancient Greece to the end of the 18th century. *The Professional Geographer* called it 'One of the best and most important books published by a geographer in the English-speaking world in the last hundred years.' *Traces* remains in print well over four decades after its initial publication, and regarded as one of the foundational classics in the field of environmental history. Glacken himself is considered a path breaker in the discipline and is read widely by environmental historians. Little is however known about this pioneering scholar, and especially, that he was prolific in his later years, having written an unpublished (and lost) sequel to *Traces*, and a full draft another book. Drawing extensively upon the Glacken archives at the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, this paper describes his intellectual evolution as a scholar, and explores his contributions to the field of environmental history.

## Introduction

Clarence Glacken's magnum opus, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore (Traces)*, first published in 1967, was an intellectual history about ideas of nature and culture from ancient Greece to the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The blurbs on the back of the 1976 version of the book paint it as a veritable classic, with quotations describing it as 'One of the best and most important books published by a geographer in the English-speaking world in the last hundred years,' and claiming that 'A book such as this rarely appear anymore. . .' Significantly, the book continues to be in print, more than four decades after its first edition, and is considered by many scholars as a foundational text in the discipline of environmental history — a field that did not exist in Glacken's time. The sheer intellectual endurance of *Traces* more than half a century after it was published, provokes a number of questions. What scholarly canon did Glacken draw upon? Why, in that tradition, did the natural environment gain centrality and significance? How was *Traces* received by his contemporaries? What did Glacken research and write after tasting the success of that book? Oddly, for someone so important to environmental historians and many historical geographers today, these questions remain unanswered. The extant biographies of Glacken are sparse, and consist largely of memoirs and obituaries at best partial in their descriptions of his intellectual heritage and legacy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Clarence Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> David Hooson et al., "Clarence James Glacken, Geography: Berkeley," 1990; David Hooson, "Clarence Glacken 1909–1989," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81, no. 1 (1991): 152–158; A Macpherson, "Clarence James Glacken 1909–1989," in *Geographers Bibliographical Studies*, (London,

The purpose of this paper is to address this gap. The genesis of the article is my work in the Glacken archives at Berkeley, which led to the discovery of a hitherto unpublished handwritten manuscript which I have since edited, annotated, and published.<sup>3</sup> While working on that book, I interviewed about two dozen of his former colleagues and students. These interviews gave me the sense that Glacken was a respected teacher and friend; but strikingly, very few people offered concrete details about his intellectual work after the publication of *Traces*. The interviews also yielded many myths about Glacken's state of mind and his ostensible decision to destroy his draft sequel to *Traces*. Many of these myths persist today, but they are hearsay and uncorroborated. What the documentary record, and reliable interview data afford, is an ability to write authoritatively about two aspects of Glacken's career: the story of his intellectual life; and the roots of his philosophical and normative stances as a pioneering environmental historian. The paper attempts to do this, and is organized chronologically. The first covers his life before his appointment as a professor at UC Berkeley. It covers his undergraduate years, his work for the Farm Security Administration and the Dust Bowl, his contribution to the U.S. War effort (1941-45) and his subsequent return to the academia as a doctoral student at Johns Hopkins University. The second part of the paper explores his career and intellectual

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1992), 27–42.; Yi-Fu Tuan, "Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century by Clarence J. Glacken. Review by: Yi-Fu Tuan," *Geographical Review* 58, no. 2 (April 1968): 308–309; Clarence J Glacken, "A Late Arrival in Academia.," in *The Practice of Geography*, (London: Addison-Wesley Longman Ltd, 1983), 20–34.

<sup>3</sup> S. Ravi Rajan (ed.). *Genealogies of Environmentalism: The Lost Works of Clarence Glacken*. University of Virginia Press, 2017.

contributions to the field of environmental history, starting with *Traces*, and continuing on with the *Sequel* and the afore mentioned third book. Both sections locate Glacken's intellectual predilections within the historical context, and thereby explain his oeuvre and commitments.

## I. The Education of Clarence Glacken

### The Undergraduate Years

Clarence Glacken was born in Sacramento in 1909, a child of two California families. He developed an early interest in geography in school where a teacher held geography matches to place names on the map. The young Glacken was also fond of stamp collecting, especially French colonial stamps of tropical countries. After high school, he attended Sacramento Junior College, and subsequently transferred to the University of California at Berkeley, where he graduated from the Department of Social Institutions with a BA with highest honors in 1930, and an MA in 1931.<sup>4</sup> Glacken chose Social Institutions on the advice of John Harold Swan, a young teacher, who had just graduated from Berkeley.<sup>5</sup> In particular, Swan had waxed eloquent about the central figure in that department — Frederick James Teggart (1870-1946). Teggart was an Irish-born historian and sociologist who was trained in Ireland and Stanford Junior College before being appointed curator of the Bancroft library and subsequently, an

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<sup>4</sup> Hooson, "Clarence Glacken 1909–1989;" Glacken, "A Late Arrival in Academia."

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

Associate professor of Pacific Coast History at Berkeley in 1911. He then set up a department called Social Institutions, which preceded the Sociology department.<sup>6</sup>

In his early years as a scholar, Teggart had been influenced by John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927), a classical scholar and historian who spent his defining years at the University of Cambridge. Bury believed that history ought to be studied methodologically as a science, although he remained skeptical about the possibility of general laws. He was true to his roots in the Victorian era, and had great faith in reason and progress. However, he discouraged the application of Darwin's theories to the study of history. Teggart, similarly embraced the method of science as a way to study history, but eschewed biological, and deterministic explanations.<sup>7</sup> He also advocated an approach that is today called 'world history'.<sup>8</sup> An example is his book, *Rome and China*, which examined the unanticipated consequences of Roman and Han foreign policies.<sup>9</sup> Teggart argued therein that 'there can be no better illustration of interdependence of nations than the consideration that a decision of the Chinese government should have been responsible for the financial panic in the capital of the Roman empire.'<sup>10</sup> He also wrote that 'the study of the past can become effective only when it is freely realized that all peoples have histories, that these histories run

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<sup>6</sup> G Dangberg, "A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart" (1983).

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*; Michael Burawoy, "A Public Sociology for California," *Critical Sociology* 34, no. 3 (May 1, 2008): 339–348.

<sup>8</sup> A G Frank, "World System History," *Journal of World History* (1990).

<sup>9</sup> Frederick John Teggart, *Rome and China: a Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1939).

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p. x.

concurrently and in the same world, and that the act of comparing is the beginning of all knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

Glacken took Teggart's year-long core course, Social Institutions 101, in 1923-24. It was survey of the central concepts, in natural and social scientific disciplines, about the idea of progress, the cultural and political evolution of the human species, and of its interactions with the natural world. The disciplines surveyed included geology, geography, demography, biology, history, philosophy, political science, economics, psychology, ethnology, linguistics, and the history of language.<sup>12</sup> Glacken was moved by the course and wrote that Teggart's theory of history was "one of great theories of history;" and that it had "emphasized the importance of the history of ideas and intellectual history long before Lovejoy." He was also impressed by Teggart's oratorical style, and recalled later in his career that this course introduced him to excellence.<sup>13</sup>

Teggart's key ally and colleague on the Social Institutions faculty was Margaret Trabue Hodgen (1890 - 1977), also an important influence on Glacken. In 1925, she earned her PhD in economics at Berkeley, having written a thesis on the education of the working classes in England and the United States. She had three main academic interests: the history of ideas, cultural diffusion, and comparative history, and was appointed a teaching fellow at the Department of Social Institutions in 1924. She was

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. x.

