

SILENT SPRING REVOLUTION

*John F. Kennedy, Rachel Carson,
Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and the
Great Environmental Awakening*

DOUGLAS BRINKLEY



HARPER

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Acknowledgments

It is time for us to kiss the earth.

—Robinson Jeffers, "Return" from *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers* (1938)

Numerous first-rate US environmental and presidential history books have fueled my *Silent Spring Revolution* endeavor. The Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books series at the University of Washington Press, under the general editorship of William Cronon, is a phenomenal academic enterprise from which I profited. Many of these first-rate Weyerhaeuser titles can easily be discovered in my notes and in the selected bibliography. Rachel Carson has attracted a slew of fine biographers. Linda Lear, William Souder, Arlene Quaratiello, Robert K. Musil, Paul Brooks, Carol B. Gartner, Nancy Koehn, and Mark Hamilton Lytle blazed my trail. Diana Post and Cliff Hall allowed me the privilege of lingering for an afternoon at Carson's home on Berwick Road in Silver Spring, Maryland, where she wrote *Silent Spring* from 1958 to 1962 on a desk that is still there. Thanks, too, to Carson's nephew Roger Christie and his wife, Wendy Sisson, who caretake Carson's Southport, Maine, cottage with consummate attention.

The Rachel Carson Papers, housed at Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, provide scholars access to manuscripts, notebooks, letters, newspaper clippings, photos, and other material relating to Carson's research and publications. The majority of the collection's material was a bequest to Yale University in 1965, with later additions gifted by Houghton Mifflin Company in 1968, Marie Rodell (Carson's literary agent) in 1973, and Lois Darling in 1983.

Also of importance is the Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, which holds the Lear/Carson Collection. This depository consists of archival materials Lear gathered for her biography *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (1994) and the edited anthology *Lost Woods* (1999) as well as personal papers given to Lear by Carson's colleagues and friends. Additionally, the Dorothy Freeman Collection, consisting of letters between Carson and Freeman, is housed at

the Ladd Library at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. This openhearted correspondence has been ably edited by Martha Freeman into *Always, Rachel: The Letters of Rachel Carson and Dorothy Freeman, 1952–1964* (1994).

The Rachel Carson Council in Washington, DC, as envisioned by Rachel Carson, was founded in 1965, after her death, to carry on her environmental work. Directed by Dr. Robert K. Musil, the RCC advocates for climate justice on Capitol Hill and is backed by a national network of more than sixty colleges, with thousands of activists. More than thirty outstanding young environmental leaders serve as RCC fellows, receiving financial support and mentoring as they work from campuses nationwide on campaigns for fossil fuel divestment, renewable energy, food insecurity, and environmental justice. Musil—deeply knowledgeable about all aspects of Carson’s life and the anti-nuclear movement—graciously proofread a final draft of this manuscript.

The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston, Massachusetts, holds a treasure trove of New Frontier conservation materials related to JFK (including his establishment of National Seashores and his 1962–63 conservation tours to the American West). Boxes of correspondence in the White House Subject Files were particularly helpful, especially the “Natural Resources” boxes 641 through 651. For JFK on the 1960 campaign trail, box 1031 (conservation speeches) proved vital. At the library, I received assistance at various times from Alan Price, Tom Putnam, Stacey Chandler, and Karen Alder Anderson. The JFK Library Oral Histories are pure historical gold. My longtime John F. Kennedy Foundation friends Rachel Day Flor and Elizabeth Murphy have supported this book from its conception, always pointing me in the right direction.

Multigenerational thanks go to members of the Kennedy family, who have informed this book in myriad ways. For decades, I’ve met with Ethel Kennedy at her homes in Palm Beach, Florida, and Hyannis Port, Massachusetts, to informally discuss the New Frontier-era political events. When August rolls around, I sometimes stay at Kerry Kennedy’s lovely Cape Cod home with my family to sail, relax, and seize relief from the unrelenting heat in Austin, Texas. Every year, I work with the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Foundation at the request of President Kerry Kennedy and Executive Director Lynn Delaney.

Before his death in 2009, I toured Cape Cod with Senator Ted Kennedy to discuss his family’s longtime interest in protecting treasured seashores. To my astonishment, he had memorized passages of Thoreau’s “Walking.” His wife, Victoria Reggie Kennedy, now US ambassador to

Austria, has done a wonderful job creating the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate. In recent years, I have sailed with Ted Jr. and Kiki Kennedy, Patrick and Amy Kennedy, Chris and Sheila Kennedy, and Joe and Lauren Kennedy in Hyannis Port. Jean Kennedy Smith, JFK's brilliant sister, was generous, recalling Henry Beston, the Outer Cape dunes, and the Atlantic milieu growing up. Before she died in 2020, she allowed me to crash at her New York City home so that I wouldn't waste money on a hotel room. Her son Stephen Kennedy Smith was my coauthor for *JFK: A Vision for America* to celebrate our thirty-fifth president's one hundredth birthday. Stephen's hospitality and kindness toward me are boundless. US Ambassador Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, from her post in Australia, has likewise extended numerous courtesies to me.

Residing in Austin, Texas, has simplified my ability to study the extraordinary lives of Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson. My family regularly hikes along the Pedernales River at the Reimers Ranch in Bee Cave, Texas, where thoughts of Mr. Johnson's propulsive ambition are often present in my mind. Liz Carpenter, who passed away in 2010, and her delightful daughter, Christy Carpenter (and husband Harvey Alan Levin), proved to be storehouses of Johnson family lore. Thomas Smith's biography *Stewart L. Udall: Steward of the Land* (2017) was indispensable to understanding the minutiae of Johnson's conservation world. Mark Winkleman has become the intellectual guru of the Austin book scene and has introduced me to many LBJ-relevant people over the years. I treasure him.

