

# **“A First Book in Geography”: Carl Sauer and the Creation of *Man in Nature***

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Sauer's borders are noticeable. Even the birds find them.  
—Barry Lopez, *Crossing Open Ground* (1988)

**G**eographers, like anthropologists, belong to a discipline that seems perennially concerned with the relevance and worth of what, as academics, they do. Examples of anthropological soul-searching abound, two among many being the volume co-authored by George Marcus and Michael Fischer and a collection of essays by Clifford Geertz. Marcus and Fischer (1986:8) believe that a “crisis of representation” afflicts the “human sciences” in general, a crisis rooted in “uncertainty about adequate means of describing social reality.” For Geertz (1988:130), the same affliction is responsible for inducing a state of what he calls “pervasive nervousness,” especially among anthropologists confounded by the admittedly tricky business of being a good ethnographer. This shaky condition, all three concur, stems from the difficulties posed by conducting research among or about cultures markedly different from our own and then writing up the results of the exercise so as to produce a valid, authentic text.

Marcus' and Fischer's is an ambitious, somewhat giddy sweep of literature they consider in varying degrees “experimental” in character. Geertz, on the other hand, prefers a more leisurely dissection of accounts by such noted luminaries as Ruth Benedict, Edward Evans-Pritchard, Claude Levi-Strauss, and Bronislaw Malinowski. The question most insistently asked is as direct as its answer is elusive: How *do*

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we go about depicting other people's lives and other people's ways in order to produce sensitive and convincing representations — representations that can withstand the rigors of critical scrutiny, representations we hope will weather well, representations that may even meet with the approval of those whose lives and ways (or whose ancestors' lives and ways) are portrayed?

To that pivotal question, the one that fuels the "crisis of representation" hovering at every turn in postmodern cultural discourse, I would pose two corollary ones:

1. If accurate rendering of the ethnographic present is tricky, how can depicting the ethnographic past be any less so?
2. If an ethnographic present and an ethnographic past are difficult to construct for, and communicate to, a university-educated audience, how can construction for (and communication with) a school-age audience, especially an elementary-school audience, likewise be any less so?

Carl Sauer confronted the challenge of these questions long ago, and met them with a measure of originality and inventiveness not always recognized, especially on the part of intemperate advocates eager to set an agenda for a "new" cultural geography that fails to take into proper account enduring merits of the "old" (Price and Lewis 1993). Sauer was a complex, multi-talented scholar who, in the course of a long and fruitful life, turned his attention to a diverse range of interests (Kenzer 1987). If, following Geertz, I take the initiative to look at the geographer as author, from Marcus and Fischer I'm inclined to look at an "experimental moment" in Sauer's intellectual trajectory. Here I examine his contribution to the field of Native American studies not by dissecting his output of scholarly papers and research monographs but by piecing together the story behind the creation of an elementary-school text, "a first book in geography," *Man in Nature: America Before the Days of the White Men* (1939).<sup>1</sup>

### Forging an American Classic

The story begins in 1934. I'll tell it by punctuating my understanding of it with selections from the Sauer papers housed in the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, as well as with excerpts from *Man in Nature* itself. But first, let me introduce the *dramatis personae*, not all of whom appear on the book's title page (Figure 1), and say something about their roles in forging an American classic.

