Finding Hope: Environmentalism and the Anthropocene

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ESSAY

FINDING HOPE

Environmentalism and the Anthropocene

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A few years ago, American environmental historian Aaron Sachs reflected on his youthful admiration for the writing of Wallace Stegner, and on the powerful effect that Stegner's writing had on his own intellectual trajectory. *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs* was especially influential. Published in 1992, the year that Sachs took his BA from Harvard, this collection of essays addressed a series of harrowing social and environmental questions, each deeply embedded in place and clearly rooted in the past. Pondering these, Sachs recognized the tight entanglement of personal, historical, and analytical perspectives in Stegner's writing, and he concluded that compelling stories are often forged from some combination of acute self-knowledge and shrewd awareness of the aspirations and frustrations, the triumphs and tribulations of those who preceded us.[1]

Stegner we know as a prolific novelist and historian, perhaps most famous for his work on the American West. He was also an environmentalist, a "man of the arts whose life was committed to environmental action," and a man who understood the need for unceasing commitment to the cause.[2] "Environmentalism," he wrote in *Where the Bluebird Sings*, "is not a fact, and never has been. It is a job."[3] In a similar vein, the famous Canadian environmentalist David Suzuki observed more recently that "environmentalism is a way of being, not a discipline . . . or specialty like law, medicine, plumbing, music or art. It's a way of seeing our place in the world and recognizing that our survival, health and happiness are inextricably dependent on nature."[4]

In the spirit of Stegner and Suzuki and the many others (from Rachel Carson to Greta Thunberg, and from Aldo Leopold to Bill McKibben) who have sought better stewardship of the earth, this essay seeks to

move the environmental agenda forward.[5] Yet it does so retrospectively, shaped by the intertwined contingencies of character and circumstance, and conditioned by my own interests and experiences as a straddler of the institutional divide between the academic disciplines of history and geography. As Sachs realized his debt to Stegner, I find my own perspective shaped by the words and deeds of scholars, citizens, activists—let's call them all environmentalists, for want of a better generic label—who considered their place in the world and spoke up for, or intervened on behalf of, earth and nature.[6]

My discussion centers on ideas in the Western tradition. This is not to deny the value of Indigenous wisdom, or traditional ecological knowledge; nor is it to dismiss important work on nature in Asian or other traditions. There is now a vast literature on the environmental understandings of Indigenous peoples in various parts of the world, much of it the engaged and sympathetic work of scholars from beyond these communities.[7] Students of comparative environmental philosophy have also done much in the last quarter century or so to document and expand appreciation of such topics as "Gandhi's Contributions to Environmental Thought and Action," "The Relevance of Chinese Neo-Confucianism for the Reverence of Nature," and "Conservation Ethics and the Japanese Intellectual Tradition."[8] Simply put, any serious attempt to incorporate these rich literatures into this discussion would complicate and extend it beyond reason, and quickly run beyond the limits of my competence.[9] Although environmentalism has never been my job, in any strict sense of that word, I take the point that it is a cause, a commitment that entails ongoing obligations, and align with those who have worked to realize its goals.

They, of course, constitute a cast of thousands. Even limiting discussion to what American historian Samuel P. Hays called environmentalism—a post–World War II social movement set apart from earlier producer-led conservationist impulses by its consumerist orientation—opens a view of sprawling multitudes with diverse interests.[10] Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, is often taken as the fountainhead of this concern, although citizen activists and scientists earlier documented the detrimental ecological and human health effects of DDT.[11] Carson's powerful prose certainly gave shape and urgency to anxieties already seeded by the spread of radioactive fallout from nuclear testing and helped convince people that humans were despoiling the earth en-

vironment—a realization given particular potency and poignancy today by the growing currency of the Anthropocene idea.[12] Even as Carson raised the specter of impending doom, however, many found hope in Aldo Leopold's clarion call, published in 1949, for a land ethic that recognized humans' moral responsibility for the natural world.[13] Yet a third echelon of this growing army found solace—perhaps even escape—in what they took to be pristine, untamed, unsullied nature; marrying Thoreau's claim that "in Wildness is the Preservation of the World" with the realization that photography (especially increasingly affordable color imagery) constituted "a weapon for the defense of the environment," they celebrated the American wilderness.[14]

Seeking to order this hullabaloo, Hays ascribed three major concerns to environmentalism: beauty, health, and permanence.[15] Roughly translated, these terms can be taken to mark abiding preoccupations, shared by large numbers of citizens, with issues such as wilderness protection, environmental justice, and sustainability. Each of these issues is manifest in several ways and in different registers in different settings: "beauty" encompasses an interest in parks as well as wilderness, and a more general concern for landscape aesthetics (hence opposition to wind turbines); "health" implies general anxiety about toxic pollution and physical well-being as well as disquiet about their differentiated socioeconomic and spatial distribution; "sustainability" is the most chameleon-like of all, encompassing consternation about matters as various as population growth, food security, and greenhouse gas emissions. In one way or another, such concerns are threaded through the recent histories of most parts of the world. They are at the heart of many of the most pressing issues of our times, and they have been the focus of great debates, epic confrontations, and no small amount of political contention.

Little wonder, then, that the literature devoted to this movement, and the events that have constituted it over the years, is large. Scholarly monographs have accumulated alongside Sam Hays's *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*, offering various interpretations of the American environmental movement. Some, dissociating the scholarly field of environmental history from the activist movement characterized as environmentalism, have teased the roots of American intellectual interest in human-nature relations back to Frederick Jackson Turner (1893), George Perkins Marsh (1864), and even beyond.[16] Others staked out

competing vantage points from which to engage the story, both deep and contemporary, of peoples' interactions with the American environment. Reduced to their essences, these have been characterized as materialist and idealist (intellectual or cultural) perspectives, the former focused on the (intersecting) agency of nature and humans and the latter on human conceptions of nature.[17] More locally focused studies have recounted the intricacies of particular pivotal moments of environmental action and concern, from the Santa Barbara oil spill (1969), through the founding of Greenpeace (1970), and the tragedy that was Love Canal (which came to public light in 1978) to the "contemporary history" of Standing Rock and resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline.[18] Looking back upon pivotal episodes in the development of environmentalism, these studies have sought to chronicle and understand, even as some of them elided (or at least ignored) the distinction between scholarship and activism.

