

between Gray and Agassiz (123), but he follows these statements with no evidence. It would help tremendously if he were more forceful and direct on questions of influence. It is difficult enough without equivocation to tease out Darwin's influence in an era when evolutionary thought was as varied as it was contentious. Darwin was not the only evolutionist, nor was he the only thinker to consider seriously the role of the environment in shaping human history.

In other places, Fuller's evidence is weak and its relationship to the argument is only implied, if indicated at all. Even in his treatment of Brace, where he tends to be at his best, Fuller relies on implicit connections rather than direct argument. If Brace understood that "more individuals are born than can possibly survive" (35), why is this necessarily evidence of the influence of Darwin rather than, say, Thomas Malthus? Perhaps the connection is actually clear upon reflection, but the reader is offered little guidance on this front. Chapter 5 suffers from a similar flaw. Fuller presents twin analyses of Darwinism and the Civil War, hinting that the two were clearly linked for Americans, but not quite showing how. Fuller argues, for example, that the principle of natural selection "fascinated" Sanborn and that he "intuitively ... translated it in terms of the national debate over slavery's expansion" (48), yet he fails to support this claim. Instead, the reader is often left with separate analyses of how Darwin and sectional tension influenced thinkers, but is provided no firm linkage between the two. Likewise, Fuller later argues that James Buchanan's speech to Congress drew on Darwinian language, but he provides no textual evidence from the speech to actually support this claim. As with the case of Sanborn, we learn that Buchanan was influenced by Darwin and that he also thought about the Civil War, but not much more. In fact, it is too easy for the reader to conclude that William Seward and John Brown are the real figures of note, as Fuller actually makes the influence of their ideas and actions very clear.

These objections are not meant to suggest *The Book That Changed America* suffers from catastrophic flaws—quite the opposite. In addition to being a lively and thought-provoking writer, Fuller is insightful in the way in which he joins literary analysis with intellectual, cultural, and political history. It is hard to disagree with his understanding of how ideas about the environment can ignite a nation. The presence of an interesting argument and good writing, however, has the consequence of piquing one's curiosity, making a reader all the more sensitive to the details. It is on this latter front that Fuller has the opportunity to improve.

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Graham, Otis L., Jr. 2015. *Presidents and the American Environment*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 411 pp. ISBN 978-0-7006-2098-2.

In *Presidents and the American Environment*, Otis L. Graham Jr., provides a historical survey of American presidents and their policies as they relate to the natural environment from the time of Benjamin Harrison through Barack Obama. Graham outlines how presidents cared very much, or very little, about the way industrialization, capitalism, and pollution affected human health and the environment. For some presidents, economic concerns and political ideologies overshadowed a sense of duty to or concern for the natural environment. However, all presidents following Harrison inherited the legal authority to use the executive branch as a force for environmental protection. "Presidents have mattered, a little or a lot, as they used or resisted these new objectives and tools" (2), Graham writes. The degree to which each president governed is the primary subject of *Presidents and the American Environment*.

Graham's work fills a void in the historiography of American environmental history.

The author argues that historians outline the history of environmentalism in one of two ways. Some “frame the story as a social movement, which it was and is.” Others “frame it as the ideas of intellectuals such as Marsh, John Muir, John Burroughs, Aldo Leopold, and Rachel Carson, or some combination thereof” (2). He sees each perspective as vital and important to the field, but notes that both models ignore the role of presidents in narratives of environmental history. Graham places the highest office of the United States at the center of environmental dialogue as a means to measure how intellectual debates and social movements shaped the governance of the executive branch. In this light, Graham’s work is refreshing and new. Many of the presidents and their policies will be familiar to those well acquainted with the American environmental history canon (e.g., Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan). Others are new to the story (e.g., Benjamin Harrison, John F. Kennedy, and Gerald Ford). Regardless of their relevance, the author compares how each president valued, protected, or ignored the natural environment.

Graham places the past 22 presidents into two camps based on their environmental agendas. He claims that 12 presidents can be appropriately deemed “facilitators,” “expanders,” or “green” (359). The other group consists of those presidents who remained skeptical or proved to be in outright opposition to conservation and environmentalism—11 “brown” presidents. And while 12 and 11 does not make 22, Graham notes that, “when you are dealing with Nixon you can expect funny math” (360). While the framework sounds mostly clear (excluding math), one cannot help but wonder about the criteria the author uses to judge the presidents and their policies. Comparisons between environmental agendas must take into account the changing environmental, social, political, and cultural realities of the individual president.