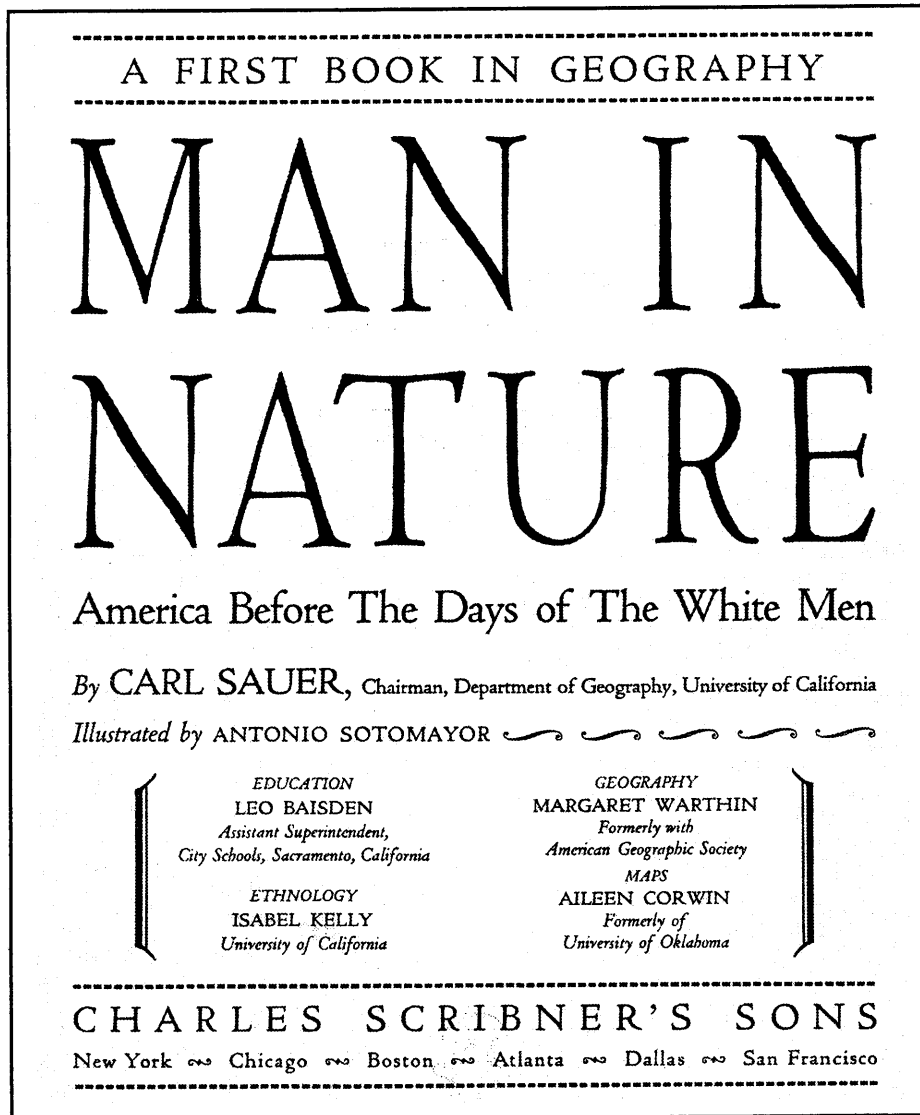


Figure 1. Title page of *Man in Nature*. Used with permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

### *Sauer, Warthin, Kelly, and Horn*

While *Man in Nature* was conceived as a collaborative project, and for the most part unfolded as such, Sauer himself in the end assumed full responsibility for primary authorship. He did so, we shall see, most reluctantly, for in the mid-1930s he was a very busy man. The original plan called for him to furnish detailed chapter outlines that Margaret

Warthin of the American Geographical Society (AGS) in New York would develop. Warthin was to be guided in terms of accurate ethnographic content by the respected Berkeley archaeologist and anthropologist Isabel Kelly, whom Sauer lobbied Scribner's to hire with that goal in mind. In terms of appropriate pedagogic fit for nine-year-old schoolchildren, Warthin was to consult with Ernest Horn, professor of education at the University of Iowa.

Sauer may have had contacts at Scribner's that helped stimulate the publisher's interest, but it is Warthin who initiated the venture. Isaiah Bowman, director of the AGS, acknowledges this in a letter penned to Sauer on January 19, 1934. "Dear Sauer," writes Bowman, "I hope you will look upon Miss Warthin's proposal favorably. She has an excellent plan. My own interest is in seeing a far greater advance made than has been accomplished up to this time. I have no responsibility except that which springs from interest, no part in the authorship, and no share in royalties or payments of any kind." Of Horn, Bowman tells Sauer, "[y]ou will find [him] distinctly critical and far more understanding from the standpoint of good geographical work than any other educational leader whom I know."