Often at dusk I jog in Austin's Zilker Park, Lady Bird's exquisite urban beautification triumph. Lynda Johnson Robb and Luci Baines Johnson, the president's delightful daughters, have enlightened me about their family's passion for the natural world at numerous dinners over the years. Luci and her husband, Ian Turpin, work diligently to help St. Edward's University in Austin become a higher-learning school of academic excellence. At the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library and Museum, the White House Center Files and first-rate oral history transcripts were very useful. In the LBJ-Lady Bird world, special thanks go to Mark Updegrave, Larry Temple, Claudia Anderson, Joe Califano, Chris Banks, Jennifer Cuddleback, Kathryn Hillhouse, Mark Lawrence, and chief archivist Jenna De Graffenried. Sharon Francis, a personal assistant to both Lady Bird Johnson and Stewart Udall, shared her unpublished memoir and hosted the Brinkley family at her Charlestown, New Hampshire, farm.

In central Texas, about fifty miles west of Austin, is the Lyndon B.

Johnson National Historical Park. During LBJ's presidency, the Ranch was known by the press as the "Texas White House." The federal park was authorized on December 2, 1969, by President Richard Nixon. Thanks to superintendent Justin Bates for running this bucolic "living history" site so well. I urge visitors to Austin to visit the LBJ Ranch (worth the drive) and the University of Texas's Lady Bird Johnson Wildflower Center.

I was lucky to interview many key Nixon-era figures profiled in this book. The indomitable Russell Train and kindhearted Nathaniel Reed were generous with their trench-warfare wisdom; both are now deceased. I greatly profited from J. Brooks Flippen's excellent *Nixon and the Environment* (2000) and authoritative *Conservative Conservationist: Russell E. Train and the Emergence of American Environmentalism* (2006).

Former EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus—the eagle-eyed Indiana lawyer who oversaw the enactment of the Clean Air Act of 1970, and of the DDT ban of 1972—was a constant source of encouragement. Ruckelshaus consolidated a disparate set of environmental programs into a single federal agency: the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Fact: Ruckelshaus was one of the most able public servants in American history. In 2008, he asked me to conduct an oral history for the University of Washington–Seattle and Washington State University–Pullman (joint endeavor) of his entire life after enthusiastically reading my book *The Wilderness Warrior*. The loving hospitality of Bill and his wife, Jane, at their home in Medina, Washington, is forever ingrained in me. It was through Bill that I was introduced to hiking in Seattle's forest-rich Discovery Park, a Nixon-era urban playground. His death in 2019 devastated me. I wish he had been alive to proofread *Silent Spring Revolution*.

I was adopted as an auxiliary member of the Seattle conservation community's intelligentsia by Tom and Sonya Campion. Joel Connelly, the great environmental journalist of the Pacific Northwest, educated me about the North Cascades National Park battle and six Washington wilderness fights. And Doug Scott, a leading expert on the Wilderness Act, regaled me with background stories about the Long Sixties conservation zeitgeist. The University Archives at the University of Washington–Seattle houses the voluminous papers of both Henry M. Jackson and the North Cascades Conservation Council. And the William O. Douglas collection at the Yakima Valley Museum in Yakima, Washington, was likewise helpful. John Concillo, a Seattle film director, collaborated with me on *Liberty & Wilderness*, a documentary on Douglas's environmental activism. When in the Pacific Northwest I marvel that the threatened Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*) swim through every major

geographic zone of the Puget Sound area from urban Seattle/Tacoma/Everett to agriculture-dominated rivers to lightly populated forests of the Olympic Peninsula. We must keep Washington State's streams flowing freely.

On the Richard Nixon front, I'm indebted to Ed Cox and Tricia Nixon Cox of New York City for helping me understand our thirty-seventh president's environmental policy motivations. Two of John Ehrlichman's children, Jan and Peter, couldn't have been kinder in sharing information about their father's deep connection to nature. Make no mistake about it: John Ehrlichman was one of the most significant environmentalists of the twentieth century, irrespective of his involvement with the Watergate nightmare.

At the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Foundation, I was assisted by Jim Byron, whose knowledge of White House history is immense. Special thanks also to Frank Gannon, Mike Ellzey, Irwin Gellman, Jason Schultz, Ray Price, Ryan Pettigrew, and Dwight Chapin, all part of Nixonland. Professor Luke Nichter of Chapman University, who proofread chapters, knows more about Nixon than anybody alive. The H. R. Haldeman Diaries housed at the presidential library in Yorba Linda, California, are deeply illuminating on Nixon's shifting moods about environmental politics. The published version of *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1994), edited by Stephen E. Ambrose, unfortunately focuses primarily on Watergate and Vietnam. Luckily, for environmental history, the unexpurgated Haldeman diaries are now available to scholars in Yorba Linda. The Atomic Museum in Las Vegas, Nevada, helped me better comprehend the magnitude of the Nevada nuclear tests of the 1950s and 1960s.

Words cannot express how much my friendships with Paul Chavez (Cesar Chavez's son) and Marc Grossman (farm worker activist extraordinaire) have meant to this book. They run the Cesar Chavez Foundation in Keene, California. Their noble mission is to expand on Cesar and Helen Chavez's environmental justice work. Likewise, two civil rights icons—the late John Lewis and the indispensable Andy Young—helped me understand the linkage between Martin Luther King, Jr., and the environmental justice crusade as personified by the Chavez movement. Elisabeth Reuther (daughter of the UAW leader Walter Reuther) and Representative Debbie Dingell (D-Michigan, wife of the late John Dingell) helped me better grasp Michigan politics in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Wayne State University in Detroit is the home of the vast Wal-

ter P. Reuther Library and Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (including the Cesar Chavez and Walter P. Reuther papers). Today the UAW is known as the International Union United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

The Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison houses a plethora of documentary evidence about its namesake, the visionary founder of Earth Day. The Frank Church Institute at Boise State University is the well-organized home of the Idaho conservationist's personal and public papers. Thanks in Boise to Gary V. Weinske, Bob Kustra, Marlene Tromp, Monica Church, and Peter Fenn. At the Minnesota Historical Center in Saint Paul, the voluminous Hubert Humphrey and Orville Freeman papers were invaluable.