Taken as a whole, this outpouring of scholarship has moved environmental history from the periphery toward the center of debates in American historical scholarship while deepening its complexity. It has also greatly enriched understanding of environmental activism.[19] As the "timeline, reach and definition of environmental concern and activism" has been extended, new issues have emerged, particularly around what has become known as environmental justice and—as reflected in the campaigns with Bill McKibben and Greta Thunberg at their center—the increasingly global, all-encompassing challenge presented by the "climate emergency."[20] All of this has prompted syntheses identifying "the transformation of the American environmental movement" and—recently—a concerted and impressive effort to "rethink" environmentalism, envisaging it not as a single "thing" (cf. Stegner) but as a "field of movements."[21]

Although other English-speaking countries broadly followed the lead of the United States in shaping environmental historical scholarship and developing varieties of environmental activism, there were endless nuances in the details and timing of national and local trajectories.[22] To mention only a few, first in scholarship, then in activism: in the UK, where scholars in several disciplines pursued abiding interests in landscape change and human-environment interactions, the self-conscious recognition of environmental history as an academic field lagged behind North America; in Canada, early development of the field drew to some extent from the venerable "human-environment" tradition in

geography, largely marginalized in the United States by the 1960s, and was marked by a stronger materialist emphasis than the first stirrings of environmental history south of the forty-ninth parallel.[23] Similarly, in New Zealand and Australia, strong traditions of geographical inquiry substantially shaped what later came to be regarded as foundational work in environmental history.[24] In South Africa, by contrast, political circumstances inflected environmental concerns. Conservation (in the form of wildlife protection), championed by white South Africans through the twentieth century, dominated debates into the early 1980s, and the rising international tides of environmental historical scholarship and environmental activism raised barely a ripple across the southern tip of Africa.[25]

Most environmental activism in these countries has, and has had, strong local roots, even when the "wrongs" at issue are manifest on broader scales—think of radioactive fallout, acid rain, the ozone hole, global warming. Protests take place in places. They are often addressed to specific place-bound audiences. Similar causes may be joined in different parts of the world—to stop the logging of ancient forests in British Columbia or Tasmania; to save the habitat of rare birds in Oregon and (again) Tasmania; to prevent the slaughter of whales in the mid-Pacific and the Southern Ocean—but the contexts and most of the actors differ.[26] The swift parrots of New South Wales and the spotted owls of the American Pacific Northwest are unlike in many ways; the former, "the fastest parrots on earth," are critically endangered, the latter, nocturnal sit-and-wait predators, are near-threatened. But both nest in trees. Australians and Americans have been at the forefront of campaigns to stay the loss of their habitats to logging. For all of the ecological differences between the two settings, the crusades bore marked similarities: deploying a repertoire of protest strategies that have become familiar through the years, protesters stood in the way of industrial machinery, hung banners from equipment, and echoed each other's basic stances: "We will not sit and watch while yet another species is wiped off the face of this planet for the greed of the few. Silence is complicit."[27] Here as in countless similar conflicts elsewhere, confrontations were endemic.

Apparently intractable disputes—such as arguments between environmental protestors and fellow citizens denied access to their workplaces by protest barricades—were often theatrical performances, designed in part to feed media outlets the images and sound bites they

desired, and thus to draw wider attention to the activist's cause.[28] In Australia and Oregon, habitat preservation may have been the espoused goal, and corporate greed the declared enemy of protesters, but those who worked in logging bore the immediate brunt of their challenges and successes.[29] Similarly, the campaign to prevent the butchering of baby harp seals for their pelts on the springtime ice of the Newfoundland front paid scant heed to the consequences of stopping the hunt for the well-being of already impoverished Newfoundlanders.[30] Legal, political, and corporate concerns generally aligned in their commitments to resource exploitation and business as usual, and vested interests rarely changed course easily. Yet the environmental cause registered victories. Activist interventions saved "pristine" valleys, prevented the raising of lakes and the drowning of land, and achieved notable political-diplomatic successes at scales beyond the local, as for example with the Montreal Protocol to protect the stratospheric ozone layer, signed in 1987.[31]

Regardless, half a century after environmentalism emerged as a new social movement, important questions remain: has environmental activism achieved anything of substance? And is there hope for the future?[32] In South Africa, where environmental rights were enshrined in the new South African constitution of the 1990s, the widespread embrace of neoliberal principles in the new millennium has undermined grassroots participation and volunteerism, and sapped the energy of an environmental justice movement that played a powerful role in the fight against apartheid.[33] In Canada David Suzuki, a leading light of Canada's environmental movement, recently began to wonder just what he and his compatriots had "really accomplished" and declared environmentalism a failure.[34] Similar laments can be catalogued elsewhere, but let Swedish activist Greta Thunberg speak for the many who deplore the "business as usual" trajectory that they see riding roughshod over the celebrated, but small and transitory, victories of environmental protestors. As a young schoolgirl she found it hard to believe that climate change was happening, "because if there really was an existential crisis like that, that would threaten our civilisation, we wouldn't be focusing on anything else." In her teens she came to the view that "for way too long, the politicians and the people in power have gotten away with not doing anything to fight the climate crisis"—which she also recognized as an ecological and social crisis. Barely seventeen, at the World Economic

Forum in Davos in January 2019, she proclaimed (famously) that it was time "to act as if the house is on fire, because it is."[35]

How, I wonder, have we come to this? Among the many compelling and forcefully reasoned answers to this question available to us, a large handful draw power from their reach. Representing the complicated and ramifying effects of ideas, systems, forces, and practices by a word or two, they attribute both environmental despoliation and the snubbing of environmentalists' concerns to capitalism, neoliberalism, liberal individualism, greed, legal systems of property rights, the pathological pursuit of profit and power by corporate entities, and the tragedy of the commons.[36] None of these is innocent of the general charge—but none carries full responsibility for the outcomes alleged either. In the complex, naughty world that forever wriggles beyond the theories, generalizations, and ideas with which we seek to comprehend it, liability is difficult to ascertain.[37]