<sup>12</sup> Frederick John Teggart Papers, BANC MSS 78/65 c. UC Berkeley.

<sup>13</sup> Glacken, "A Late Arrival in Academia."

prolific throughout her career. She published her first book, *Factory work for Girls*, in 1920, even whilst she was a student; and went on to write four books during the course of the rest of her academic career, including *The Doctrine of Survivals* (1936), which was a response to Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871).<sup>14</sup> Glacken attended many of her courses, including one on the history of social thought.<sup>15</sup> Under her guidance, Glacken also read widely on the history of the idea of progress. The readings, spanning more than 150 books, covered a wide range -- from the physical and biological sciences, to history, philosophy, and sociology.<sup>16</sup> Teggart and Hodgen gave Glacken a strong foundation in to the central questions in the social sciences at that time. They had also introduced him to the history of ideas, although the field had not formally been established at that time. Moreover, they introduced him to what, according to some, was the first world systems approach to history – which, according to a leading scholar in the genre, was developed by Teggart.<sup>17</sup>

Glacken's undergraduate years also afforded him a distinct perspective and point of view on the relationship between culture and the natural environment. It stemmed from what might be called the Berkeley School of Cultural Ecology.<sup>18</sup> While no formal institution bearing that moniker actually existed, a number of key people at Berkeley constituted an invisible college at that time, and shared a set of questions and

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<sup>14</sup> Clarence J. Glacken, K. E. Block, and E. W. Strong, "Margaret Trabue Hodgen, Sociology; Social Institutions: Berkeley," 1978.

<sup>15</sup> Clarence J. Glacken Papers, UC Archives CU-468 (hereafter, 'Glacken Papers'), 9:40.

<sup>16</sup> Glacken Papers, 5:1, 5:2, 5:3, 5: 4.

<sup>17</sup> Frank, "World System History."

<sup>18</sup> In adopting the term, 'Berkeley School' here, I distinguish it from the more commonly understood school bearing that name -- which refers specifically to the geography department.

commitments. In addition to his teachers – Teggart and Hodgen, they included the anthropologist, Robert (Harry) Lowie (1883 – 1957), and the geographer, Carl Ortwin Sauer (1889 – 1975).<sup>19</sup> Based on their writings, this imaginary school may be said to have had five key tenets. Firstly, it disavowed environmental determinism and neo-Malthusian theories. The Berkeley campus resounded with discussions about the merits and demerits of environmental determinism versus the alternative, possibilism, a theory advanced by Paul Vidal de La Blache (1845-1918). The debate was whether the relationship between natural environments and human cultures was deterministic, or instead as more tenuous and elastic, with cultures determined by societal conditions more broadly. The ‘Berkeley School’ ended up affirming the possibilist approach. The acceptance of possibilism led to a second core tenant – the rejection of the idea of *Lebensraum*, or 'living space,' a term coined by Friedrich Ratzel (1844 - 1904), the German geographer and ethnographer.<sup>20</sup> According to Glacken, the Berkeley school interpreted Ratzel as suggesting that cultural differences had environmental bases, without claiming that they deterministically explained them.<sup>21</sup> On this basis, they rejected, as political and ideological, those interpretations of human settlement such as those advocated by the Nazis in Europe.

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<sup>19</sup> William W Speth, “‘Leaders of Modern Anthropology’: Robert H. Lowie,” *Anthropos* 68, no. 1 (January 1, 1973): 296–299; “Robert Harry Lowie, 1883-1957,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 71, no. 280 (April 1, 1958): 149–150; William Leroy 1920- ed ThomasLeroy, eds., “‘The Apple of My Eye’: Carl Sauer and Historical Geography,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 9, no. 1 (January 1983): 1–28; Kent Mathewson, “How It Came to Be: Carl O. Sauer, Franz Boas, and the Meaning of Anthropogeography,” *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 1 (2002): 380–381; Martin S Kenzer and Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, *Carl O. Sauer, a Tribute*, (Oregon State Univ Pr, 1987); Michael Williams, *To Pass on a Good Earth*, (University of Virginia Press, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> “Obituary: Professor Paul Vidal De La Blache,” *Geographical Review* 6, no. 1 (July 1, 1918); H G Wanklyn and F Ratzel, *Friedrich Ratzel. a Biographical Memoir and Bibliography*, 1961; Judith Ann Conoyer Bronson, *Ellen Semple*, 1975.

<sup>21</sup> Glacken to John K. Wright, May 11, 1961. *Glacken Papers*, 1:5.

Thirdly, the 'Berkeley School' documented and criticized the social, cultural and ecological impacts of European expansion. Sauer, for example, wrote that world history, after Columbus, not only witnessed unprecedented human migration, but also led to resource exploitation, "the "decimation of native populations," and the destruction of productive landscapes.<sup>22</sup> The issue of the decimation of native populations led them to think deeply about a fourth issue – cultural diversity. These ruminations led them to question the idea of progress, and over time, most of them, in different degrees, became anti-modern, whilst remaining cosmopolitan in the sense of embracing the idea of cultural diversity and plurality. Last, but by no means least, members of the 'Berkeley School' were non-Eurocentric despite having European origins themselves.<sup>23</sup>

That said, the 'Berkeley School' was not homogeneous. Sauer and Lowie were colleagues and supervised the doctoral dissertation of Julian Steward, founder of the discipline of Cultural Ecology. However, Teggart was socially an outsider. Although he collaborated with anthropologists and had been a member of the history of the idea of progress group, which included Alfred Kroeber, legend has it that Sauer once ordered his graduate students to break into his library and rescue library journals that Teggart

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<sup>22</sup> William M. Denevan and Kent Mathewson. (eds.). *Carl Sauer on Culture and Landscape: Readings and Commentaries*. LSU Press, 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Mathewson, "How It Came to Be: Carl O. Sauer, Franz Boas, and the Meaning of Anthropogeography."

had borrowed but not returned.<sup>24</sup> As Glacken was to recall later, 'Several years after I joined the department, Sauer told me about his relationships with Teggart. No love lost on either side I gathered.'<sup>25</sup> Glacken himself remained faithful to Teggart during his undergraduate years. He wrote: 'I had heard of Sauer but with my infatuation with Teggart's teachings I was in no mood to roam intellectually around the campus even if it contained Lowie, Kroeber and Sauer.'<sup>26</sup>

### The Dustbowl Years, the War, and After

By the time Glacken graduated from Berkeley, the Great Depression was well under way. Although he wished to study further, no scholarships were on offer. Glacken took a job with the Farm Security Administration (FSA), established to combat rural poverty during the first term of Franklin Roosevelt's presidency. Glacken's brief was to conduct surveys for migratory labour camps. He travelled from Raleigh to El Centro in the Imperial Valley, all the way to Murrysville and Yuba City just north of Sacramento, and worked with Dust Bowl refugees from Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma.<sup>27</sup> John Steinbeck, the Nobel Laureate who wrote *The Grapes of Wrath*, was to later credit Thomas E. Collins, who managed one of the FSA camps, for giving him the material he needed to write the novel. This, in itself, is indicative of the kinds of people that Glacken came in contact with, and the tales of woe that he encountered on a daily

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with Professor Roger Hahn, 14 August 1996. Hahn traced the origins of this group to Herbert Spencer and Arthur Lovejoy, and *Journal of the History of Ideas*.