As the publisher, Charles Scribner's Sons envisioned *Man in Nature*, from the outset, as the first in a series of school geography texts. Sauer, however, was adamant that the enterprise should proceed one step at a time. Writing to a Scribner's executive, Dr. Louis [W.D.] Howe, on November 14, 1934, Sauer states:

I feel strongly that this is not the time to commit ourselves all around to an undefined series of geographies. No one hopes more strongly than I do that such a series will be prepared by us for Scribner's, but I think we are still in the experimental period to tie ourselves up for an indefinite undertaking at the present time. I am as sincere as any of you in regarding the first volume as the first of a series, but I wish it to be made the exclusive basis of the immediate contract. It is an independent volume. Its introduction will not need to wait on the appearance of others and its success is not necessarily dependent on the later volumes. My present feeling is that this volume is going to be revolutionary and that it may set the pace for the field. But let's get better acquainted as a working group before we commit ourselves to an indeterminate wedding, and consider the bases of caution... I certainly am not anxious to get out text books at whatever price collaboration may exact.

Sauer's wariness stemmed from a previous experience not at all to his liking, for in the same letter he discloses:

When I was working for an educational publishing firm I completely replanned and wrote almost in its entirety a text for which

the author drew his undiminished royalty, which provided him with a comfortable living. That is one extreme of publishing. At the other is the possibility of whittling down authors' returns by shifting to their account items which other publishers would assume as part of the overhead of getting a book ready... The authors may be disappointed in the publishers. We have lunched together but we will hardly know what sort of publisher we are tied up with until we've been through the mill once and argued out such things as maps and illustrations and consultants... We're all buying a pig in a poke and we'd better wait and see what the first pig is like.

Sauer's reservations were articulated specifically in response to a contract drawn up by Howe on October 3, 1934 for "A Series of Geographies." The names of Horn and Warthin, as well as Sauer's, appear on the contract as authors, each of them to be awarded "TWO (2) per cent ... for all copies of said work sold." Horn signed the contract; Warthin and Sauer did not. Sauer took exception to its cold, formulaic tone, which he felt was at odds with the spirit of the enterprise. He objected viscerally to the contract awarding Horn \$1,200 for an assistant, the sum of which was to be "deducted equally" from the royalties accruing to all three authors. Payments advanced to Warthin were to be deducted from her share of royalties. When, on February 23, 1939, a subsequent contract was drawn up—for one book, not a plethora of them—Sauer alone is identified as author.

Why, in the prime of his forties, Sauer got involved in the undertaking to begin with, he articulates in a letter he wrote on December 12, 1939, to Rudolf Bennett of the University of Missouri at Columbia. Sauer tells Bennett: "Because I have been weary of the static view of economic geography, I undertook to write a children's book as a first introduction to geography. [T]his theme of living in balance with nature can and should be applied to civilized life, as I tried to do in an elementary way for primitive life." The five years Sauer invested in *Man in Nature* yielded a rich return, not so much in book royalties as in allowing him to work out ideas that would later propel other research endeavors.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Sotomayor, Corwin, Baisden, and Horn***

Antonio Sotomayor, whom Sauer corresponds with as "Soto," was a native of Bolivia who made his home in San Francisco, where he became a prominent figure in city's pulsating art scene. He contributed regularly to the *San Francisco Chronicle* and was particularly noted as a striking caricaturist. Introduced to Sauer through his fellow geographer and departmental colleague, John Leighly, Sotomayor produced over 200 pen-and-ink drawings (Figure 2) of animals, plants, landscapes, and