Rather than pursue such grand explanations, the remainder of this essay explores some of the challenges, hazards, and pitfalls that have beset environmental activism over the last several decades. It does this mindful of the many successes attributable to environmental action. The world as a whole may not be in better ecological shape than it was in, say, 1960, but many practices that would have made it much worse have been reined in or eliminated.[38] At the same time, I recognize that there is much that needs to be addressed, urgently, to avoid various types and scales of impending environmental disaster. Popular embrace of the Anthropocene discourse reflects widespread anxiety as well as the allure of a new term in the everyday lexicon. My aim in the reflections that follow is not to provide clean, detachable conclusions or solutions. It is to provoke contemplation, first of the implications of well-worn strategies and second of alternatives to them. Ranging widely—but by no means comprehensively—across the times, places, and literatures of environmental history and environmental activism, I argue that environmentalism has not failed, in any absolute sense. It remains a work in progress, a commitment that demands constant attention, a job not yet done. This owes much to ongoing changes in our ambient circumstances—from transformations in communications media, through growing suspicion of "expert" knowledge and the rise of populism, to shifting ideological commitments—and more than a little to the ways in which environmental advocacy has snagged in the

past on intertwined questions of scale, strategy, and stewardship. After reviewing the entangled complications of these three foci, which lie near the center of environmentalists' activities and concerns, I turn, in conclusion and ever so briefly, to weigh the value of the lessons of experience in an increasingly hyperconnected world that might move, in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, to rebalance the benefits of environmentalism's local and global orientations.

SCALE

In 1972, when René Dubos urged people to think globally and act locally, he did more than coin the phrase that became the mantra of the environmental movement. By offering up a slogan that resonated with contemporary circumstances and tapped into a deep well of popular sentiment, he framed a strategy for environmental action and sowed the seeds of a paradox that continues to complicate environmentalism.[39]

Between Christmas Eve 1968—when astronauts aboard Apollo 8 entered lunar orbit and photographed Earth rising above the moon—and early December 1972—when the crew of Apollo 17 transmitted the breathtaking "Blue Marble" view of Earth back to Houston—new Earth images reshaped perceptions of humankind's planetary home and made it easier for people to "think globally." Breathtaking pictures of a colorful orb against a dark void seized the public imagination and gave credence to the idea of "Spaceship Earth," a singular, self-contained, and finite crucible of all life.[40]

To those familiar with the absolute dependence of astronauts upon their capsule and its systems for reclaiming water, recycling air, and scrubbing carbon dioxide, the spaceship metaphor drove home the fragility and interconnectedness of earth systems. For devotees of wilderness, it seemed to buttress John Muir's observation that everything was "hitched to everything else in the Universe." Aldo Leopold's argument (in his land ethic essay) that individuals are "members of a community of interdependent parts" gained new resonance, reflected in the surging popularity of *A Sand County Almanac*. The metaphor also reinforced the message of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* about the interrelatedness of nature's parts and gave popular purchase to the arguments of such diverse books as Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* (1968) and Donnella Meadows and her coauthors' *The Limits to Growth* (1972). Indeed, the

revealingly titled *Whole Earth Catalogue*—at its most popular during this four-year span—was so named because Stewart Brand, its founder, believed that the image of Earth from space would encourage people to recognize their shared destiny and adopt more environmentally sound modes of living. Thinking globally emphasized the importance of ecological entanglements, even as it minimized cultural differences and disparate histories.[41]

The injunction to act locally brought these entanglements home and encouraged a form of calculus in which wise choices replicated across the intricate mosaic of earth communities would cumulate to shape a better planetary future, and—conversely—ecological degradation of the earth system would subtract from the quality of local life. At one level, then, Dubos's catchphrase seemed to substantiate the idea, given resonant expression by American essayist and novelist Scott Russell Sanders, that "we can live wisely in our chosen place only if we recognize its connections to the rest of the planet."[42] At another level, it gave power to the people by suggesting that planetary-scale concerns could be addressed at the grassroots level by individuals working alone or in small groups. At a third, it implied that local life and local politics would benefit from attention to global issues. There was much of value in all of this.

But the call to local action had other, paradoxical ramifications as it chimed, in diverse ways, with growing contemporary sentiment. In one register it reified those very differences in culture and history that thinking globally tended to erase, by heightening the "sense of place." Expression of the importance and virtues of place attachment seemed to burst forth in these years, possibly as a backlash against pervasive modernist architecture and city planning and the increasingly peripatetic character of contemporary life. Indeed, the geographer Yi-fu Tuan claimed to have coined the word "topophilia" to refer to "the affective bond between people and place or setting" in a 1974 book that at least in part lamented the erosion of that bond.[43]

Certainly the idea that people and place were connected was in the air. In 1977 American environmental philosopher Paul Shepard suggested that it was impossible to know *who* you were if you did not know *where* you were. More pointedly, Wendell Berry attributed the mindless destruction of the American landscape to the nomadic character of the American experience, and Scott Russell Sanders proclaimed his desire to "become an inhabitant, one who knows and

honors the land," as he lamented the "vagabond wind" that forever drove his restless compatriots to relocate.[44] In Canada journalist Robert Fulford and civic politician John Sewell teamed up on a pamphlet about Toronto with the title *A Sense of Time and Place*. Northrop Frye tracked a more academic but parallel path when he framed "Where is here?" as a fundamental Canadian question, and Neil Evernden did likewise when he concluded that individuals did not exist without context, which was to say as "a component of place, defined by place." Similarly, Canadian historians embraced local difference when they seized upon the concept of "limited identities" as a means to understand the country.[45]

In another sense the advice to act locally sanctified immediate experience and entrenched what literary critic Ursula Heise and others call an "ethic of proximity" that valued intimate, bodily, sensory engagements with nature over more abstract forms of understanding (which were surely important to thinking on a global scale). In this vein Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, founder and figurehead of the deep ecology movement, pronounced that "the nearer has priority over the more remote—in space, time, culture, species."[46] Such sentiments bled easily into broader suspicions, increasingly evident in the 1960s and 1970s, of "things-at-a-distance," of the impersonal character of urban and industrial life, and of modernity in general, even as they supplied oxygen to back-to-the-land movements, the counterculture, the embrace of Indigenous ecological wisdom, and enthusiasm for the organization of society on bioregionalist principles. Later they seemed to fit easily with "postmodern" critiques of totalizing grand narratives and claims for the importance of local and "situated" knowledge. In sum, time and circumstances turned a forward-looking, four-word coinage emphasizing the links between everyday actions and global environmental circumstances against itself, to buttress "a general critique of modern sociopolitical structures" and resuscitate a traditional "sense of place."[47]