<sup>25</sup> Glacken to Gary Dunbar. nd. 1980. *Glacken Papers*, 1: 23.

<sup>26</sup> Glacken to Gary Dunbar. nd. 1980. *Glacken Papers*, 1: 23.

<sup>27</sup> Glacken, "A Late Arrival in Academia..."

basis. The case-loads were heavy, and the job taxing both physically and emotionally. Ultimately, Glacken quit to pursue his childhood dream of traveling around the world. For eleven months in 1937, he visited Japan, China, French Indochina, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Turkey, Soviet Union, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Italy, and France. Later, he recalled the Great International exhibition in Paris in 1936 at the height of the furor over the Spanish Civil war; and especially, the Nazi Swastika and the Hammer and Sickle at the entrance. These perambulations made a big impression upon Glacken, as he acknowledged in his introduction to *Traces*.<sup>28</sup>

Glacken was drafted into the army in 1941, and owing to his travels in the Far East and command of the Japanese language, acquired most likely during his autodidactic undergraduate years, was made an analyst in Japanese language and culture.<sup>29</sup> He attended the Civilian Affairs Training School (CATS), at the University of Chicago in 1944 - 45 and, after the war ended, the School for Government of Occupied Areas, in Carlisle, PA in 1946.<sup>30</sup> Glacken next took a job in Korea at the military government's Bureau of Health and welfare. Later, he moved to Japan, where he served as Assistant Director in the military government in the department of public health and welfare in Japan. He wrote a section, "Current Social Problems and Methods" for a manual for civil affairs officers entitled 'Public Welfare and Emergency Relief in Japan.' His section was a scholarly treatise on the welfare/rehabilitation traditions in Japan. Out of it grew

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<sup>28</sup> Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. (Glacken 1990): xi.

<sup>29</sup> Hooson et al., "Clarence James Glacken, *Geography*: Berkeley."

<sup>30</sup> Glacken Papers, 5:5 - 14.

some recommendations which could well find a place in any modern 'culturally sensitive' disaster rehabilitation manual today:

In the occupation of Japan, one of the most closely watched operations will be the distribution of relief. It will be widely reported in the American Press. It will be observed by influential political figures of the Orient as a proof or disproof of Japanese propaganda that the white man's occupation is but another phase of an old and now renewed exploitation and imperialism. Extremes of harshness and sentimentality (very often found in the same individual) must be avoided. The administration must be objective and in the best traditions of our own culture.<sup>31</sup>

## Graduate School

Upon returning from Asia, Glacken took a job in Washington in the Veterans Administration, handling veterans benefits. In Washington, he befriended William Vogt, who then headed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, his first job after returning from Peru in 1942. Vogt, who was soon to write *Road to Survival*, one of the first of the great books on the consequences of overpopulation in the context of the Dust Bowl, piqued Glacken's interest in conservation issues, particularly soil erosion.<sup>32</sup> Vogt encouraged Glacken, who had asked for advice about pursuing further studies, and introduced him to Carl Sauer.<sup>33</sup> Sauer suggested that Glacken study geography at the Isiah Bowman school at Johns Hopkins University. Significantly, Isiah Bowman (1878 - 1950) had been a good friend of Teggart. He was a Canada born geographer, and during the course of a distinguished career, served as director of the American Geographical Society in 1916, as editor of the *Geographical Review*, Director

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<sup>31</sup> Glacken Papers, 5:8.

<sup>32</sup> W Vogt, "Road to Survival," (1948).

<sup>33</sup> Hooson, "Clarence Glacken 1909–1989;" Glacken, "A Late Arrival in Academia..."

of the Council of Foreign Relations, President of Johns Hopkins University from 1935-48, and President of the History of Science Society in 1944. He was also a key political figure in geo-political strategy, and had accompanied President Wilson to the 1919 Paris peace conference.<sup>34</sup> Glacken had read his book, *The New World* a political geography following World War I, soon after graduating from Berkeley.

Glacken applied, and Vogt wrote him an enthusiastic recommendation. He was accepted at the Isiah Bowman School, and was supervised by George F. Carter in Geography and E. F. Penrose in economics. Carter had a background in anthropology and archeology and had completed his doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Carl Sauer at Berkeley in 1941. Penrose was a British born economist who wrote on European Imperialism and the partition of Africa and on economic planning for peace after World War II, in addition to being a scholar of the Japanese economy. He too had taught at Berkeley. His wife, Edith Penrose, who was his student at Berkeley, was by now a distinguished scholar and public intellectual, and later became an outspoken critic of McCarthyism. She argued against the use of biological analogies in economic theory, and considered Social Darwinism to be a conservative ideology.<sup>35</sup> The Glacken archive has no information about what exactly he himself made out of his graduate student experience at Johns Hopkins. What is evident though, is that the air he breathed at Johns Hopkins was fragrant with intellectual curiosity and questioning, critical of deterministic ideologies, and busy conceiving a post- World-War II era.

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<sup>34</sup> G J Martin, *The Life and Thought of Isiah Bowman*, 1980.

<sup>35</sup> Department of Economics, University of Stirling. *Dictionary of British Economists (2004)*. Thoemmes Continuum, London and New York.

In 1951, Glacken completed a dissertation entitled: 'The Ideas of the Habitable World in Western thought since the late eighteenth century.'<sup>36</sup> The thesis pursued five key ideas: the relation of population growth to resources; the influence of the geographic environment on human culture; the contrasting idea of man as a geographic or geologic agent; concepts of the soil; and living nature as a series of complex interrelationships. In each case, Glacken traced Western attitudes from the mid eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth. In discussing population growth and resources, for example, he began with the work of Wallace, Ricardo, Malthus and Spencer, went on to describe the late nineteenth century and the optimism following the American food surplus, the opening up of the Suez Canal and the consequent decline of Malthusianism; before discussing the pessimism after World War I, and the connections drawn in ecological theory (e.g. in work of Raymond Pearl) and elsewhere between population explosion and soil erosion.

Again, in his discussion of the relationship between human culture and the geographic environment, Glacken argued that there were considerable changes in ideas over time: from a strong emphasis in the idea of human beings as geographical agents, in the work of people like Lyell, Marsh, Shaler and the possibilist school of French geography, to an emphasis on adaptation to environment and the struggle for existence in all life in Darwinist and neo-Darwinist writings, and then a shift back to a concern with the destructive power of human agency following the Dust Bowl of the

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<sup>36</sup> Glacken Papers, 5, 7.