For example, Benjamin Harrison’s foray into conservation is marked with the signing of the Forest Reserve Act of 1891 and the creation of the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve. However, in Graham’s telling of the story, Harrison’s motivation to sign the legislation was not the manifestation of any apparent passion for the environment. Rather, Harrison began presidential conservation and environmentalism by the request of then Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble—an avid outdoorsman. And while there is no doubt that Harrison provided the legal framework for future presidents to set aside lands for conservation, it is too simplistic to place Harrison alongside the likes of Theodore Roosevelt. One bumbled into, and maybe even regretted, their conservation efforts, while the other became the loudest champion of conservation in the early twentieth century (28).

Additionally, Graham groups together politicians whose record on environmental issues ranged widely because of the relevant environmental issues of their respective times. Air and water pollution were certainly present in nineteenth-century America, but it was Lyndon B. Johnson who took a serious step to curtail industrial pollution with the passage of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. In this light, the tremendous labor of early conservationists either failed or overlooked other issues in order to protect their definitions of pristine nature. Whom does Graham see as the “greener” presidents, and how does he make that decision? Does it even matter? Probably not.

Oddly serendipitous is the appearance of Donald Trump in a text that was published before the 2016 election. The depiction of now President Trump in *Presidents and the American Environment* is a sort of caricature—a symbol for the privatization of natural beauty and the antithesis of Theodore Roosevelt’s conceptions of American conservation. Graham outlines a Trump model for US National Parks when he writes, “Imagine Donald Trump buying Yosemite as home for several

lit-up resort hotels and casinos with their sprawling parking lots” (43). “The Donald Trump high-end hoteliers ... would have bought and controlled access to Yellowstone, Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Crater Lake, and many others” (359), he adds. Given Graham’s placement of Trump in his own work, one cannot help but run to the early months of the Trump presidency through the author’s framework. The current president has consistently identified environmental legislation and regulation as obstacles to economic growth, he has named a director of the EPA who seemingly disdains the organization that he is appointed to lead, and he has doubled down on the Keystone XL pipeline while simultaneously signing legislation allowing coal mining companies to dump refuse into small streams. Trump’s decision to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement epitomizes his pro-business, anti-environmental, and nationalist leanings. Within months of taking office, Trump’s presidency was firmly situated in Graham’s “brown” camp

Given today’s political turbulence and environmental issues, Graham’s work is timely and important. It has never been so relevant to revisit the influence that a president and his policies can have on the American environment. And while environmentalism is largely a social movement, Graham’s book clearly narrates how a handful of men have shaped the American landscape and larger ecosystems. Revisiting Graham’s claim that “presidents have mattered, a little or a lot” almost seems like an understatement in light of his own study. Presidents gauge political climates, balance competing claims of parties, and govern by their ideologies. All of this affects the American environment. If nothing else, readers will walk away from *Presidents and the American Environment* with a simple, resounding truth about American environmental history—presidents matter.

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Gullion, Jessica Smartt. 2015. *Fracking the Neighborhood: Reluctant Activists and Natural Gas Drilling*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 216 pp. ISBN 978-0-2620-2976-6.

In *Fracking the Neighborhood: Reluctant Activists and Natural Gas Drilling*, Jessica Smartt Gullion examines how the development of the Barnett Shale pushes a cluster of residents in the Dallas–Fort Worth, Texas, metroplex toward activism. What Gullion presents is a case study of communities within a very population-dense region whose health and lifestyles are challenged by one of the most active shale gas formations in the world. The Barnett Shale is a geologic formation of shale rock that spans 5,000 square miles and 18 counties, and is estimated to contain 30 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. As Gullion demonstrates, the Barnett Shale’s location below the Dallas–Fort Worth metroplex presents innumerable threats to health, the environment, and lifestyle and culture for the seven million Texans who live above it. It is this population-dense setting of predominately white, conservative, and middle-class communities that distinguishes Gullion’s fieldwork from most studies of shale gas development. The intersection of industry, state, science, and a population not typically marginalized provides *Fracking the Neighborhood* the wide array of material it explores.

Gullion begins the book with overviews of oil and gas development around the world and in the United States (chap. 1), and of natural gas drilling in Texas (chap. 2). These chapters provide a brief historical account of the petroleum industry and its dense political-economic network in the state. It quickly becomes apparent which historical events, political institutions, and technological advances embed Texas in its fossil fuel economy and culture. Horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, are the most salient aspects of a national debate regarding the production of natural gas. Fracking is the process by which millions of gallons of frack