The tensions between local and global (and their corollary associations of traditional and modern) perspectives are seemingly endemic to environmentalism. In country after country, beleaguered environmentalists have sought at various times to "secure their nook of [local] ground from rash assault" by nonlocal intruders.[48] Yet many of today's most pressing environmental problems have diffuse and difficult-to-address origins; although we may experience them "at home," they are generated at some remove, often by persons who (or organizations that)

stand beyond the reach of territorially bound legal and political systems and reject responsibility for the consequences of their actions. In other words, many of these local challenges are transgenerational products of "extraterritorial forces." Thinking about this paradox in relation to the problem of climate change, German social psychologist Harald Welzer describes "individualist strategies" as tranquilizers that soothe anxiety but achieve little. He also finds little prospect of effective political responses at the international level, given the time it takes for political processes to run their course. So he argues for action at an intermediate scale, between the local and the global.[49]

All of this might prompt us to wonder whether a strong attachment to place remains as vital and as valuable to effective environmental commitment as once it was. If the increasing connectedness of modern-day societies is spawning relatively placeless cultures, then one might argue that the strong sense of place emphasis that underpinned defenses of local nature in the 1970s could render environmentalism irrelevant in the twenty-first century. In this vein, Heise insists that modern-day environmentalism needs to move beyond efforts to "recuperate a sense of place," to "foster an understanding of how a wide variety of both natural and cultural places and processes are connected and shape each other around the world, and how human impact affects and changes this connectedness."[50] Others have urged the importance of developing a "progressive" sense of place, one that is "not self-enclosing and defensive, but outward-looking," and adapted to the conditions of postmodernity, in which "space appears to shrink to a 'global village' of telecommunications and a 'spaceship earth' of economic and ecological interdependencies . . . and time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is." These days, even activists in remote locales seeking to protect the patch of land to which they went back in days of yore are likely to have a computer and internet connection in their cobhouse or geodesic dome, allowing them to communicate instantaneously around the world.[51]

Should we then abandon our idea of places "as areas with boundaries around" them, and imagine them instead "as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings," with most of those relations and understandings "constructed on a far larger scale than . . . the place itself"? Geographer Doreen Massey has argued this case, which, she concludes, requires a shift from thinking about "place vertically—as

rooted in time immemorial—to thinking of it horizontally, as produced relationally through its connections."[52] In this recalibration, the forces of globalization have reframed places; they are no longer isolated locales buffeted by remote forces or the locus of romanticized escapism but dynamic settings shaped by new philosophies, new forms of engagement, and new synergies between ideas and action at local and global scales.

But a note of caution: the past was less foreign than such narratives imagine. "Local" communities have long responded to the actions of global-scale political-economic-financial events and actors, be they factory closures or toxic spills. They have had to assume responsibility for problems they have not created, and they have grappled with the uneven distribution of power and influence. Home-place defenders thought globally and acted locally, even as they worked across scales to maintain particular conceptions of their localities. Risk assessments differed: some communities were divided by conflicting opinions about how best to deal with these threats; in others, local responses helped build trust, engagement, resilience, and power. Struggles to secure places people held dear were driven by deep commitments to particular settings and shaped by local circumstances but turned, in the end, on emergent global concerns about the environment. Although they invoked the past, these campaigns were oriented to the future. In the end the often bitter struggle between "the place-loving soul" of the environmental movement on the one hand and "the temptations of a placeless modernity" on the other marked environmentalism's resistance to modernity's "strategy of conceptual encompassment," and a fuller understanding of the tangled relations among state, industry, and activists requires close and careful attention to the various scales at which this campaign was—and is—waged.[53]

STRATEGY

As a resistance movement, environmentalism functions in diverse ways. Broadly, environmentalism has stood against (i) the despoliation of particular places (be that despoliation the pollution of a lake, the destruction of a view, or the clear-cutting of a forested hillslope); (ii) the misuse of common property resources such as air and water or endangered species (think of campaigns against acid rain and whaling);

and (iii) the insatiable expansionary logic of late capitalism and its close ally and political instrument, the modern state.

Engagement on such diverse fronts encourages, even requires, widely different strategies, or at least the deployment of a finite assortment of approaches adapted to radically different scales. Blockades and demonstrations in particular places can stop logging trucks or prevent the quarrying of a hillside (at least temporarily); they can also bring local acts of environmental plunder to global attention (think Greenpeace and the anti-sealing campaign). Not all environmental concerns are "end-of-pipe" ills (where harm occurs in a specific locale) or consequences of specific actions. Yet protests against pillage of the commons, or contesting the global-scale consequences of particular behaviors invariably take place *someplace* (here the best example may be the demonstration organized by 350.org outside the White House in Washington, DC, to oppose construction of the Keystone XL pipeline through Montana and South Dakota because of its implications for global climate change).

Sometimes, though, blockades and protests may be impossible or ineffective. Environmentalists in British Columbia discovered as much when logging moved into remote areas of the mid-coast, where the media coverage so essential to garnering attention and support for any opposition was limited by difficulties of access. In such circumstances, other strategies, including "market campaigns" aimed at reducing corporate profits and tarnishing reputations by persuading consumers not to purchase the product, generally make more sense and have greater impact.[54] Whatever the register in which they operated, many environmentalists deployed mass protests, physical resistance, and the power of public pressure—shrewdly adopting and adapting the strategies and tactics of other social movements, such as those for civil rights, against the Vietnam War, and for feminism—to sway popular opinion and influence politicians.

In these different forms of opposition, environmentalists have generally been arrayed against "Industry" and its allies in government and finance. This latter coalition usually favored economic expansion and spoke in terms of the jobs and profits—the benefits—their plans would bring; in their discourse the environment was typically a resource, and ecological and aesthetic costs associated with its exploitation were discounted as externalities. Yet even those who embraced development

sometimes disagreed over how to proceed, as advisers and strategists (accountants and trained foresters in the forest industry, for example), might prefer different forms of action (one attentive to immediate balance sheets, the other the long-term health of the forest).