1930s. Glacken adopted a historical approach again in his discussion on soils, wherein he identified a shift from the idea of soil as food for plants in the period from Jethro Tull to Liebig, to the geological theory of soils, and on to modern concepts of the soil as a product of climate, relief, living matter and time. Finally, in discussing the idea of living nature as a series of complex relationships, Glacken traced a complex history of ideas from conceptions of plants as existing in communities or associations in early plant geography to Darwin's conception of the web of life, and on to modern ecology and the idea that there are few plant and animal communities left in the world unaffected by human beings.

Given the prevalent milieu, in which strategies for post War reconstruction were at the forefront of scholarly engagement, Glacken's historical approach might have seemed, at first glance, to be an anachronism. However, this was a moment of reflexivity in American scholarly culture, and in the aftermath of the War, a wide range of intellectual approaches was encouraged. Moreover, given that both his dissertation advisors had attended or taught at Berkeley, it is fair to assume that they considered Glacken's project to not only be relevant in the sense of reflectively addressing contemporary policy dilemmas, but interesting intrinsically. Glacken's dissertation had the stamp of the Berkeley school all over it, in that it asked questions about society and natural resources, and adopted a possibilist perspective. However, in some of its specific questions, such as population, food supply, and human agency, he was most definitely addressing issues that were in the air at that time, and articulated by some of his close mentors, such as William Vogt.

## II. Glacken as a pioneering environmental historian

Soon after receiving his doctorate in 1951, Glacken received a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council to conduct ethnographic studies in the Ryuku islands, the largest of which is Okinawa.<sup>37</sup> The grant stemmed from the planning needs of the American occupation forces, and was one of a number of studies, which were subsequently published as SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) Reports. Glacken spent about six months in three communities in Okinawa, and his report, which was later published as a book, sought to understand how these islands changed after the War, following a long period of isolation. It focused extensively on family and community life, religion, and social change, and related these and other aspects of the regional culture to the basic facts of the geographical environment.<sup>38</sup>

Upon returning from Okinawa, and en route to his ancestral home in Sacramento, California, Glacken met Carl Sauer at Berkeley. During that meeting, Sauer suggested that he apply for a job in the geography department.<sup>39</sup> Sauer was interested in Glacken because he was looking for someone to teach the history of human impact on nature, which, he felt, ought to be a core element of the geography curriculum.<sup>40</sup> Glacken

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<sup>37</sup> Glacken to Harold J. Coolidge, January 24, 1953. Glacken Papers, 6:4.

<sup>38</sup> Glacken, "The Great Loochoo; a Study of Okinawan Village Life.." REF. and SIRI Report No. 4 (1953).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Glacken to Harold J. Coolidge, January 24, 1953. Glacken Papers, 6:4.

<sup>40</sup> Kenzer and Geographers, Carl O. Sauer, a Tribute.

joined the faculty at Berkeley in 1952 and soon published his Okinawan study as a book.<sup>41</sup> He then decided to pursue another place based ethnography, this time in Norway, and applied for a Fulbright Fellowship in 1958, to study contemporary conservation programs there “and their relation to the culture as a whole, and in human and cultural geography, especially the nature of rural life.” Glacken received the fellowship and conducted his proposed research, but there is no evidence that he published from it.<sup>42</sup>

### The Origins of Traces

Upon joining the Berkeley geography department, Glacken began work on designing curricula that Carl Sauer had hired him to develop and teach.<sup>43</sup> Front and center was a course on the relations between nature and culture, which he organized around three key ideas: environmental determinism; environmental change by human agency; and the teleological idea of nature — the concept of a designed earth.<sup>44</sup> Needless to say, these themes stemmed from his intellectual upbringing, especially, from the Berkeley school. The course was to define much of Glacken's subsequent intellectual career. The idea of human beings as modifiers of the earth on par with geological agents led to a paper, entitled 'Changing Ideas of the Habitable World,' presented to a path-breaking conference at Princeton on 'Man's Role in Changing the

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<sup>41</sup> Clarence Glacken. *The Great Loochoo; a study of Okinawan village life*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955.

<sup>42</sup> Glacken Papers, 6:11 – 14.

<sup>43</sup> Glacken, “A Late Arrival in Academia...;” Hooson, “Clarence Glacken 1909–1989.”

<sup>44</sup> Glacken, “A Late Arrival in Academia...”

Face of the Earth.<sup>45</sup> This paper was well received not just by geographers but by leading biologists such as Paul Shepard Jr., who wrote saying:

Having just seen your paper on “Changing Ideas of the Habitable World”, I am prompted to write to express the pleasure I had in reading it. This is partly because I am also interested in the history of ideas concerning nature. It seems to me that such an approach has a great deal to offer the field of engineering, biotic, and social techniques for insuring a perennial harvest. If on the other hand conservation is an attitude or a cluster of ideas regarding man in nature, then the study of it might have to do with the history of those ideas and their general place in broader philosophical schemes as well as economic contexts. I am wondering if many geographers are interested in the kind of thing you have been writing. As a biologist (human ecology?) I suppose I have been heretical.<sup>46</sup>

Shepard’s observation echoed the predilections of Glacken’s dissertation advisors who encouraged a historical approach, and Sauer, who explicitly hired him to teach humanist courses. It is particularly interesting also because it came at a time when universities across the United States were investing in environmental studies. In effect, Shepard was making a case for this emerging field to include, not just the pure and applied sciences, but also the humanist disciplines. This way, Shepard argued in effect, the emerging environmental sciences would have a hermeneutic that can help them innovate ideationally. It would also provide them with a philosophical framework to inform an environmentally responsible way of life for humanity at large.

Glacken clearly believed in this approach. Delivering a commencement speech on June 19, 1976, toward the end of his career, he observed:

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<sup>45</sup> Clarence J Glacken, “Changing Ideas of the Habitable World,” in Thomas, Jr., William L.: *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, (University of Chicago Press, 1956), 70–92.

<sup>46</sup> Paul Shepard Jr to Glacken, February 4, 1957. Glacken Papers, 10: 16.

One of the contributions the geographer of today can make toward an understanding of the world and its peoples is a philosophical one: to gather, to study, to refine ideas concerning the place of humanity in nature. These ideas were on Carl Sauer's mind throughout his long, productive and inspiring life.<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere, he wrote that: history ought to be studied because it 'enables an understanding of problems and the superseding problems emerging from them.'<sup>48</sup> With this guiding approach, Glacken began a formal publishing career. He started with a paper on Count Buffon.<sup>49</sup> He argued therein that Buffon had anticipated some of the ideas of possibilism more than a hundred years before they were formulated, and that he was "keenly aware of the force and effectiveness of human modification of the environment in the pre-industrial era."<sup>50</sup> The theme of environmental influences, and the history of ideas about culture and the environment, more broadly, continued to dominate many of his other papers in the 60s.<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile, a number of people had been recommending that he publish his PhD. Thesis. One of them was William Vogt, who recommended that he contact Frances Phillips, then an Editor at William Sloane Associates, Inc.<sup>52</sup> Glacken followed through,

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<sup>47</sup> Glacken Papers, 9:22.