When the Interior Department building was named after Stewart Udall on June 8, 2010, I was asked by then secretary of interior Ken Salazar (now US ambassador to Mexico) to deliver a celebratory eulogy at the historic ceremony. It was a great honor that enabled me to meet scores of Udall's friends and relatives. His son, former US senator Tom Udall of New Mexico, has kept his father's environmental legacy alive in the twenty-first century. Tom is now the US ambassador to New Zealand and Samoa. Stewart Udall's papers are housed at the University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, alongside the Edward Abbey and Ansel Adams collections.

As the presidential historian at the New-York Historical Society in New York City, I'm grateful to work with CEO and president Louise Mirrer. Thanks to other friends at NYHS, including Agnes Hsu-Tang, Dale Gregory, Alex Kassel, John Monsky, Susan F. Peck, Andrew H. Tisch, Russell Pennoyer, Robert Caro, Miner Warner, Nancy Newcomb, and the formidable Pam B. Schafler. This post offered me the opportunity to have informal talks with many surviving members of the New Frontier and Great Society. In Oyster Bay, New York, I benefited from conversations with Heather Johnson (executive director of Friends of the Bay) and Marie Salerno (founding president and CEO of National Parks of New York Harbor Conservancy and the Federal Hall National Memorial).

For years now, I've been on the advisory board of the James Madison Council at the Library of Congress, my favorite federal institution. For this project, the Manuscript Division was very gracious in facilitating my access to the essential William O. Douglas and Barry Commoner papers collections. Special thanks to my friends Sue Siegal and David M. Rubenstein for always backing my action.

My intrepid friend Tim Palmer is the dean of American Rivers

history. All of his books are golden. I was honored that he took time out from wilderness wanderings and rafting adventures to proofread various chapter drafts, saving me from the indignity of error. Because of the length of the book, I have refrained from asking anyone to proofread more than a few chapters. Other colleagues in the world of books who came to my aid include Walter Isaacson, Patricia Limerick, M. Margaret McKeown, Jane Mayer, Sara Dant, Char Miller, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Carl Hiaasen, William Souder, Michael Eric Dyson, and Beth Laski.

Conversations with Denis Hayes, John Dean, Pete Seeger, and George McGovern about Earth Day 1970 were extremely helpful. Adam Rome's *The Genius of Earth Day* (2014) is a masterpiece of historical scholarship. In addition, Allen Pietrobon, professor of history at Trinity University in Washington, DC, helped me better understand the remarkable anti-nuclear SANE career of Norman Cousins. For Florida history, I benefit from the Friends of the Everglades and the Marjory Stoneman Douglas Biscayne Nature Center. James Kushlan—former director of the Patuxent Wildlife Research Center and author of *Biscayne National Park* (2017)—carefully proofread chapters and answered my queries. Nobody, in my opinion, knows more about South Florida's ecological history than James Kushlan. The University of Miami library is the researcher-friendly depository of the Marjory Stoneman Douglas Papers, which include books, manuscripts, correspondences, photographs, diaries, newspaper articles, videos, and other primary materials of her indispensable life. She lived to 108 years old and kept a treasure trove of Floridiana documents to the very end.

On September 17, 2014, I was master of ceremonies for the 50th Anniversary of the Wilderness Act celebration, held at the Mayflower Renaissance Hotel in Washington, DC. The event featured powerful addresses by Senator Harry Reid (D-Nevada), Secretary of Interior Sally Jewell, and John Podesta, who was then counselor to President Barack Obama, leading the White House's climate and conservation efforts. The John P. Saylor Wilderness Leadership Award was presented to Senator Martin Heinrich (D-New Mexico). Also that night, the Howard C. Zahniser Lifetime Achievement Award went to Tim Mahoney for his forty-year career defending the National Wilderness Preservation System. All of these leaders helped me better understand environmental politics from a Washington insider perspective.

I'm on the advisory board of the Barack Obama Presidency Oral History Project at Columbia University in New York. Owing to my interest in environmental history, I was tapped as the lead interviewer of Gina

McCarthy, Christy Goldfuss, and other key climate change players of the Obama years. These long-form interviews provided me the opportunity to understand how NEPA, the Clean Air Act, and the EPA still anchor current environmental policy thinking. At Columbia, thanks to my advisory board colleagues, Lee C. Bollinger, Peter Bearman, Karida Brown, Jelani Cobb, Derek Chollet, Robert Dallek, Farah Jasmine Griffin, David Hollinger, Ira Katznelson, Kenneth Mack, Hannah Hankins, Helen Milner, Alondra Nelson, Michele Norris, Vicki Lynn Ruiz, Theda Skocpol, and Keith Wailoo.

The entire manuscript was enhanced by knowing Marilyn and John Hill, Helene Galen and Jamie Kabler, Bob and Oatsie Shrum, Chip and Jane Wiser, Geoff and Aileen Cowan, Brian and Victoria Lamb, Karen and Ben Cooper, John Avlon and Margaret Hoover, Andie Tucher, Steve Scully, Jeff Justice, Anderson Cooper, Andrea Lewis, Jim Irsay, Wolf Blitzer, Caryn Musil, Susan Swain, Douglas Bradburn, Matt Hannafin, Tom Stallings (Rice University), Rini Marcus, Ed O'Keefe, David Morton, Meena Bose, Shelly Austin, Hal Haddon, Melani Walton, Luke Metzger (Environment Texas), Michael Adams (son of Ansel Adams), Kati Anderson (the Walden Woods Project), Ben Riley, Harry Dennis, Adam Aron, Randy and Laurie Hatzenbuehler, David Hyde (son of Philip Hyde), Bob Utley, and Melody Webb. Also, both Victor John Yannacone, Jr., (co-founder of the Environmental Defense Fund) and Tom Turner (David Brower biographer) thoughtfully vetted parts of the manuscript. And my everyday inspiration, Terry Tempest Williams, shined over the project as if he were the reincarnation of Rachel Carson. My pal David Friend, the creative editor of *Vanity Fair*, paid me the high honor of editing my preface (nobody is better). As a contributing editor of *Vanity Fair*, working with Radhika Jones, I must say, is sublime.