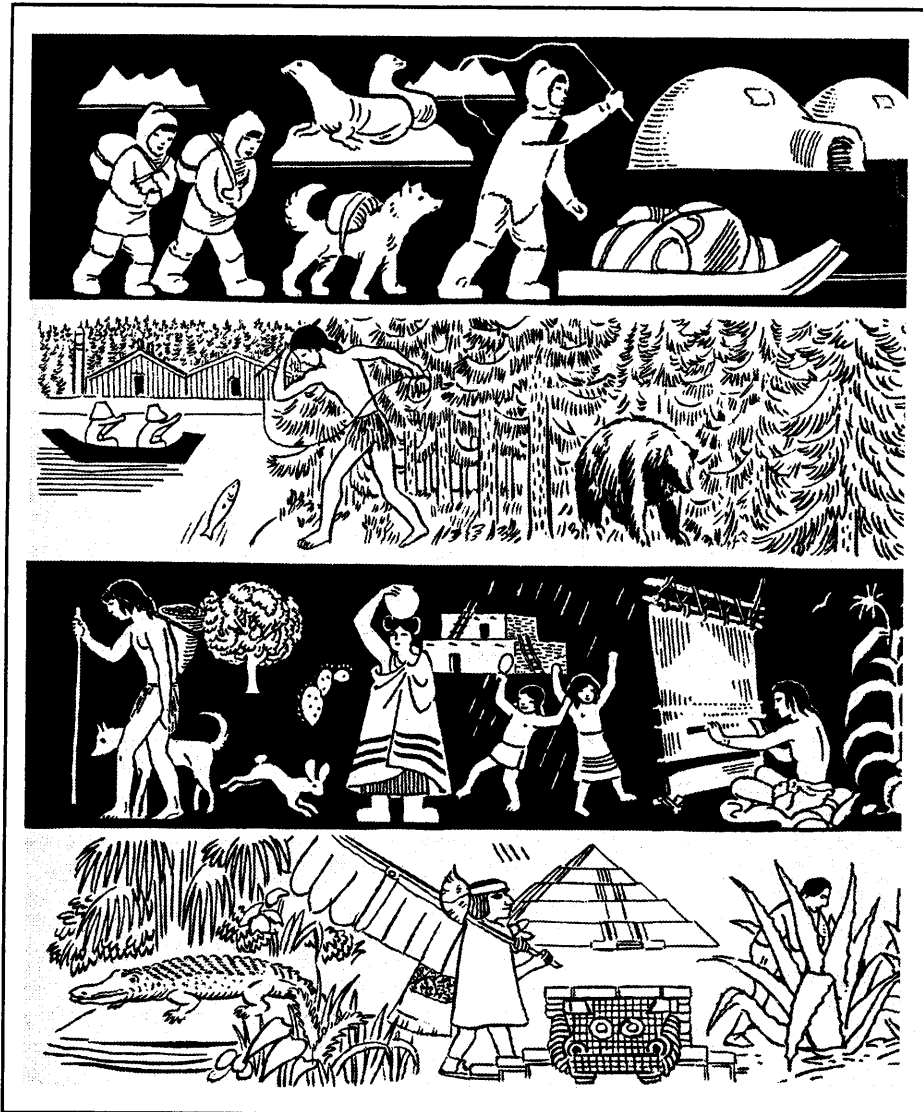


Figure 2. Sotomayor's art is the gateway to Sauer's geography. Used with permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

people for *Man in Nature*, an output that unifies the text visually and thematically from start to finish. Sotomayor and Sauer enjoyed a close working relationship and were good friends. Sauer held "Soto" in high regard and considered the creative integration of his artwork crucial to the book's impact. Nowhere is Sauer's esteem more profusely expressed than in a letter he wrote to Scribner's on October 28, 1936. "Sotomayor

has held up remarkably well on the artistic side of the job," Sauer tells the publisher. "It is the only part of the work with which I am quite fully content, and I am not sure that in the end he isn't the most valuable contributor to the book."

Much to Sauer's chagrin, Scribner's dragged their heels repeatedly in compensating Sotomayor for his labors. "Dear Soto," writes Sauer on January 31, 1938, "[o]ne of the fortunate results of my New York trip was that I was able to extract another check for you from Scribner's, which may help you keep the wolf from the door." Envisioning the final product, in the same letter Sauer continues: "There are three things about which I should like to talk with you if you can once more work up an Indian mood. The first is a frontispiece in colors, the second the animated Indian map of North America about which we talked a long time ago, and the third is your ideas as to the design for the outside cover."

Sotomayor's frontispiece shows three "tropical Indian farmers," unequivocally Maya, set in the foreground of their fields, two with digging sticks to till the soil, one drinking from a gourd. Behind a cornfield lie thatched-roof houses and, off in the distance, two towering temples. The "animated or living map of North America in Indian days" (Figure 3) informs readers in a distilled manner "about different Indian ways in different regions you will be reading about" (Sauer 1939:10). On Sotomayor's orange and yellow cover, the book's title appears in black as if glimpsed through a forest clearing, around the edges of which birds fly, animals lurk, vegetation teems, and two small children contemplate. Sotomayor's art is the gateway to Sauer's geography.