<sup>48</sup> Glacken Papers, 'Geography 151: American Geographical Thought,' in 1962, Glacken Papers, 4:7.

<sup>49</sup> Clarence J Glacken, "Count Buffon on Cultural Changes of the Physical Environment," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50, no. 1 (March 1, 1960): 1-21.

<sup>50</sup> Glacken Papers, 1:3.

<sup>51</sup> C J Glacken, "Reflections on the History of Western Attitudes to Nature," *GeoJournal* (1992); C Glacken, "The Origins of the Conservation Philosophy," *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation* (1956); Clarence J Glacken, *On Chateaubriand's Journey From Paris to Jerusalem, 1806-07*, 1969; Norman Joseph William Thrower, Clarence J Glacken, and Edmond Halley, *The Terraqueous Globe: the History of Geography and Cartography. Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, April 27, 1968.* by Norman J.W. Thrower and Clarence J. Glacken, 1968; Clarence J Glacken, *Histoire De La Pensée Géographique*, 2005.

<sup>52</sup> Frances Phillips to Glacken, May 23 1953. Glacken Papers, 1:1.

and sent his dissertation to Phillips. Interestingly, his cover note did much more than needed. It outlined a much broader and ambitious writing agenda:

As I see it, geography should be tied in with anthropology, conservation, the history of exploration, economic history, and contemporary land tenure systems - and these by no means exhaust the list... But I am afraid this would have few attractions as a commercial venture.<sup>153</sup>

Glacken then advanced another book idea:

I have felt that a rather short book (about 70, 000 words) written in essay style, a popular book without any sacrifice of scholarship, would be of considerable interest. It would follow along the lines of the thesis and should be of interest to laymen or scholars concerned with intellectual history and questions of population and conservation... This proposal would not conflict with the documented longer work which I have already described.<sup>154</sup>

The documentary record in the Glacken archives at Berkeley shows one letter in response. Written by Phillips, the letter did not respond to the wide range of ideas contained in Glacken's cover note. Instead, it focused just on the thesis, which it rejected on grounds that a historical treatment of environmental issues, as opposed to an activist approach in the nature of 'a crusade,' would not find many buyers.<sup>55</sup>

Glacken was however encouraged by one of his graduate advisors, E.F. Penrose, to find other publishers.<sup>56</sup> The documentary record does not indicate whether or not

Glacken followed up on this advice. What it does show is that he busied himself working on the project he outlined in his letter to Phillips. By 1960, he had written a manuscript entitled, 'Three Great Traditions Concerning Man and the Earth: Part I: The

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<sup>53</sup> Glacken to Frances Phillips June 22, 1953. Glacken Papers, 1:1.

<sup>54</sup> Glacken to Frances Phillips June 22, 1953. Glacken Papers, 1:1.

<sup>55</sup> Frances Phillips to Glacken, August 3, 1953. Glacken Papers, 1:1.

<sup>56</sup> E. F. Penrose to Glacken June 16, 1954. Glacken Papers, 1:1.

Origins in Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> It was 212 pages long, and appears to be the first section of what was later to become *Traces*.<sup>57</sup> The readers report was however not flattering. Besides raising a host of small issues concerning citation details, it argued that the main argument in the manuscript was only asserted and not proved and that the work was of purely antiquarian interest and offered little to contemporary geographers.<sup>58</sup> Glacken was not dissuaded. Within three years, he had expanded the manuscript and submitted it again, this time to McGraw-Hill. However, once again, the response was similar. Rejecting the manuscript, Herbert Waentig, Editor at McGraw-Hill wrote to Glacken, stating that: 'There is general agreement that it is well written, interesting and stimulating. However, we believe that a book of this nature, even of the highest quality, would not enjoy enough sale to make publication and distribution economically feasible...'<sup>59</sup>

Glacken persevered and his manuscript, now entitled 'Three Great Traditions Concerning Man and the Earth: Studies in the History of Geographic Ideas from Antiquity Through the Eighteenth Century,' landed on the desk of the Philip E. Lillenthal, the legendary editor at UC Press.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps realizing that the latent conservatism in the disciplines might prevent a favorable review, he sent it to an unlikely reviewer, Clarence E. Palmer, of the Space Science Center, at the Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, at UCLA. The latter made a host of suggestions

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<sup>57</sup> Glacken Papers, 1:4.

<sup>58</sup> Readers Report on 'Three Great Traditions Concerning Man and the Earth: Part 1: The Origins in Antiquity.' February 11, 1960. Glacken Papers, 1:4.

<sup>59</sup> Herbert Waentig to Glacken, June 17 1963. Glacken Papers, 1:7.

<sup>60</sup> Glacken Papers, 7:24.

and comments but was otherwise gushing with praise, including a lament that the book ended in the eighteenth century and not the present day. Glacken's painstaking reply was evidently to Palmer's liking, and he went on to recommend the book for publication.<sup>61</sup> Based on this positive review, Lilienthal wrote to Glacken accepting his manuscript for publication.<sup>62</sup>

*Traces* discussed three topics. Firstly, it addressed the idea of a designed earth, the teleological undercurrents of religious and scientific explanations of humanity's relationship with nature. Next, the book tackled the idea of environmental influence, building on the ancient contrast between physis and nomos, i.e., between nature and law or custom. It explored the tensions between environmental determinist traditions, such as those that and led first to climate being held responsible for the inebriety or sobriety of whole peoples in the post reformation period and then to the idea of the limitations which the environment as a whole imposes on all life, on the one hand, and the role of customs, religions, governments, and culture at large, on the other. Last, but by no means least, the book explored the idea of human beings as modifiers of nature, and as finishing nature. Glacken argued that whereas this concept was seen as positive and optimistic in the work of people like Ray and Buffon, it had, by mid-19th century, begun to be increasingly perceived as negative and pessimistic.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Lilienthal to Glacken, copying from Palmer's letter. May 28, 1965. 'Glacken Papers, 7:24.

<sup>62</sup> Lilienthal to Glacken, June 16, 1965. Glacken Papers, 7:24.

<sup>63</sup> Clarence J Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*.

Glacken admitted that these three topics were but pebbles cast into the ocean of history, and that other scholars might well choose different themes. Nevertheless, he justified his choice of topics on grounds that virtually any major thinker who had written about “man’s place in nature” had discussed one or more of them.<sup>64</sup> However, given his biography up until this point in his career, it is quite evident that these were amongst the questions addressed and taught by the Berkeley school. What Glacken did in *Traces* was to historicize the debate, and demonstrate that these questions had deep traditions of intellectual engagement. Notably, he did not editorialize, and take any normative position, focusing instead on elucidation and exegesis.

*Traces* received wide by mixed reviews initially. Amongst the critical comments was a review for the journal, *Classical Philology*, which accused Glacken of being extremely selective with his sources. Accusing him of not choosing poets unless 'there is no one else to quote,' and of leaving out significant literary entities, including Dante, Bacon, and Shakespeare, the reviewer went on to proclaim: 'This bias would not be a defect if G. were professedly writing a history of philosophy. But he is dealing with attitudes, assumptions, customs, traditions, which cannot be restricted to philosophers or to the educated minority at any period.'<sup>65</sup> Another critic, writing for the History of Science journal, *ISIS*, claimed that Glacken ‘tends to treat his topics as though they were isolable from their total contexts,’ which, he argued with examples, presented

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<sup>64</sup> Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*. Introduction.