Typically, all sides in these disputes struggled over the question of where and how best to engage the others. Some company executives favored threats, bluster, and action regardless. Some government officials believed that environmentalists might be "turned" or brought to accede to government agendas by the promise of influence; others wished no truck or trade with their opponents and preferred confrontation or judicial and quasi-judicial fora (such as the courts or Royal Commissions) to resolve differences. Usually, those party to such disputes found backing, of one sort or another, from beyond the immediate battle zone and engaged in "deliberate, systematic attempt[s] to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior" to garner assistance and further their cause.[55]

Faced with the challenges of opposition, environmentalists also divide, legitimately, on how best to achieve their ends beyond the performance theater of disruptive blockades. We can think of their choices schematically. At one end of a spectrum of possibilities lies rejection of capitalism and a trenchant, unflinching oppositional stance. At the other, there is acknowledgment of the enormous power of formal politics and the marketplace, and the conviction that gains can be made by regulation or by nudging the market this way or that to ameliorate its environmental effects. Intermediate positions abound, and environmentalists have occupied several of them over time. One study of environmentalism in Nova Scotia found that some environmentalists (the author termed them *nonmodernists*) staunchly resisted change, to their lands and their lives. Others, inclined toward the political-market end of the spectrum (called *ecomodernists*), believed that the best prospects for environmental protection lay in working within the corridors of legislative power to facilitate negotiations among environmental, industry, and state interests to limit environmental harm through regulation.[56]

In Nova Scotia at least, ecomodernists and nonmodernists often found themselves at odds; sometimes they clashed bitterly. Both David Orton and Susan Holtz considered themselves staunch environmentalists. Orton, who migrated to Canada from the UK in his early twenties, was a voracious reader, prolific writer, and "deep green" activist who

melded environmental ethics and social justice concerns into a philosophy he called "Left Biocentrism." He expressed "solidarity with all life" and opposed economic growth and consumerism. He was fervent in the view that environmentalism should remain independent of government or corporate influence or support. He also insisted "that the Earth belongs to no one and should be a non-privatized Commons." Yet he acquired and lived, through the last twenty-seven years of his life, on a "130-acre hill farm at the end of a dirt road through a forest" where wood was the only source of heat.[57] Orton addressed this contradiction by pointing out that capitalist society offered those who would further conservation and wildlife preservation few alternatives beyond the short-term option of using "private property 'laws' to buy one's own place."

Asked to provide guidance to her fellow Quakers on the question of nuclear power development being discussed in Nova Scotia in the early 1970s, Susan Holtz saw such an initiative as an unnecessary spur to wasteful consumption. From this beginning, she quickly forged a nationwide coalition of people and groups opposed to nuclear power. Reflecting emerging ideas about the desirability of developing a conserver society and adopting what American environmental scientist Amory Lovins termed a "soft energy path," this coalition worked to assess the risks of nuclear power and promote research into alternative energy technologies. By the end of the decade, much of this work was being funded by government contracts: in 1980–81, Holtz was working in conjunction with sixteen Nova Scotia municipalities seeking efficiencies in energy management (funded by the Nova Scotia Department of Mines and Energy), updating an earlier study of soft energy paths under a contract with the federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, and working with other bodies.[58] One such contract, to assist in the framing of (uranium) mining regulations, brought Orton and Holtz to loggerheads. Although Holtz saw herself as a conciliator, someone who could serve as a bridge between radical environmentalists and the decision makers who held the levers of political and economic power, Orton had no time for those who accepted the rewards of corporate capitalism without seriously threatening its legitimacy.[59] He thought it impossible to resolve major ecological problems this way; those who sought improvement by tinkering were, he said, misguided, deluded "pollyannas."

For all that, many environmental activists have initially espoused

nonmodernist principles—unflinching resistance to change, staunch opposition to the instruments of capitalist development, not-in-my-backyard defenses of place—only to come around to the view that bureaucratic minds (and policies) were more likely to be changed by collaboration than by resistance.[60] To put this another way: environmental activism often begins with the intention of holding politicians and corporations to account. Protests and campaigns are explicitly oppositional: "continue thus and we will make your lives difficult." Sometimes governments acknowledge the problem. In broad terms we can see the development of "environmental policies" in country after country from the 1970s onward as a response to rising furor about and growing public realization of the fact—for example—that pollution was damaging lives and that governments could, and should, stop it. Catherine Knight, a committed environmentalist and sometime government bureaucrat, has helpfully documented the steady evolution of environmental administration along this path in Aotearoa/New Zealand in her book, *Beyond Manapouri: Fifty Years of Environmental Politics in New Zealand*, and leaves no doubt that that country "has made significant progress in establishing the institutions and mechanisms to respond to environmental issues" in response to rising public concern and the willingness of concerned citizens to work with governments to move forward. Environmental understanding has increased greatly, regulation has driven technological innovation, and Aotearoa/New Zealand like many other countries has vastly improved its capacity to formulate "policy solutions to environmental problems."[61]

Yet all is not well in the land of the long white cloud—and in many other jurisdictions with similar environmental governance records. Once an environmental leader, Aotearoa/New Zealand has become a laggard. In Knight's view, the reasons for this lie in a strong propensity to short-termism (emphasizing immediate gain over long-term pain) and "the subordination of the public good to private property rights." She is undoubtedly right—at least in part—because similar challenges haunt the environmental relations of almost all liberal-capitalist societies.

But the picture is more complicated than this. Environmentalists' efforts to work together with government and/or industry to temper "the industrialist-capitalist system" have often carried them into judicial arenas. Commission hearings and court proceedings are accepted ways of getting arguments heard and evidence on record, but they are also costly

procedures conducted according to formal rules of evidence and proof that serve in the end to legitimize the state. Long-running inquiries can also sap the resources of often-underfunded environmental participants.[62] Efforts to cover costs might bring disparate groups together to raise money, but they can also divert their energies from other actions. Even apparent environmental victories can be detrimental to the environmentalist cause if they sharpen divisions between those who endorse official systems of decision-making and more radical grassroots environmentalists suspicious of "establishment activists" more wedded to the process of change than the environmental cause—or between those inclined to marry deep ecological positions with social justice concerns and those who prefer bureaucratically oriented "market" solutions to environmental issues.