Maps, Sauer once wrote to Horn, had to be "built into the process of learning, so that the children must be referring, I think, virtually every day to [them]."<sup>3</sup> Sotomayor's "animated map" was complemented by several others he did, which are scattered throughout the text. An appendix of nine double-page maps are the work of Aileen Corwin, the wife of a geography graduate student at Berkeley around the time *Man and Nature* was being concocted. "While Sotomayor has drawn pictures and Mrs. Corwin has made maps," Sauer informed Horn, "Mrs. Warthin has been mostly concerned with 'researching' for them."<sup>4</sup> After Horn pulled out of the project—while Sauer may have appreciated his views on pedagogy, Horn's base of operation in Iowa worked against easy, quick, and sustained communication—the role of educational consultant was taken over by Leo Baisden. Baisden's proximity to Berkeley—his office was in the California state capital in Sacramento—fostered more prompt and reliable action when he was called upon, which lessened considerably Sauer's palpable sense of frustration at Horn's tardiness and perceived lack of commitment.



Figure 3. Soto's "animated or living map of North America in Indian days." Used with permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

### The Rocky Road of Collaboration

The project got off to a promising start, especially the strategic collaboration between Sauer and Warthin and between Warthin and Kelly. Warthin made the long trek from New York to work *in situ* with Sauer and Kelly on the West Coast, where she later settled. "Miss Warthin and



Miss Kelly are hammering out a remarkable job," Sauer wrote to Scribner's on November 14, 1934. "I've never seen a better team and I don't believe you could duplicate this particular one in the country." A month or so earlier, on October 4, 1934, Sauer had written to Warthin in a positive, complimentary manner, saying, "You are doing an excellent piece of work on this thing." A year later, however, doubts had set in, and on October 11, 1935, Sauer voiced his disappointment at one of Warthin's efforts: "That prairies unit strikes me as pretty weak. I don't think that it is up to any of the others. You will see that I have scratched it up sadly and have written a couple of suggestive pages." A year after that, disappointment with Warthin had turned to consternation. Sauer pulled no punches when he wrote to Horn on October 6, 1936, agitated not only by Warthin's level of performance but also by Horn's procrastination:

Yesterday I telephoned Margaret Warthin and asked her what the status of the manuscript was. She said that you were unable to do anything with it until November, and that nothing was happening. I told her to come around next week, therefore, and we would get to work on it again.

I don't understand the situation. I spent a good deal of time on this last year, writing out script in detail. I left the matter in such shape that any skilled educational editor should have been able to put it right though... Soto, I know, was all set to go with his pictures. I am just afraid it is another combination that failed. I have done enough work on that thing to have done it myself, and it would have been a lot easier to do so.

Next week I'll try to pick up the loose ends and see what we can do. Then I'll make another attempt to see whether we can't get some writing into it. It has just been a continuous drag not to get the whole thing droning along in monotone. You might write her [Warthin] to encourage the preservation of the picturesque phrase. She has fallen back on you. I remember having a time putting a little punch into the description of the prairies with the wind rippling the grassy sea, et cetera. The objection was that you wouldn't like it. There is a certain primness there which is too self-conscious for free and easy expression. I suppose it's a difficult spot, this business of having to talk to children interestingly, pleasantly, and yet respecting the dignity of the child, but it must be done. I'll give the material one more going over. You, I hope, will do the same.

Sauer's appeal to Horn proved of no consequence. He refers to the predicament of *Man in Nature* in a letter dated April 8, 1938, written to Gladys Wrigley of the AGS in response to her chastising him for being

long overdue on several book reviews he'd agreed to do for *The Geographical Review*. Sauer laments:

The thing I lack desperately at present is time. This is all that really is the matter with me. This year has, I hope, been the most harassed. I have been on the steering committee of the University, which is just now finishing its major sessions, and believe me the democratic organization of this university saddles plenty of work on some people. I have lately gotten through with the Pacific Coast Conference of the Social Science Research Council, of which I was in charge this year. The Guggenheim job is [also] out of the way. The one remaining thing is the wind-up of this Scribner's text book for the fourth grade. It has been a terrific chore, because the educator folded up on the job entirely, and finally I decided that I would have to rewrite the entire thing after Margaret Warthin had done it once. She worked hard at the job, but she did not have the flare for presenting a subject to children. I hope that I am nearly at the end of this and that I can again be a professional geographer. It is not only a matter of [late] reviews.