Special thanks to the following historians and environmentalists who assisted me in answering various questions: Kabir Sehgal, Ariana Piper, Jack Loeffler, Robert Kennedy, Jr., Rick Arding, George Tobia, Mark Harvey, Deborah Dejah, Scott Einberger, William Cronon, Dick Beahrs, Mark Berejka, Sandy Bihn, James Bruggers, John de Graaf, Jay Udall, Lynn Udall, Denis Udall, Rob Bradley, Kenneth Brower, Jamie Rapaport Clark, John Cornely, Dan Chu, William Alsup, Cathy Douglas Stone, Karen Daubert, Lori Ehrlich, Tina Flourney, Ed Forgotson, Orly Jaffe, James M. Johnson, Michael J. Kellett, Michael Kern, John Kerry, Thomas C. Kierman, Patti Kenner, John Knox, Karen Bates Kress, Howard Labanara, Glenn Paulson, Susan Livingston, J. Michael McCloskey, Ralph Nader, Bob Latta, Maribeth Oakes, Peter O'Neill, Gillian So-

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In the spring of 2022, the Eugene McCarthy Center at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota, invited me to lecture around Earth Day. The center's then president, Jim Mullen, and his wife, Mari, are leaders of the "Return to Civility" movement in America and are dear friends. At St. John's, I benefited from time spent with Professor Derek R. Larson, author of the excellent *Keeping Oregon Green: Livability, Stewardship, and the Challenge of Growth, 1960–1980*.

The Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ) provided me the opportunity to deliver two different keynote addresses with variations on Rachel Carson's impact. Thanks to such SEJ leaders as Sadie Bab, Sara Schonhardt, Michael Kodus, Kathiann Paskus, Tony Banboza, Sam Eaton, Rico Moore, Donovan Quintero, Meaghan Parker, Luke Ryan, Jay Letto, Megan Jeanelto, Christine Bruggers, Joseph A. Davis, Adam Geenon, Cindy MacDonald, and Beth Parke for keeping me apprised of modern-day public lands and natural resource battlegrounds. The talented writer Cynthia Barnett of the University of Florida tapped me to deliver keynote addresses for SEJ in Pittsburgh and Houston. George A. Cevasco and Richard P. Hammond's *Modern American Environmentalists: A Biographical Encyclopedia* provided very useful information in a crunch.

Three students assisted me with research at various stages of this book. Jackson Moffatt, a law student at Lewis & Clark in Portland, Oregon, worked with me in Austin during the COVID pandemic. My wife, Anne, and I adopted Jackson for six months as a member of our extended family. Jackson is a phenomenal deep-sea diver and is currently interning with the General Counsel of the NOAA's Oceans and Coasts section. Joshua Paul, a high schooler in Greenwich, Connecticut, who was interested in environmental law, helped me investigate California air pollution laws, Native American environmental lawsuits, and much more. Deeply interested in public affairs, he is now a student at Dartmouth University.

Sage Ranaldo, a recent graduate from the University of Toronto, also moved to Austin during the summer of 2021 and assisted me in myriad ways. Sage is a radio DJ, old-style scholar, and new-style IT hand.

His parents (Lee Ranaldo of the band Sonic Youth and his wife, artist Leah Singer) are family friends. They have raised Sage into an all-around scholar and gentleman.

Anna Carlton helped me in countless ways. Our family benefits from her generous spirit, academic insight, and marvelous sense of humor. And her parents, Don and Suzanne Carlton, are responsible for making the Dolph Briscoe Center of American History at the University of Texas–Austin such a pleasant place to research. Deborah McGill of North Carolina, at one crucial stage, helped me proofread chapters for accuracy.

Our close family friends Emma Juniper and her father, Christopher Juniper, taught me much about the counterculture 1960s and the environmental sustainability movement in America. At ICM, my agent, Sloan Harris, navigates me through the sharp, twisted turns of book publishing in our time of corporate consolidation.

Today, many of the conservation nonprofits from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, which I write about, have evolved to work on climate change and environmental justice challenges of the twenty-first century. Their leadership is continuing to make a difference. I salute Michael Brune (executive director of the Sierra Club), Jennifer Morris (CEO of the Nature Conservancy), Janis Searles Jones (CEO of the Ocean Conservancy), Jamie Williams (president of the Wilderness Society) Melyssa Watson (executive director of the Wilderness Society), Collin D'Mara (CEO of the National Wildlife Federation), and Tom Kiernan (president and CEO of American Rivers).

Likewise, Mark Madison, historian at US Fish and Wildlife Service's National Conservation Training Center in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, shared backstories with me about Edward Abbey, E. O. Wilson, and Howard Zahniser. In 2020, Madison acquired Rachel Carson's personal possessions from her Silver Spring home, including the Underwood typewriter she used when writing about Chincoteague National Wildlife Refuge. Mentioning Abbey reminds me that Doug "Hayduke" Peacock is still wandering the Rockies, keeping track of grizzlies and plotting how to punish despoilers of our natural resources.

My friend Alison Whipple Rockefeller is the founder of the annual Rachel Carson Award for women in conservation. She has taken the global lead in educating the public about the enormous role women have played in environmental history—and she is a marvelous poet and public lands activist to boot. I've learned so much about Laurance Rockefeller, Sylvia Earle, and Rachel Carson from her.

At the University of California–Berkeley, I was invited to lecture

on Rachel Carson. Special thanks to such Bay Area friends as Nate Brostrom, Carolyn Merchant, Jon Jarvis, Bernadette Powell, John Knox, Keith Gilles, and Alice Waters for making my stay so memorable. The Sierra Club Collection at the Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley was an incalculable treasure trove of Long Sixties conservation history.