All of this makes clear that choosing the appropriate strategy—as well as the right scale—for environmental action has been a conundrum for environmentalists. Acting locally has its merits, but the calculus of addition rarely translates into global gains. Standing at barricades in defense of home places might save this patch of forest or that mountainside from exploitation, but such local victories cannot stay the juggernaut of economic development and win the battle. Confrontations degenerate into a war of attrition. Rebuffed here, industry moves on to pursue its goals there; environmentalists rally anew to blockade again; the battle runs its course through injunctions, arrests, and acrimony, as the case may be; then the cycle is repeated. Environmentalists rarely have the time, numbers, and resources to exhaust the companies' drive to continue. Combatting the growth imperatives of industrial-capitalist society requires other strategies. But what should those be? Almost half a century ago, Greenpeace espoused nonviolent environmental action and used spectacular protest and market boycotts to protect particular species and specific ecologies. Yet Greenpeace member Paul Watson concluded that "holding up protest signs, taking pictures and 'bearing witness' while whales are getting killed in front of you doesn't achieve anything at all." He engaged infamously in more direct action through his Sea Shepherd Society. Meanwhile, others strove to establish regulations to improve air quality, water and waste management, land-use planning, natural resource extraction, and energy policy.[63]

Should environmentalists work within the industrial-capitalist system to limit and ameliorate exploitation and despoliation of the earth, or

should they endeavor to overthrow that system entirely? Are these really alternatives? Might urgent short-term actions help shift policy horizons and achieve long-term goals of regime change, by raising awareness of the issues and persuading more and more people of the need to act? Or are they likely to have the opposite effect, because conflict can be dysfunctional? Is it possible, in our current circumstances, to achieve dramatic regime change in time to address the environmental challenges we face? Or does our best hope lie in developing a pluralistic decision-making environment in which conflict is only part of a conversation that encompasses the possibility of working to change things from within? These questions haunt us yet.

STEWARDSHIP

Perhaps the ghosts of uncertainty might be reduced, if not banished, by figuring out what environmentalism is about. One recurring and overarching answer to this question is "stewardship." But this is a slippery concept. Its roots lie in the obligations of the servant (steward) designated to provide food and drink for the household, but its reference has extended over the years to include any task of supervising or taking care of something: the oversight of law courts, employee unions, college dining halls, Masonic lodges, and so on. More recently the term has come to connote "careful and responsible management." But it is also invoked in religious contexts, to refer to the use of time, talents, material possessions, or wealth in the service of God—or more pointedly to "utilizing and managing all resources God provides for the glory of God and the betterment of His creation."[64]

A recent attempt to pin down the meaning of environmental stewardship failed to find an answer in any "academic studies." The term, these authors point out, "has been used to refer to such diverse actions as creating protected areas, replanting trees, limiting harvests, reducing harmful activities or pollution, creating community gardens, restoring degraded areas, or purchasing more sustainable products." It encompasses attempts at environmental conservation as well as active restoration programs, and it often implies the sustainable use and/or management of resources, all undertaken at a variety of scales, in rural and urban settings.[65]

Trying to cut through all of this, we might ask whether stewardship,

in its environmental sense, is about protection? restraint? or revolution? In some sense, of course, it has been about all of these things, and there, perhaps, is why stewardship is one of the snags on which environmentalism has snarled. *Protection, restraint, revolution* are very different goals. Although all have emerged in reaction to deep or long-standing ills, each implies a radically different implementation strategy.

For reasons that have a lot to do with ideas of progress, human greed, and marketplace (as opposed, say, to ecological) economics, nature has long been objectified as a resource to be exploited for human benefit. Other views—and specific forms of resistance to this attitude—have long existed, of course. Think of Saint Francis of Assisi and his twelfth-century love of birds and animals; of English parson-naturalists such as John Ray and Gilbert White; of the natural theology of William Paley; of William Blake finding heaven in a wildflower; of the mantra enjoining people to study nature, not books, espoused by several prominent North Americans at the turn of the twentieth century.

Many of these dissident voices contributed to what has been called a preservationist ethic—the sense that some of nature's glory should be saved—*protected*—from the destructive march of economic growth. Here the familiar story of John Muir ("John of the Mountains"), the establishment of Yosemite National Park in California, and the founding of the Sierra Club can stand for the important larger story, much as Muir himself does when he is characterized as the "Father of the National Parks."[66] But if these parks were "America's best idea," they also helped substantiate a sentimental view of nature as something designated and bounded, a pleasant scenic backdrop to the far more important pursuit of economic growth and development.[67]

For the first generation of historians of environmental ideas, at least in North America, Muir's preservationist ethic often stood as a foil to more utilitarian conservation.[68] This wise-use philosophy also had a long and diverse pedigree. Some would trace it back to George Perkins Marsh, some to Gifford Pinchot and through him to the forestry schools of nineteenth-century France and Germany. Its great chronicler was Samuel Hays, whose landmark 1959 book characterized conservation as the "gospel of efficiency"; resources were just that, assets to be used for human purpose and benefit, not things to be squandered rashly or without purpose.[69] Wise use was better than spendthrift exploitation. As the endless frontier closed and plenty proved finite, the future could be

assured through careful resource management and the implementation of sustained yield strategies. Generally, sustained yield meant curbing demand to keep exploitation below a threshold of renewability.[70] This meant *restraint*. There were limits to growth, but all would be fine if we could set proper targets and hit them.

Therein, of course, lay another problem. Natural systems are enormously complex, science proved uncertain, demand remained voracious, and politics was everywhere. Mathematical models "explained" murky reality, even as they became too complex for most people to understand, and allowed input assumptions shaped by necessary simplifications, notions of ideal types, and the subjective choice of factors to determine harvest thresholds and long-term outcomes.[71] Most notoriously, fisheries management according to maximum sustained yield principles on Canada's Atlantic coast produced concern, consternation, and then catastrophe as fish populations plummeted.[72] Although weathered fishers worried about their declining catches, highly schooled bureaucrats remained convinced that all was well. By 1992 the five-hundred-year-old cod fishery had been managed to annihilation. Chastened, fisheries managers replaced their confident forecasts with talk of risk and uncertainty. Still, calls for change—if not always *revolution*—rang out. New ways were needed to save fish, trees, nature, and the world.