By the spring of 1939, *Man in Nature* was eventually published. Howard P. Miller, of Scribner's San Francisco office, wrote to Sauer on June 12, 1939, telling him enthusiastically, "I am greatly pleased with the book and Baisden is about as proud of it as if it were his own." Sotomayor too, Miller notes, "is greatly pleased with the illustrations and the job in general." On December 4 of that year, Sauer wrote to C.F. Board of Scribner's after *Man in Nature* began to be noticed and the first accolades started to roll in. His words serve as both as synopsis and valediction:

We have gone on a new trail in this book ... I wrote [it] as simply as I could. You are probably aware of the manner in which the original plan of associate authorship failed. When I was beginning to feel desperate about the matter, Howard Miller said to me that I should try writing it myself. I did so. He began by taking the early sections of it and letting his nine-year-old be the first editorial judge thereof. When it had this young editor's approval I went ahead. Baisden then tried the material out in fourth-grade classes at Sacramento, and his teachers reported that it worked very nicely. That's about all there is to say.

### Reception, Reprise and (Re)vindication

There is, in fact, a *lot* more that could be said, but a summary must suffice. The 14 units of *Man in Nature* are vintage Sauer, capsules of vivid description that portray cultural expressions in a nuanced, engaging manner, all of them reconstructing an unromanticized ethnographic past against which a beleaguered ethnographic present can better be gauged.

The book begins with an address "To The Teacher," in which Sauer (1939:iii) spells out the basics:

Geography is taught so that there may be orderly knowledge of the diversity of the world. It is the one social science that is concerned in principle with the *where* of human beings and their work.

This knowledge is developed in the first level by learning more and more place facts. Place knowledge is to geography what vocabulary is to English. The geographies of earlier generations, which hammered away at place learning, provided at least a necessary background of fact about the world. The task of modern geography is not to give up the learning of place facts but to put them into meaningful relations.

Sauer and Baisden then pen, and sign, "A Letter To All Boys And Girls," the opening paragraph of which reads:

DEAR FRIENDS:

We hope you will enjoy this book. We have tried to write it and to illustrate it so that it will be good to read and beautiful to look at. Just how much you are going to enjoy it will depend a lot on YOU and the things you think about and talk about while you are reading and studying it.

Readers are transformed into authors by the following course of action, one of the most innovative features of *Man in Nature*:

One of the best things you can do during the school year is to write another chapter for this book, and you might call it "My Homeland As It Was in Indian Days." You may want to give the chapter another name, but it should be about the part of the country where you live as you think it was before the white people came. You will want to tell about the Indians who were living there and what the country was like then. Try to find out as many things as you can that few people around you have known about before. Perhaps you will hit on something which nobody else has.

Sauer (1939:8) sets the scene for his young audience as follows:

Our people, in settling America, have made many changes. [We] ... have changed nature a great deal. We have let a great deal of soil wash away on hills that we have farmed. In many places we have made rivers muddy that once were clear. We have cut down forests and plowed up grasslands. We have killed off many animals, like the buffalo. We have built towns and roads and have

done many things to change the country. Some of these changes are good. Some of them may be bad for us.

Before the white men came all the land belonged to the Indians. This book is about Indian days. The Red Man lived on the land much as he found it. He was much more part of nature than we are. By learning how and where the Indians lived, we shall learn what kind of country the white man found. We shall then know better what he has done with it.

Throughout the text, Sauer (1939:230) is careful to point out the enormous costs of European intrusion, and—where appropriate—the enduring grip of Indian survival. Of the Maya of Mexico and Guatemala he writes:

Like all other Indians, these people were conquered by greedy and war-like white men. Very many of them died; the rest were made to work for the white man. Most of their rulers and priests and teachers were killed. They were forbidden to go to their temples. They were made to learn the ways of the white man. They had no time to carve or write or make the things of which they had been so proud. Soon they lost most of the skills and knowledge that had enabled them to reach such a high place in civilization.