Rice University has been my academic home for fifteen years. Recently retired President David Leebron, along with his wife, Y. Ping Sun, always supported my needs as an intrepid research scholar. Rice’s dean of humanities, Kathleen Canning, is a rock star and buddy. Other colleagues at the university who have been supportive of this effort include Allen Matusow, Doug Miller, Jeff Falk, Tom Stallings, Philip Bedient, Lora Wildenthal, Carl Caldwell, Stephen Klineberg, Marcie Newton, Theresa Cisneros, Jim Blackburn, and Caleb McDaniel. The new president of Rice University, Reginald DesRoches, provided me with a sabbatical from teaching in 2022 that allowed me to meet my publishing deadline.

HarperCollins has been my publisher now for eleven books. I treasure my friendship with CEO Brian Murray and publisher Jonathan Burnham more than they know. Early on, I envisioned *Silent Spring Revolution* as an environmental history of the JFK–Rachel Carson–Stewart Udall years, planning to end the narrative in 1964, after Carson died and LBJ signed the Wilderness Act that fall. But Jonathan Jao, my esteemed editor, thought I should go for the whole enchilada—the US environmental movement from Hiroshima to the Endangered Species Act of 1973; he has my enduring gratitude. Helping Jao at Harper was his super assistant David Howe, who juggled myriad tasks with professional grace. And Harper’s exemplary production team of designer Elina Cohen and production manager Diana Meunier supported my effort to write a prestigious book in the age of political quickies and celebrity confessions. They’re pros. My appreciation for publicists Kate D’Esmond and Tom Hopke is boundless. Susan White, one of the nation’s premier photo researchers, helped me locate indelible images that bring my historical characters to life.

My longtime friend Julie M. Fenster helped me organize, cut repetition, and provide tactical guidance throughout the writing of the manuscript. Julie’s editorial skills and literary judgments are of the Day-Glo kind. I appreciated her noble battlefield assistance in every way, shape, and form.

My assistant for much of this project was Erika Holmes, a mother of three children in Austin. There were a hundred ways she made this

book better. She is an environmentalist with a conscientious disposition for scholarly work, and makes every day sparkle with her warmth and charm. Her husband, Garrick Bell, a career intelligence and law enforcement professional, was kind to share Erika with me at my home office.

My ninety-four-year-old father, Ed Brinkley, remains my Rock of Gibraltar. When I was a boy, he took me hiking in the Appalachians and Rockies, and I haven't stopped hitting the trail since. His personal Walden Pond is Cook Forest State Park, along the Clarion River in western Pennsylvania. Mine is the 315-mile-long scenic Hudson River as it flows downward from its Tear of the Clouds source and empties into New York City's grand harbor. My sister, Leslie Brinkley, a longtime reporter for San Francisco's ABC News affiliate KGO, kept me apprised of all sorts of Bay Area environment stories while I labored on this book.

None of this historical journey back to the Long Sixties would have been possible without my loving wife, Anne. We're partners in every sense of the word. Together, we have raised three remarkable children—Benton Grace, Johnny Cleland, and Cassady Anne—who have all matured into naturalists at heart. Whether rafting down the Deschutes River in Oregon, exploring Walden Pond in Concord, or following Lady Bird Johnson's footsteps in Big Bend, they made writing *Silent Spring Revolution* an adventure. Our family has stuck by David Brower's sage advice to environmentalists: "Have a good time saving the world. Otherwise, you're just going to depress yourself."

APPENDIX I

National Wildlife Refuges

Kennedy Administration

<i>Wapanocca National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Arkansas	February 1, 1961
<i>Washita National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oklahoma	April 15, 1961
<i>Ottawa National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Ohio	July 28, 1961
<i>Wyandotte National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Michigan	August 3, 1961
<i>Moody National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Texas	November 9, 1961
<i>Harris Neck National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Georgia	May 25, 1962
<i>Delevan National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	September 12, 1962
<i>Cross Creeks National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Tennessee	November 9, 1962
<i>Eastern Neck National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maryland	December 27, 1962
<i>Anahuac National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Texas	February 27, 1963
<i>John Heinz National Wildlife Refuge at Tinicum</i>	Pennsylvania	March 18, 1963
<i>Alamosa National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Colorado	July 25, 1963
<i>Pahranagat National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Nevada	August 6, 1963

<i>Prime Hook National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Delaware	August 8, 1963
<i>Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	August 28, 1963
<i>Lake Woodruff National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	November 18, 1963

Johnson Administration

<i>Choctaw National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Alabama	January 27, 1964
<i>Lee Metcalf National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Montana	April 10, 1964
<i>Toppenish National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Washington	April 27, 1964
<i>Pee Dee National Wildlife Refuge</i>	North Carolina	May 13, 1964
<i>William L. Finley National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oregon	June 17, 1964
<i>Clarence Cannon National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Missouri	August 11, 1964
<i>Cedar Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	North Carolina	August 18, 1964
<i>Cibola National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Arizona/ California	August 21, 1964
<i>Kootenai National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Idaho	August 31, 1964
<i>Eufaula National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Georgia/ Alabama	September 1, 1964
<i>Hatchie National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Tennessee	November 16, 1964
<i>Cedar Point National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Ohio	December 18, 1964
<i>Ankeny National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oregon	January 18, 1965
<i>Conboy Lake National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Washington	April 14, 1965
<i>Grays Lake National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Idaho	June 17, 1965
<i>Browns Park National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Colorado	July 13, 1965

<i>Sherburne National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Minnesota	September 8, 1965
<i>Baskett Slough National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oregon	October 22, 1965
<i>Seedskaadee National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Wyoming	November 30, 1965
<i>Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Washington	January 27, 1966
<i>Las Vegas National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Mexico	April 25, 1966
<i>Maxwell National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Mexico	April 26, 1966
<i>Flint Hills National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Kansas	September 1, 1966
<i>Muscatatuck National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Indiana	October 6, 1966
<i>Brazoria National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Texas	October 17, 1966
<i>Rachel Carson National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maine	December 21, 1966
<i>San Luis National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	February 2, 1967
<i>Arapaho National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Colorado	September 26, 1967
<i>UL Bend National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Montana	October 30, 1967
<i>Target Rock National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New York	December 15, 1967
<i>St. Vincent National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	February 12, 1968
<i>Bear Lake National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Idaho	May 9, 1968
<i>Hobe Sound National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	September 23, 1968
<i>Seatuck National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New York	September 26, 1968
<i>Grulla National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Mexico/ Texas	November 7, 1968
<i>San Bernard National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Texas	November 7, 1968
<i>Amagansett National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New York	December 16, 1968