In tune with the times, some disavowed "expert knowledge." Science, they said, is reductive. By modeling and predicting, it encourages the hubristic belief that humans can control nature. The very idea of "management," the argument continued, is "rooted in the political and economic context of capitalist resource extraction" and should be abandoned in favor of a moral code defining the relations between people, nature, and their mutually supporting contexts.[73] Listen to the locals, ran this line of thought. Experience is the best guide. By placing "justice, compassion, and learning above science, rationality, and profit in shaping our interactions with the earth," we might be more inclined to forsake "the holy grail of manageability" and live within the ecosystems of which we are a part.[74]

This was too little for some. Changing the channel was no more than a temporary salve. It was the medium that was the problem, not the message. In this view, anthropocentric worldviews had to be discarded. All living things should be respected and afforded basic moral and legal rights regardless of their instrumental utility to humans.[75] Naess,

the originator of the philosophy of deep ecology, insisted that shallow (anthropocentric) environmentalism, with its utilitarian inclinations toward protection, restraint, and management, should be replaced by the idea that all forms of existence had an inviolable, if unquantifiable, right to life. In Naess's forceful view, "No single species of living being has more of this particular right to live and unfold than any other species."[76]

Others, equally concerned about humankind's quickening and ever more forceful assault on the planet during the heyday of high modernism after World War II, sought other, even deeper causes for the ills surrounding them. Proponents of such views insisted on the need to stop chasing economic growth in favor of improving the quality of life, made sustained arguments about the links between liberalism and capitalism, and concluded that "capitalism, once liberalism's loyal partner, had become the liberal's greatest enemy."[77] We do not, they contended, need to embrace without question every new invention in the name of economic efficiency. We can reject the competitive, possessive individualist ethos unleashed by liberal-capitalist conviction in favor of cooperation, community, and the commonweal.[78] These words portend revolution, but they have yet to gain widespread traction.

Naess's ideas, by contrast, were soon extended by arguments for new biocentric or deep green attitudes, and set in motion by the activities of Earth First![79] In 1971 the titular character of Dr. Seuss's book *The Lorax* claimed to speak for the trees that had no tongues.[80] Only a few months later, Christopher Stone asked whether trees should have "standing," or legal rights, and a few years after that Peter Singer urged that animals be given moral consideration.[81] A decade ago, Ecuador enshrined a parcel of rights pertaining to Mother Earth (at least within the bounds of that country), and legal personhood has since been conferred upon rivers, glaciers, and a mountain in various parts of the world.[82] These developments—largely symbolic though some of them may be—were almost impossible to envisage a half century ago.

HOPE IN THE ANTHROPOCENE

This, it is worth remembering, is the way of the world. Things change—albeit often gradually. And humans frequently drive those changes. Many changes are made deliberately, the result of conscious, careful, calculated choices. Others are unanticipated, the consequence of

narrow vision, inadequate understanding, fervent conviction, or even the perverse rejection of alternative options. Some seem to happen suddenly, some are more obviously slow to unfold, although they may gain unassailable momentum and transcend, in time, the impact of apparently more revolutionary shifts in circumstances.[83] Life is contingent. Agency, as management gurus would remind their fellows, "is influenced by a multitude of internal and external factors." Politics, as Otto von Bismarck famously had it, is the art of the possible.[84]

However abruptly they seem to occur, all changes have precursors or histories. Groundwork is done. Foundations are laid. Setbacks are endured. Battles are rejoined. Against the backdrop of high-modernist and neoliberal enthusiasms for economic development, the extension of legal and moral rights to trees, animals, rivers, and glaciers might be considered revolutionary, almost miraculous, because extending rights to some "thing" requires that it "be seen and valued for itself," and that is hard to do that if the "thing" has no "rights." Yet as Stone noted in arguing for trees, the circle of those entitled to various rights had expanded, however episodically and imperfectly over the millennia, to encompass children, "prisoners, aliens, women (especially of the married variety), the insane, Blacks, foetuses, and Indians."[85] As the range of recognition swells, so the circle of ethical and moral sentiment expands. Whether by dedicated and systematic labor or the serendipitous realization of an appropriate fit, pieces are added to the puzzle. Fragment by fragment a fuller, more encompassing image emerges, revealing what the relations among humans and the rest of nature might be, even as the shape of these arrangements extends beyond possibilities envisaged by those who first began to expand the circle of moral consideration.[86]

So, moves to enshrine the rights of nature in the constitution of Ecuador and to recognize Te Awa Tupua (the Whanganui River in Aotearea/New Zealand) as an indivisible and living being possessed of the "rights, powers, duties and liabilities of a legal person" are recent milestones on a long and winding path that traces back through the establishment of environmental impact assessments, licensing systems intended to extract value from the exploitation of resources, and the protection of places with high scenic beauty to the discovery of glory in mountains and wonder in nature.[87] So, too, the hundred-plus countries that have incorporated the right to a healthy environment into their constitutions since 1972 have done so, substantially, on the basis of

work done in the last five decades by scientists, citizens, environmental activists, politicians, and others increasingly persuaded of the magnitude of the developing ecological crisis.

In the final analysis these provisions often go beyond the hopes of many of those who advocated for them. By one account "the human right to a healthy environment brings together the environmental dimensions of civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights, and protects the core elements of the natural environment that enable a life of dignity."[88] But acceptance of this right to a healthy environment also rests upon the earlier concerns and commitment of thousands who agitated against the environmental ills made tangible by the smogs of Los Angeles and London in the 1950s and 1960s, and before them by the likes of Alice Hamilton, whose work at Hull House in Chicago before World War I revealed the extent and potency of industrial toxicity and unsanitary living conditions among immigrant workers.[89]

All of this speaks to two essential points that offer grounds for hope in the Anthropocene. First, the essential message of environmentalism through the last half century and more has been a deeply ecological and inclusive one: everything is connected and we are all in this together. Here lay the compelling power of early "Spaceship Earth" rhetoric, and here too current concerns about planetary boundaries, the ecological ceiling, safe operating spaces, and overshoot find their purchase. Second, and despite pitfalls, diversions, and reversals along the way, environmental activism has secured a lot of local ground and many planetary processes from rash assault over the last several decades. Earth continues to suffer various forms of abuse at diverse scales, but we cannot live in the world without leaving marks upon it. Minimization and mitigation are more realistic goals than complete avoidance, and on this score environmentalism has chalked up notable victories. Eternal vigilance and continuing commitments are required to hold and extend ground already won—but that is the nature of the job.