Today this part of the world is still largely inhabited by Maya Indians. They still speak their old language[s] and they know a little of their old ways. Some of them are again thinking of the days when they were a great people and are hoping again that they can build a fine civilization in the old land of the Maya.

Among many teaching constituencies, the Education Division of the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs responded most favorably to the appearance of the work:

*MAN IN NATURE* is the sort of text-book we have been wanting. It is a picture of America before the white man came, presented by a famous geographer, assisted by an educator, an anthropologist, a geographer, and a map maker.

It shows in simple words the two continents of the Americas, with their stretches of northern woodland, of tropical forest, of plains, mountains, deserts. What grew in these different regions? How could man support himself there?

The book gives the answer, with pictures of the animals, plants, and trees in each district. Then it describes the Indians who lived there and how they used their environment for food, for houses, and for clothing.

This is a combination of geography, anthropology, and economics such as we rarely see reduced to simple terms ... [W]e predict that it may be ultimately used in every school in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

It didn't quite turn out that way. While *Man in Nature* was exceptionally well received by teachers and school boards across the United States—Harriet Ellis, writing in *The Harvard Educational Review*, declared "this is the geography book for which teachers in elementary schools have been hoping"—the series that it was supposed to inaugurate never materialized.<sup>6</sup> No second book in geography appeared to follow the trail blazed by the first. Scribner's did, however, receive inquiries in 1941 from the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in Washington and the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia in Mexico City about having *Man in Nature* translated into Spanish for classroom use in Latin America.<sup>7</sup> When hostilities with Japan and the situation in Europe consumed U.S. attention, *Man in Nature* disappeared from the radar screen, pulped as part of the war effort.

Thirteen years passed. Sauer moved on, from the "confession of faith" underlying his seminal "Foreword to Historical Geography" (1941) to ruminating on the "Economic Prospects of the Caribbean" (1954). Then, on May 20, 1954, A. Earle Scovil of Scribner's wrote to Sauer, and had this to say:

Dear Professor Sauer: Thank you for your letter of May 10th, enclosing [your] royalty check in the amount of \$2.97, with the suggestion that we send you a number of copies of *Man in Nature* for your grandchildren in full settlement of the account and release of any further claims. We are sending you six copies from one of our western depositories which represents all bound stock remaining of your book.

We regret the necessity of terminating any contract, but the lapse of time seems to bring to an end the life of most good books. Sales for *Man in Nature* have diminished to the point where we do not feel that we would be justified in reprinting. Will you please consider the contract covering this title cancelled.

What Scovil calls the "lapse of time" did not, in fact, "bring to an end" the published life of *Man in Nature*. Symbolically, the book was reissued the year Sauer died, 1975, not by Scribner's but by Turtle Island Press in Berkeley, which ran a second soft-cover printing in 1980. After Sauer's death, *Man in Nature* enjoyed a new lease of life, and was adopted by teachers and school boards across the United States and Canada. It enjoyed a notable acceptance on the part of Native Americans themselves, and found its way into the curriculum of Zuni school-

children in New Mexico, Crow schoolchildren in Montana, and Cherokee schoolchildren in Oklahoma, as well as what Indian pupils were taught in classrooms in Nova Scotia and in British Columbia.<sup>8</sup>

Its androcentric title and occasional turn of phrase notwithstanding, *Man in Nature* stands up remarkably well to the charged sensibilities of our age. It espouses tolerance of, and respect for, cultural differences; it questions long-standing notions of what conventionally passes as progress; it promotes awareness of issues of power and hegemony, of inclusion and marginality; it celebrates life at the level of living things, plants and animals, birds and flowers, as well as human communities; it challenges Eurocentric constructions of history, and what happened in history, by giving the achievements and accomplishments of native peoples center stage; it emphasizes Native American viewpoints, Native American perspectives, and reminds us poignantly of the enormity of what has been lost. Like George Perkins Marsh did in *Man and Nature* (1864), Sauer in *Man in Nature* calls for greater comprehension of the links between environment and society, forcing us to think "What on Earth have we done to the Earth?". Most important of all, Sauer moves us to believe that even knowledge of an obliterated past enriches our memory of it in the present.