<i>Oyster Bay National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New York	December 18, 1968
<i>Buck Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virgin Islands	January 8, 1969
<i>Fisherman Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	January 17, 1969

Nixon Administration

<i>Mason Neck National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	February 1, 1969
<i>Fisherman Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	January 17, 1969
<i>Buck Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virgin Islands	January 8, 1969
<i>Umatilla National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oregon	July 3, 1969
<i>Umatilla National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Washington	July 3, 1969
<i>Wassaw National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Georgia	October 20, 1969
<i>Nomans Land Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Massachusetts	April 29, 1970
<i>Ninigret National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Rhode Island	August 12, 1970
<i>Sachuest Point National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Rhode Island	November 3, 1970
<i>Sequoyah National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oklahoma	December 11, 1970
<i>Wallops Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	March 11, 1971
<i>Conscience Point National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New York	July 20, 1971
<i>St. Johns National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	August 16, 1971
<i>Julia Butler Hansen Refuge for the Columbian White-Tail Deer</i>	Washington	December 17, 1971
<i>Lewis and Clark National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Oregon	April 19, 1972

<i>Plum Tree National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	April 24, 1972
<i>Wapack National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Hampshire	May 17, 1972
<i>Attwater Prairie Chicken National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Texas	July 1, 1972
<i>Seal Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maine	July 24, 1972
<i>Thatcher Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Massachusetts	July 25, 1972
<i>Pearl Harbor National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Hawaii	October 17, 1972
<i>Meredosia National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Illinois	October 25, 1972
<i>Hanalei National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Hawaii	November 30, 1972
<i>Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge</i>	North Carolina	February 22, 1973
<i>Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	February 22, 1973
<i>Pond Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maine	March 9, 1973
<i>Humboldt Bay National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	April 4, 1973
<i>Huleia National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Hawaii	April 25, 1973
<i>Nantucket National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Massachusetts	May 1, 1973
<i>Swan River National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Montana	May 14, 1973
<i>Salinas National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	June 27, 1973
<i>Occoquan Bay National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	June 29, 1973
<i>Rose Atoll National Wildlife Refuge</i>	American Samoa	August 24, 1973
<i>Franklin National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maine	September 19, 1973
<i>Supawna Meadows National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Jersey	September 23, 1973

<i>Block Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Rhode Island	November 1, 1973
<i>Nansemond National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Virginia	December 20, 1973
<i>Sevilleta National Wildlife Refuge</i>	New Mexico	December 28, 1973
<i>Hopper Mountain National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	February 6, 1974
<i>Billy Frank Jr. Nisqually National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Washington	February 21, 1974
<i>Cabo Rojo National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Puerto Rico	May 20, 1974
<i>Oxbow National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Massachusetts	May 24, 1974
<i>Baker Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Baker Island	June 2, 1974
<i>Howland Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Howland Island	June 27, 1974
<i>Seal Beach National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	July 5, 1974
<i>Petit Manan National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Maine	July 9, 1974
<i>Egmont Key National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Florida	July 10, 1974
<i>Jarvis Island National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Jarvis Island	July 27, 1974
<i>Trustom Pond National Wildlife Refuge</i>	Rhode Island	August 15, 1974
<i>San Pablo Bay National Wildlife Refuge</i>	California	December 18, 1974

APPENDIX II

National Parks

Kennedy Administration

<i>Russel Cave National Monument, AL</i>	May 11, 1961, proclaimed
<i>Cape Cod National Shoreline, MA</i>	August 7, 1961 authorized, established June 1, 1966
<i>Fort Davis National Historic Site, TX</i>	September 8, 1961, authorized; established July 4, 1963
<i>Fort Smith National Historic Site, AR</i>	September 13, 1961, authorized
<i>Piscataway Park, MD</i>	October 4, 1961, authorized
<i>Buck Island Reef National Monument, VI</i>	December 28, 1961, proclaimed
<i>Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, IN</i>	February 19, 1962, authorized
<i>Hamilton Grange National Memorial, NY</i>	April 27, 1962, authorized
<i>Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site, NY</i>	July 25, 1962, authorized
<i>Sagamore Hill National Historic Site, NY</i>	July 25, 1962, authorized
<i>Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, DC</i>	September 5, 1962, authorized as Frederick Douglass Home; redesignated February 12, 1988

<i>Point Reyes National Shoreline, CA</i>	September 13, 1962, authorized; established October 20, 1972
<i>Padre Island National Shoreline, TX</i>	September 28, 1962, authorized; established April 6, 1968

Johnson Administration

<i>Ozark National Scenic Riverways, MO</i>	August 27, 1964, authorized; established June 10, 1972
<i>Fort Bowie National Historic Site, AZ</i>	August 30, 1964, authorized; established July 29, 1972
<i>Fort Larned National Historic Site, KS</i>	August 31, 1964, authorized; established October 14, 1966
<i>Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, NH</i>	August 31, 1964, authorized; established May 30, 1977
<i>Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, PA</i>	August 31, 1964, authorized
<i>Johnstown Flood National Memorial, PA</i>	August 31, 1964, authorized
<i>John Muir National Historic Site, CA</i>	August 31, 1964, authorized
<i>Fire Island National Shoreline, NY</i>	September 11, 1964, authorized
<i>Canyonlands National Park, UT</i>	September 12, 1964, established
<i>Ice Age National Scientific Reserve, WI</i>	October 13, 1964 (affiliated area)
<i>Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, WY-MT</i>	Administered under cooperative agreement with Bureau of Reclamation DOI, December 31, 1964; established October 15, 1966
<i>Arbuckle National Recreation, OK</i>	February 1, 1965; absorbed by Chickasaw National Recreation Area March 17, 1976
<i>Curecanti National Recreation Area, CO</i>	Administered under cooperative agreement with Bureau of Reclamation DOI, February 11, 1965