<sup>65</sup> B Walker, “Traces on the Rhodian Shore by Clarence J. Glacken: Review,” *Classical Philology* 64, no. 1 (January 1969): 62–64, p. 63.

interpretive difficulties.<sup>66</sup> Again, an anthropologist writing for *Man* remarked that the book 'lacks... the merit of giving unity to its parts; it remains more or less an excellent collection of passages. It has not the outlook, for instance, of Bertrand Russell's History of western philosophy.'<sup>67</sup> Even some geographers were critical. Writing in the journal, *Geography*, for example, one reviewer stated blandly that 'Unfortunately the author has tackled too big a task in too broad a fashion. Scholarship, to be worthwhile, must be rigorously selective, otherwise it will spread more confusion than enlightenment.'<sup>68</sup>

At the other end of the ledger, reviewers, including many who were otherwise critical, were effusive in praise of the overall intellectual achievement that *Traces* represented. For example, the *ISIS* reviewer called it 'well written, wide-ranging, and 'a wonderful prolegomenon to more precise studies of ideas about man and nature.'<sup>69</sup> Significantly, there were also a number of reviewers, from a wide spectrum of disciplines, who predicted the critiques from specialists, and urged a more generous approach on part of readers. A case in point was a review in *The American Historical Review*, which stated:

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<sup>66</sup> Robert S Brumbaugh, "Review: Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century by Clarence J. Glacken," *Isis* 59, no. 3 (1968): 332–333, p. 332

<sup>67</sup> Kyriacos Hadjoannou, "Review Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century.," *Man*, New Series 3, no. 2 (June 1968): 349–350, p. 350.

<sup>68</sup> B W C, "Traces on the Rhodian Shore by C. J. Glacken Review ," *Geography* 53, no. 2 (April 1968): 216, p. 216.

<sup>69</sup> Brumbaugh, "Review: Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century by Clarence J. Glacken," p. 332.

Specialists may, will, and perhaps should carp at some sections of the book. My advice to them, however, is to read it, for I believe it can help them, as it helped me, to see new ways of structuring ideas about nature, and possibly to impart some new insights even inside the borders they so assiduously patrol. The author has not been content to consult other people's books; he has read widely in the original sources to form his own views.<sup>70</sup>

In similar vein, a review in *American Anthropologist* remarked:

A book such as this rarely appears anymore. It is not only that publishers do not desire big books, even on big subjects, but, I think more importantly, the scholarly tradition within which such a book can be written is disappearing, particularly in those areas of scholarship to which the term "science" is applied.<sup>71</sup>

And again, a review in *Forest History* argued: 'Indeed, the pedantic specialist might find fault here and there (but who can include a description of everyone's esoteric favorite?).<sup>72</sup> Many of the reviews outlined in considerable detail many of the critical insights afforded at various parts of the text. Most encouraged Glacken to continue the story forward to the present times.

On balance, the book was acclaimed a major success. Having read the reviews, Lillenthal wrote to Glacken in 1968: 'Let me add, with a modicum of seriousness, that we are very happy for you, and also proud, as *Traces*, etches itself ever more deeply into the local and much wider landscape.<sup>73</sup> By 1973, *Traces* had been proclaimed a

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<sup>70</sup> Franklin L Baumer, "Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century by Clarence J. Glacken. Review by: Franklin L. Baumer," *The American Historical Review* 73, no. 5 (June 1968): 1471–1472, p. 1472.

<sup>71</sup> J W Gruber, "Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Clarence J. Glacken," *American Anthropologist* (1968), p. 1185.

<sup>72</sup> R L Means, "Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century. by Clarence J. Glacken.( ...," *Forest & Conservation History* (1970), p. 30.

<sup>73</sup> Lillenthal to Glacken, November 19, 1968. Glacken Papers 1:12.

'classic' by Richard G. Lillard, Chair of the English Department at California State University, Los Angeles, who wrote to Glacken saying that he had reviewed it in English and translated it into Japanese.<sup>74</sup> By the time the book was released in paperback in 1976, some reviewers had started declaring it 'a masterpiece.'<sup>75</sup> It is worth remarking here that *Traces* appeared at the height of populist environmental concern in the United States. During 1966 - 68, a number of other critically reviewed books were published, including William Bronson's *How to Kill a Golden State*, Raymond Dasmann's *A Different Kind of Country*, F. Fraser Darling and John P Milton's *Future Environments of North America*. *Traces* however marked a turning point, in that it ushered in a new genre of environmental writing, one that evaluated the historical and philosophical basis of environmental ideas. In this, he was part of a new generation of writers who played a significant role in laying the foundations for the field that was later called environmental history. Among them was Roderick Nash, who prior to publishing his own classic, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, wrote to Glacken requesting a copy of his draft of *Traces*.<sup>76</sup> Glacken also had fruitful correspondence with David Lowenthal, J.B. Jackson, Lynn White Jr., David Livingstone, Gary Dunbar, and Paul Shepard.<sup>77</sup>

## After Traces

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<sup>74</sup> Richard G. Lillard to Glacken, August 31, 1973. Glacken Papers 1:18.

<sup>75</sup> R.F. Lockmann. Review of *Traces*. *Environmental History Review* 1(2) 1977:59.

<sup>76</sup> Roderick Nash to Clacken, January 20, 1967. Glacken Papers 1:11.

<sup>77</sup> Glacken Papers, 1: 1-23.

After completing *Traces*, Glacken began on the pieces that would comprise the sequel that many had been urging he write. The first of these projects was summarized in a letter Glacken wrote in 1964 to F. Fraser Darling, then Vice President of The Conservation Foundation stating that he had a sabbatical the next year and was planning a study of the Nature Protection movement.<sup>78</sup> Subsequently, in a letter to Philip Lilienthal upon receipt of a Guggenheim fellowship for 1966, Glacken argued that this study was 'a direct outgrowth' of *Traces*. He argued, further, that 'in my opinion, the history of this movement is an extremely sensitive indicator of attitudes toward nature held in modern times.'<sup>79</sup> By 1968, however, Glacken's interests had broadened. Writing to Gordon Ray, President of the Guggenheim Foundation, he wrote:

to some degree I revised my original plan to study the history of the nature protection movement because I found other themes more fundamental, i.e., the attitudes toward nature significant in the Romantic movement and continuing on during the 19th century. I also became very much interested in the history of preservation of historical landscapes, including those in towns and cities, or parts of them.

He also mentioned other research that he had recently completed. They included work on the Nature Conservancy in London; the IUCN in Morges (Switzerland); and the Schweizerischer Bund für Naturschutz, Swiss Nature protection movement and the Heimat-schutz movement. He had also worked in Germany, on the Bundesanstalt für Vegetationskunde Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege in Bad Godesberg, and his research included materials of the 19th century and some written during the Nazi period. Last, but by no means least, Glacken had worked in France — in the library of La e Musée um Nationale d' Histoire Histoire Naturelle, the southern France great

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<sup>78</sup> Glacken to F. Fraser Darling, October 26, 1964. Glacken Papers 1:8.