As the creation of *Man in Nature* drew to a close, Sauer (1938) published a short article in the *Journal of Farm Economics*. He called it "Theme of Plant and Animal Destruction in Economic History." In the article, Sauer gives plaintive voice to the concerns and preoccupations at the heart of *Man in Nature*, demonstrating that the years spent involved in producing an elementary-school text were anything but a diversion from his radical scholarly agenda. If Sauer had wished *Man in Nature* to be reduced to essence and epigraph, I doubt if he could have conjured up better words than these:

We know of scarcely any record of destructive exploitation in all the span of human existence until we enter the period of modern history, when transatlantic expansion of European commerce, peoples, and governments takes place. Then begins what may well be the tragic rather than the great age of man. We have glorified this period in terms of a romantic view of colonization and of the frontier. There is a dark obverse to the picture, which we have regarded scarcely at all.

For children and adults alike, that "dark obverse" is still illuminated by the magical pages of Carl Sauer's "first book in geography."

## Acknowledgments

James J. Parsons brought *Man in Nature* to my attention during my stay at Berkeley as a visiting scholar in the Department of Geography in the fall of 1985. Not until another Berkeley sojourn seven years later, however, did I come across correspondence related to it among the Sauer Papers housed in the Bancroft Library. Earlier, Parsons had sent me several items from his own files, along with the wise counsel to "get looking in the Bancroft." He encouraged me constantly, an inspiring mentor as well as a dear friend. Along the way I gave talks about *Man in Nature* to the Institute of British Geographers (1991, with Rohini L. Wilkie), to several geography departments in the U.S. and Canada (1992-94), and to the International Conference of Historical Geography (1995) when it convened in Perth, Australia. Peter Haggett, with whom I shared a desk in the Bancroft Library in April 1992, drew to my attention letters of Sauer's in which mention is made of *Man in Nature*. So, too, did Daniel W. Gade. Elliot McIntire graciously gifted me a copy of the first Scribner's edition of the book. Sauer's daughter, Elizabeth Fitzsimmons, shared her memories of events and circumstances surrounding *Man in Nature*, as did Sauer's son, Jonathan. Karen Day, a former Scribner's manager, kindly entertained my dream of a 70th anniversary edition.

## Notes

1. The first edition of *Man in Nature* was published in 1939 by Charles Scribner's Sons, whose files record copies of the book still in existence in 1954. How many printings were undertaken during this 15-year period I have been unable to ascertain. Sauer's choice of title derives directly from the pioneering work of the iconoclastic George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature: Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, published in 1864. Marsh's environmentalist ethic suffuses much of Sauer's work from the mid 1930s on. It is especially evident in his 1956 essay "The Agency of Man on the Earth," prepared for the landmark Wenner-Gren symposium held the previous year in Princeton, New Jersey, on the Marsh-inspired theme of "Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth." Sauer's contribution to the symposium is discussed by Williams (1987).
2. The contract that Sauer eventually signed awarded him "FOUR (4) per cent of the Net Wholesale Price for all copies of said work sold" (Sauer Papers, Box 1, Bancroft Library).
3. Sauer to Ernest Horn, April 21, 1936 (Sauer Papers, Box 1, Bancroft Library).
4. Sauer to Horn, April 21, 1936 (Sauer Papers, Box 1, Bancroft Library).
5. From promotional literature pertaining to *Man in Nature* sent to me by James J. Parsons on January 21, 1992.
6. From promotional literature pertaining to *Man in Nature* sent to me by James J. Parsons on January 21, 1992.
7. Writing on August 28, 1941 to Pedro Sánchez of the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Sauer states: "It will, of course, be very pleasant if this material can be brought before school children in Latin America. It is a radically differ-

ent approach. Indeed, the origin of the book was due to the method of introducing the child to the subject of geography. It might, therefore, represent a new and valid pedagogical method in Mexican schools."

8. Callahan (1980) provides an informative 40-year retrospective of *Man in Nature*, in which he culls praise for both book and author from such alternative media sources as the *Village Voice* and the *Co-Evolution Quarterly*. Writing in the latter forum, Peter Warshall states: "*Man in Nature* has become by now an authentic American classic, and should be consulted often by both parents and teachers alike for the depth and diversity of the real history of this land."

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