<i>Lake Meredith National Recreation Area, TX</i>	March 15, 1965, cooperative agreement with Bureau of Reclamation empowers the National Park Service to administer area then called the Sanford National Recreation Area; name changed to Lake Meredith Recreation Area October 16, 1972; redesignated a national recreation area November 28, 1990
<i>Nez Perce National Historical Park, ID</i>	May 15, 1965, authorized
<i>Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, NE</i>	June 5, 1965, authorized
<i>Pecos National Historical Park, NM</i>	June 28, 1965, authorized; redesignated June 27, 1990
<i>Herbert Hoover National Historical Park, IA</i>	August 12, 1965, authorized
<i>Alibates Flint Quarries National Monument, TX</i>	August 21, 1965, authorized as Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle Pueblo Culture National Monument; redesignated November 10, 1978
<i>Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, AZ</i>	August 28, 1965, authorized
<i>Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, PA-NJ</i>	September 1, 1965, authorized
<i>Assateague Island National Seashore, MD-VA</i>	September 21, 1965, authorized
<i>Pennsylvania Avenue National Historical Site, DC</i>	September 30, 1965
<i>Roger Williams National Memorial, RI</i>	October 22, 1965, authorized
<i>Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area, CA</i>	November 8, 1965, authorized; established October 21, 1972
<i>Amistad National Recreation Area, TX</i>	November 11, 1965, cooperative agreement with US Section International Boundary and Water Commission, US and Mexico

<i>Cape Lookout National Shoreline, NC</i>	March 10, 1966, authorized
<i>Fort Union Trading Post National Historical Site, ND-MT</i>	June 20, 1966, authorized
<i>Chamizal National Memorial, TX</i>	June 30, 1966, authorized; established February 4, 1974
<i>George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, IN</i>	July 23, 1966, authorized
<i>San Juan Island National Historical Park, WA</i>	September 9, 1966, authorized
<i>Guadalupe Mountains National Park, TX</i>	October 15, 1966, authorized; established September 30, 1972
<i>Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, MI</i>	October 15, 1966, authorized
<i>Wolf Trap National Park for the Performing Arts, VA</i>	October 15, 1966, authorized; renamed August 2002
<i>Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural National Historic Site, NY</i>	November 2, 1966, authorized
<i>Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, IN</i>	November 5, 1966, authorized
<i>John F. Kennedy National Historic Site, MA</i>	May 26, 1967, authorized
<i>Eisenhower National Historic Site, PA</i>	November 27, 1967, designated
<i>Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, MA</i>	April 5, 1968, authorized
<i>North Cascades National Park, WA</i>	October 2, 1968, established
<i>Lake Chelan National Recreation Area, WA</i>	October 2, 1968, established
<i>Ross Lake National Recreation Area, WA</i>	October 2, 1968, established
<i>Redwood National Park, CA</i>	October 2, 1968, established
<i>Appalachian National Scenic Trail, ME-NH-VT-MA-CT-NY-NJ-PA-MD-VA-WV-TN-NC-GA</i>	October 2, 1968, established

<i>Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, NC</i>	October 17, 1968, authorized; established October 27, 1972
<i>Biscayne National Park, FL</i>	October 18, 1968, as national monument; redesignated national park June 28, 1980
<i>Mar-A-Lago National Historic Site, FL</i>	January 16, 1969 (deauthorized in 1980)
<i>Marble Canyon National Monument, AZ</i>	January 20, 1969; absorbed by Grand Canyon National Park January 3, 1975

Nixon Administration

<i>Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, CO</i>	August 20, 1969, authorized
<i>Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway, WI-MN</i>	September 4, 1969, under National Park Service; authorized October 2, 1968
<i>Wolf National Scenic Riverway, WI</i>	September 4, 1969, under National Park Service; later removed from system
<i>William Howard Taft National Historic Site, OH</i>	December 2, 1969, authorized
<i>Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park, TX</i>	December 2, 1969, authorized as national historic site; redesignated national historical park December 28, 1980
<i>Theodore Roosevelt Island, DC</i>	January 1, 1970; authorized May 21, 1932; transferred off of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital August 10, 1933, but not counted as separate area until January 1, 1970, in National Parks and Landmarks
<i>Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, WI</i>	September 26, 1970, established
<i>Andersonville National Historic Site, GA</i>	October 16, 1970, authorized
<i>Fort Point National Historic Site, CA</i>	October 16, 1970, authorized

<i>Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, MI</i>	October 21, 1970, authorized; established October 21, 1977
<i>Gulf Islands National Seashore, FL-MS</i>	January 8, 1971, authorized
<i>Voyageurs National Park, MN</i>	January 8, 1971, authorized; established April 8, 1975
<i>Lincoln Home National Historic Site, IL</i>	August 18, 1971, authorized
<i>Buffalo National River, AR</i>	March 1, 1972, authorized
<i>John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, DC</i>	Authorized as Natural Cultural Center September 2, 1958; name changed January 23, 1964; non-performing arts fns transferred from Smithsonian Inst to NPS June 16, 1972; transferred back to Kennedy Center for Performing Arts Board of Directors October 16, 1994
<i>Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, HI</i>	August 17, 1972, authorized
<i>John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway, WY</i>	August 25, 1972, authorized
<i>Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, MT</i>	August 25, 1972, authorized
<i>Longfellow National Historic Site, MA</i>	October 9, 1972, authorized
<i>Hohokam-Pima National Monument, AZ</i>	October 21, 1972, authorized
<i>Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial, PA</i>	October 21, 1972, authorized
<i>Cumberland Island National Seashore, GA</i>	October 23, 1972, established
<i>Fossil Butte National Monument, WY</i>	October 23, 1972, established
<i>Lower Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway, MN-WI</i>	October 25, 1972, authorized; combined with Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway February 1993