<sup>79</sup> Glacken to Philip Lilienthal, June 7, 1965. Glacken Papers 1:9.

nature reserve in the Camargue and the station Biologique de la Tour du Valat, a research center especially for the study of bird migrations.<sup>80</sup>

Another topic that became a big research project was the English school of Romantic poets. Glacken's interest in this subject may have origins in a letter from F. Fraser Darling of the Conservation Foundation, November 16, 1964. In that letter, Darling asked Glacken to look at St. Thomas Aquinas; the ancient Chinese philosophy of ecological checks and balances; or the yin and yang which the Chinese had and which led to certain kinds of nature protection; the Sufi mystics who have a clear notion of the divine, with a consequent exquisite appreciation of beauty which led the Persians to certain forms of protection, as in their considerable gardens. He also suggested that Glacken examine English literature, look at Traherne, and later in the 18th century the rise of the Romantic School of Poets; especially Coleridge, Wordsworth, with a focus on the latter's autobiographical notes. Darling went on to suggest that the English Romantic School produced a most rigorous offshoot in Emerson, Thoreau and Walt Whitman, 'and as I see it, the Nature Protection Movement in the United States is a direct outcome of Eastern American transcendentalism and Whitman's pantheism.'<sup>81</sup>

Glacken was fascinated by the intellectual possibilities, and spent considerable time and effort reading and taking copious notes spanning hundreds of handwritten

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<sup>80</sup> Glacken to Gordon Ray, may 28, 1968. Glacken Papers 1:13.

<sup>81</sup> F. Fraser Darling to Glacken, November 16, 1964. Glacken Papers 2: 7.

pages.<sup>82</sup> He observed that only once before in the history of Western thought had there been such a reappraisal of man's relation to the external world. This had been during the pre-Romantic and the Romantic periods, when the

artificialities and constrictions of life, especially urban life, the suffering of revolution and war..., a desire for a more natural existence, not the existence of a savage, but the existence – idealized more often than not – of a country dweller, of a peasant,

had, in the writings of men like Rousseau, Bernardin de St. Pierre, Chateaubriand, and Wordsworth, engendered

a profound rethinking of man's place in nature.' Glacken noted that the French revolution, and the violence that it unleashed, 'undermined confidence in the rationality of civilization.' Moreover, after the Napoleonic Wars, 'much of the previous society and its values seemed in ruins. In this period, he wrote, the religious interpretation of nature 'was still very strong as one can see in the writings of St. Pierre, Chateaubriand, the young Ruskin,' but 'produced a kind of pantheism.'<sup>83</sup>

He wrote further:

There was an interest in wildness and remoteness, in overpowering physical forms, but also in the humanized landscape of the countryside, of landscapes with strong evocative power like those of Rome, Greece, the Holy land. The existence of ruins allowed man to ponder on the transitoriness of things while enjoying their beauties as noble exemplars of a past placed in landscapes of surpassing beauty. It was also an age of incipient industrialization; it is the starting point (not, of course, the ultimate origin) of the complex modern set of ideas concerning the natural world and man's relation to it. If we choose, we could lace our present discussions of environmental problems with quotations from Goethe, Schiller, Buffon, Rousseau, Walter Scott, Wordsworth, Emerson, Thoreau and Melville. But, by present standards, it was an age of modest environmental change, perhaps so slow that a generation might not notice their

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<sup>82</sup> Glacken Papers, especially Box 5.

<sup>83</sup> Fragment of a paper, nd. Glacken Papers 9: 2

cumulative force, whereas an outstanding aspect of contemporary change is its obviousness.<sup>184</sup>

Glacken was interested in other topics too. Notable amongst them was anthropocentrism and the associated concept of plentitude.<sup>85</sup> He also returned to a theme that he tackled in his dissertation, that of population, in a paper he published in 1951.<sup>86</sup>

### The Sequel

Although the manuscript of the sequel is lost, Glacken's correspondence provides a fairly good indicator of what it might have contained. On September 13, 1977, Glacken wrote to Professor Fritz Pauli, stating that he expected to complete his sequel by 1978:

It will be concerned primarily with the 19th century, although in some areas I have been forced to go back into the 18th and earlier centuries in order to make the 19th century intelligible. In practice, I shall also probably end with the beginning of the first World War, as I regard this, and not the end of the century, as a real break in the continuities of Western Civilization.<sup>87</sup>

A year later, he wrote to Professor David Stoddart:

The sequel to *Traces* will have four parts. It will be concerned with the 19th century: 1. Ecological ideas in natural theology, among the evolutionists, and in late 19th century studies; 2. subjective attitudes toward nature; 3. environmental influences and environmental determinism; and 4. the study of the role of human agency in the transformation of nature. A second possibility is an essay on

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<sup>84</sup> Fragment of a paper, nd. Glacken Papers 9: 2.

<sup>85</sup> Glacken Papers,9:2. The concept of plentitude was coined by Arthur Lovejoy.

<sup>86</sup> Clarence J Glacken, "A Population History of the Modern World," *The Journal of Economic History* 11, no. 1 (1951): 74–75.

<sup>87</sup> Glacken to Professor Fritz Pauli, September 13, 1977. Glacken Papers 1: 21.

Ruskin. I have already written a bit about him and intend a comprehensive analysis of these writings of his which are pertinent to my themes.<sup>88</sup>

The treatment of environmental determinism would focus on Buckle, Tagel, Ratzel, and the French Possibilists. The subject of human transformations of the environment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up until the outbreak of World War 1 would be approached by a discussion of Marsh and Shaler. Another important source would be essays on the early nineteenth century by German explorers and scholars of ancient Greece, and the thesis that desiccation and deforestation in Greece were not climatic but stemming from human agency.

The Sequel also had other themes. One of these stemmed from Glacken's study of the romantics, and addressed the development of subjective, emotional and aesthetic ideas toward the natural world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the works of Keats, Shelley, Byron, Scott; English, French, German literature and Cooper and American literature. Glacken also planned to continue the discussion of the Design argument in the natural theologians in the early part of the 19th century. The sources would include English natural historians, geologists, and other similarly inclined people. This discussion would go on to a study of their ecological ideas, and those of the evolutionists, especially Lamark, Darwin and Wallace. The discussion would conclude with a study of the fundamental ecological studies of the late nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Glacken to Professor David Stoddart, May 2, 1978. Glacken Papers 1: 21.

<sup>89</sup> Glacken Papers, 5,7.