<i>Benjamin Franklin National Monument, PA</i>	October 25, 1972, designated; owned and administered by the Franklin Institute
<i>Gateway National Recreation Area, NJ-NY</i>	October 27, 1972, established
<i>Golden Gate National Recreation Area, CA</i>	October 27, 1972, established
<i>Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, KY-TN</i>	March 7, 1974, authorized; transferred to National Park Service management October 22, 1976
<i>Boston National Historical Park, MA</i>	October 1, 1974, authorized
<i>Big Cypress National Preserve, FL</i>	October 11, 1974, authorized
<i>Big Thicket National Preserve, TX</i>	October 11, 1974, authorized
<i>John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, OR</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, ND</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Martin Van Buren National Historic Site, NY</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Springfield Armory National Historic Site, MA</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site, AL</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Clara Barton National Historic Site, MD</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site, DC</i>	October 26, 1974, authorized
<i>Cuyahoga Valley National Park, OH</i>	December 27, 1974, authorized; established June 26, 1975, as a national recreation area; established as a national park in November 2000

Protection for Animals

Initial Endangered Species List:

1966–1967

This preliminary list consisted of 331 species divided into three categories of concern: 130 species either rare or endangered; 74 species at the edge of their range (and thereby at risk); and 127 species of “undetermined” status.

Mammals

Indiana bat: *Myotis sodalis*

Delmarva Peninsula fox squirrel: *Sciurus niger cinereus*

Timber wolf: *Canis lupus lycaon*

Red wolf: *Canis niger*

San Joaquin kit fox: *Vulpes macrotis mutica*

Grizzly bear: *Ursus horribilis*

Black-footed ferret: *Mustela nigripes*

Florida panther: *Felis concolor coryi*

Caribbean monk seal: *Monachus tropicalis*

Guadalupe fur seal: *Arctocephalus philippi townsendi*

Florida manatee: *Trichechus manatus latirostris*

Key deer: *Odocoileus virginianus clavium*

Columbian white-tailed deer: *Odocoileus virginianus leucurus*

Sonoran pronghorn: *Antilocapra americana sonoriensis*

Birds

Hawaiian dark-rumped petrel: *Pterodroma phaeopygia sandwichensis*

Hawaiian goose (nene): *Branta sandvicensis*

Aleutian Canada goose: *Branta canadensis leucopareia*
 Tule white-fronted goose: *Anser albifrons gambelli*
 Laysan duck: *Anas laysanensis*
 Hawaiian duck (koloa): *Anas wyvilliana*
 Mexican duck: *Anas diazi*
 California condor: *Gymnogyps californianus*
 Florida Everglade snail kite: *Rostrhamus sociabilis plumbeus*
 Hawaiian hawk (ii): *Buteo solitarius*
 Southern bald eagle: *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
 Attwater's greater prairie-chicken: *Tympanuchus cupido attwateri*
 Masked bobwhite: *Colinus virginianus ridgwayi*
 Whooping crane: *Grus americana*
 Yuma clapper rail: *Rallus longirostris yumanensis*
 Hawaiian common gallinule: *Gallinula chloropus sandvicensis*
 Eskimo curlew: *Numenius borealis*
 Puerto Rican parrot: *Amazona vittata*
 American ivory-billed woodpecker: *Campephilus principalis*
 Hawaiian crow (alala): *Corvus hawaiiensis*
 Small Kauai thrush (puaiohi): *Phaeornia pulmeri*
 Nihoa millerbird: *Acrocephalus kingi*
 Kauai oo (oo aa): *Moho braccatus*
 Crested honeycreeper (akohekohe): *Palmeria dolei*
 Akiapolaau: *Hemignathus wilsoni*
 Kauai akialoa: *Hemignathus procerus*
 Kauai nukupuu: *Hemignathus lucidus hanapepe*
 Laysan finchbill (Laysan finch): *Psittirostra cantans*
 Nihoa finchbill (Nihoa finch): *Psittirostra cantans ultima*
 Ou: *Psittirostra psittacea*
 Palila: *Psittirostra bailleui*
 Maui parrotbill: *Pseudonestor xanthophrys*
 Bachman's warbler: *Vermivora bachmanii*
 Kirtland's warbler: *Dendroica kirtlandii*
 Dusky seaside sparrow: *Ammospiza nigrescens*
 Cape sable sparrow: *Ammospiza mirabilis*

Reptiles and Amphibians

American alligator: *Alligator mississippiensis*

Blunt-nosed leopard lizard: *Crotaphytus wislizenii silus*

San Francisco garter snake: *Thamnophis sirtalis tetrataenia*

Santa Cruz long-toed salamander: *Ambystoma macrodactylum croceum*

Texas blind salamander: *Typhlomolge rathbuni*

Black toad (Inyo County toad): *Bufo exsul*

Fish

Shortnose sturgeon: *Acipenser brevirostrum*

Longjaw cisco: *Coregonus alpenae*

Paiute cutthroat trout: *Salmo clarki seleniris*

Greenback cutthroat trout: *Salmo clarki stomias*

Montana Westslope cutthroat trout: *Salmo clarki*

Gila trout: *Oncorhynchus gilae*

Arizona trout (Apache trout): *Oncorhynchus apache*

Desert dace: *Eremichthys acros*

Humpback chub: *Gila cypha*

Little Colorado spinedace: *Lepidomeda vittata*

Moapa dace: *Moapa coriacea*

Colorado River squawfish: *Ptychocheilus lucius*

Cui-ui: *Chasmistes cujus*

Devils Hole pupfish: *Cyprinodon diabolis*

Comanche Springs pupfish: *Cyprinodon elegans*

Owens River pupfish: *Cyprinodon radiosus*

Pahrump killifish: *Empetrichthyys latos*

Big Bend gambusia: *Gambusia gaigei*

Clear Creek gambusia: *Gambusia heterochir*

Gila topminnow: *Poeciliopsis occidentalis*

Maryland darter: *Etheostoma sellare*

Blue pike: *Stizostedion vitreum glaucum*

Notes

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