## Other Works

Why the Sequel did not get published remains the subject of lore. That he wrote it completely is not in question, for he had shared the draft with a few colleagues according to whom it was as important a feat of scholarship as its predecessor.<sup>90</sup> However, there is no trace of the manuscript today, despite several attempts at locating it within the Geography department at Berkeley and in the University archives. The mystery of the lost manuscript has resulted in a few urban myths, the most persistent of which is the claim that Glacken himself had destroyed it in a moment of despair. However, the only evidence that supports this myth is circumstantial. David Hooson, for example talked about a time at the height of the student uprising in Berkeley when Glacken ostensibly threatened to jump from the balcony of McCone Hall when he saw smoke emerge from the Doe library.<sup>91</sup> Glacken himself was ostensibly not particularly happy with the insistence by the student movement to offer “relevant” courses on the environment, taking the demand as a slight on historical scholarship.<sup>92</sup> Without doubt, toward the end of his career, Glacken’s state of mind was not particularly healthy. That said, Glacken might well have stored the manuscript at some other place. The simple fact is – we just don’t know.

The surprising factor in the official archive, however, is that Glacken had actually written or edited other books that he evidently did not mention to anyone I interviewed. In 1980, in response to a request from Lloyd G. Lyman of Texas A&M University Press,

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<sup>90</sup> David Stoddart and David Hooson, personal communication, April 1995.

<sup>91</sup> David Hooson. personal communication, April 1995.

<sup>92</sup> David Hooson. personal communication, April 1995.

who wrote to him asking him for a collection of his writings for their environmental series, letter dated April 23 1980, Glacken submitted a manuscript of his collected writings, entitled: 'Reflections on the Man-Nature Theme as a Subject for Study.' The press acknowledges receiving the manuscript, although why it was not published remains a mystery.<sup>93</sup> Glacken also drafted a complete handwritten manuscript that lies in the Glacken archive. Entitled, 'Man and Nature, Selected Essays.' It consists of discussions of some of the central geographical ideas of selected individuals from the late eighteenth century onward.<sup>94</sup> The text has no footnotes, and the manuscript has no date. This might well be the shorter book that Glacken had proposed to the various presses about the time he approached them about publishing his doctoral thesis. Again, there is no concrete evidence to support this claim. However, the manuscript, and a few type written essays that he gave to his colleague, David Stoddart, are all that are left of Glacken's work after the publication of *Traces*.

These surviving manuscripts cover huge ground. Most of the essays are biographical, starting with key people from the seventeenth century onward. They include the abbé de Saint-Pierre (1658–1743); Julien-Joseph Virey (1775–1847); William Godwin (1756–1836); Alexander von Humboldt; Darwin, Huxley and Wallace; George Perkins Marsh; the late nineteenth century geographers, Friedrich Ratzel, E.G. Ravenstein, Carl Bellod, Edward M. East, and Albrecht Penck; and a host of twentieth

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<sup>93</sup> Anita J. Demirs, Senior Secretary, Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, Texas 77843 to G, May 9, 1980, acknowledging receipt of G's MS, Collected Writings. Glacken Papers, 6:10.

<sup>94</sup> Glacken Papers, 6:10. These papers, and few other unpublished manuscripts are now being published. See S. Ravi Rajan (ed.), with Adam Romero and M. Watts. *Genealogies of Environmental Thought: the Lost works of Clarence Glacken*. University of Virginia Press, June 2017.

century characters, including Howard McKinder; Carl Sauer; Isiah Bowman; G.V. Jacks and R.O. Whyte; William Vogt, and Colin Clark. Topically, there are some continuities with *Traces*. The theme of progress and the designed earth is ever present; as is that of man's place in nature and of the agency of man. This is by no means surprising, given that these were topics Glacken had been trained to think as a product of the Berkeley school. There are however some new ideas; a discussion of Humboldt as a humanist; a history of soil science; the history of ecology; and scientific exploration. Also novel is that Glacken adopted a strong and active voice in many places, especially on the ideology of environmental determinism, and the concept of carrying capacity, both of which he criticized using strong language.<sup>95</sup>

What is surprising, though, is the absence of non-Western contexts, protagonists, and ideas. This is surprising because Glacken was deeply interested in the East. He had, of course, invested considerable time in Japan and was fluent in the language. However, he had spent significant amounts of time studying Chinese, Indian, and other Asian traditions, as his copious collection of articles and clippings testify.<sup>96</sup> Based on this research, he had well developed notions that were all his own; and methodologically, he was neither a traditional comparatist, nor a relativist, as the following quote suggests:<sup>97</sup>

The reason I explode regularly over East-West dichotomies is that I have been criticizing easy contrasts in my classes for years. Trying to ferret out the differences among civilizations is a necessary work, but what I object to is sharp

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<sup>95</sup> Ravi Rajan (ed.), *Genealogies of Environmentalism*.

<sup>96</sup> Glacken Papers, 3:18, 9:2, 51-3.

<sup>97</sup> Glacken Papers, 9:2.

monolithic summations. Civilizations like races are all mixed up, and because of their long histories are bound to contain contradictions, borrowings, and perhaps independent similarities. I used to periodically recommend to my students, John M. Steadman's *The Myth of Asia. A Refutation of Western Stereotypes of Asian Religion, Philosophy, Art and Politics*.<sup>98</sup>

Why the East, for Glacken, was a subject of personal education, but not his own writing is not explained anywhere in his correspondence, and none of his colleagues I interviewed afforded any clue either. One explanation might be his scholarly humility. Glacken felt most strongly grounded in the history of Western thought – and perhaps did not feel confident enough of his mastery over other contexts.

Conclusion:

Three points might be made in conclusion. First, Glacken was an intellectual bridge connecting nineteenth century thought with the twentieth. He was influenced by the Berkeley school, and the reference here is not only to the geography department but to a wider milieu including *Social Institutions and Geography*; and his oeuvre consisted largely in historicizing the key questions raised by that school – especially, those of man's place in nature, environmental determinism, population growth and migration, and the idea of progress. For most of his career, his writing showed a commitment to exegetical scholarship; but toward the end, had a sharper tone; it drew upon some of principal attitudes of the Berkeley school, especially, in rejecting determinism, and becoming a pessimist when it came to the idea of progress. Second, Glacken was

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<sup>98</sup> Glacken Papers, 1:22. REF

deeply committed to the humanities, and can be considered a pioneer of this genre, and in the discipline of environmental history that subsequently emerged. To him, the purpose of his work was two-fold: to anchor environmental thought as an important and continuous thread in the history of humanity; and to offer a mirror to environmentalist ideology, as though to say, “we’ve been there before,” and to point out that some of these ideas, such as that of *Lebensraum*, had significant material consequences in the hands of the Nazis. Last, but by no means least, Glacken was deeply committed to the history of ideas. Unlike Sauer and Teggart, he did not write about interconnections of materials and cultures across the globe. Glacken’s contributions lay in painting landscapes of ideas, and knitting great chains that, he was convinced, afforded human civilization with a philosophical scaffolding. He was thus not a conventional historian, committed to detailed narratives rooted in particular time periods and geographical spaces. Arguably, the closest he had by way of scholarly kin were Arnold Toynbee — many of whose ideas he vigorously disputed; and Donald Worster, one of the founders of the self-conscious field of environmental history. Like the latter, he was a pioneer.

**Legend:**

Teggart Papers: Frederick James Teggart Papers. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. (Call number: Bancroft 78/65c).

Glacken Papers: Clarence Glacken Papers. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. (Call number: CU 468). The reference x:y following any citation connotes the box and folder numbers, respectively.