As a movement, environmentalism has been resilient and resourceful. Modern environmentalism emerged in North America in tandem with and in reaction to a series of massive transformations of land and life in the years after World War II. In this it bore some resemblance to the British Romantic movement that spawned William Blake, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Ruskin, William Wordsworth, and others who rebelled against the societal, aesthetic, and environmental consequences

of the first Industrial Revolution to see "a World in a Grain of Sand / And a Heaven in a Wild Flower."[90]

The environmental movement of the late 1960s developed in response to many of the most egregious environmental consequences of the (high) modernist moment, when brute force technologies remade the face of the earth by turning rivers into machines, farms into factories, and cities into concrete jungles; by polluting the air and the waters; by displacing people and their communities; and by unleashing bulldozers to construct highway networks that fostered automobility and extended suburbia, seemingly almost endlessly across the countryside.[91] Little wonder that much of the early discourse of the movement turned on the defense of home places and a refusal of modernity.

Changing circumstances soon shifted the terms on which environmentalists sought to stand their ground, however. Globalization and hyperconnectivity—the signature characteristics of the neoliberal era—did much to dissociate protest and place. Increasingly amorphous corporate entities, headquartered in locales remote from the scenes of most of their activities and increasingly able to operate beyond the close regulatory or financial control of national governments, were ever more difficult to censure "in person." The nature of many of the most pressing environmental ills also changed—and here global warming is the prime example—as their effects had global consequences and the apportionment of responsibility for them was confounded by historical, national, and corporate obfuscations that traded in one way and another on "tragedy of the commons" arguments. Rather than despairing at the magnitude of the mountain looming before them, activists adapted. Shifting attention from the supply to the demand side of commodity chains, they orchestrated consumer boycotts instead of workplace confrontations. Combining compelling publicity campaigns with new tactics (such as the registered and recognizable certification of goods produced according to specified environmental standards), they raised environmental awareness and provided millions of people with ready means to make thoughtful decisions about their consumption choices.[92]

Furthermore, environmentalists of the twenty-first century have learned from, and largely moved beyond the categorical purity that bedeviled and divided environmentalists in Nova Scotia and many other places as they argued bitterly over the morality of consorting with the devil of corporate capitalism. Just as the bitter wars in the woods

of British Columbia, Oregon, Tasmania, and other domains (which seemed at times to turn on a choice that was no choice at all: between no logging whatsoever and complete removal of the forest) have given way to pragmatic compromises expressed and enforced through regulation, so too are more environmentally benign ways forward being brokered in other sectors. Likewise (in response to both scientific research and activist consciousness-raising), recognition of the necessity of technological change to address the potential consequences of further climate change is gaining traction among governments and corporate interests previously staunchly opposed to significantly adjusting the status quo. Change is coming.

In the end environmentalists are unlikely to claim, anytime soon, that the great conjoined conundrums of our time—How can we assure the future of generations to come? How can we save the planet?—have been properly addressed. Indeed, that moment might remain forever beyond human attainment. It is a holy grail to strive for, rather than a goal to reach. Environmentalism is a job that lasts forever. Clearly there can be no sloughing of the hard work entailed in that task. Moving the environmental agenda forward requires that environmentalists be clear about their goals, the scale of their concerns, and the strategies they will use to achieve their ends. But there is reason for hope, as we navigate the Anthropocene, in the complex half-century record of recent environmental activism, and the major economic and social perturbations produced by the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020–21. There is no simple nor universally applicable formula for success, but recent disruptions that have destabilized the neoliberal consensus have shown that swift and significant adjustments can be made to the status quo. If politics is the art of the possible, so environmentalism might ART-fully knit together heightened public **A**wareness, the power of appropriate **R**egulation, and the potential of improved **T**echnology to provide a compelling new story about the human place in Earth's ecosystem—and a more secure and just future for us all.

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NOTES

1. Aaron Sachs, "Wallace Stegner's *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs*: A Calming Influence," *American Scholar*, July 20, 2015. Sachs's brief reflection then shaped my own ruminations.

2. Eastend Arts Council's Wallace Stegner House, About page, https://www.geographyofhope.ca/about.

3. Wallace Stegner, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (Westminster, MD: Random House, 1992), 132.

4. David Suzuki, "Environmentalism Is a Way of Being, Not a Discipline," September 28, 2017, David Suzuki Foundation, https://davidsuzuki.org/story/environmentalism-way-not-discipline/.

5. Brett J. Olsen, "Wallace Stegner and the Environmental Ethic: Environmentalism as a Rejection of Western Myth," *Western American Literature* 29, no. 2 (1994): 123–42; Elia T. Ben-Ari, "Defender of the Voiceless: Wallace Stegner's Conservation Legacy," *BioScience* 50, no. 3 (March 2000): 253–57. Suzuki is a prolific author; for a start, see *David Suzuki: The Autobiography* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2006). For Rachel Carson, see Linda Lear, *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997). See also "Greta Thunberg: Who Is She and What Does She Want?" February 28, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-49918719; Curt Meine, *Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); Matthew C. Nisbet, "How Bill McKibben Changed Environmental Politics and Took On the Oil Patch," *Policy Options*, May 1, 2013, https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/arctic-visions/how-bill-mckibben-changed-environmental-politics-and-took-on-the-oil-patch/; Huw Spanner, "Time We Started Counting," interview with Bill McKibben, *High Profiles*, June 22, 2016, https://highprofiles.info/interview/bill-mckibben/.

6. In other contexts I would distinguish between environmental activists, unquestionably wedded to their cause, and environmental scholars concerned with articulating carefully reasoned, evidence-based arguments about environmental issues (faith vs. data), but this seems unnecessary here. For some shades of this distinction, see Graeme Wynn with Jennifer Bonnell, "Advocates and Activists," in Colin C. Coates and Graeme Wynn, eds., *The Nature of Canada* (Vancouver: OnPoint Press, an imprint of UBC Press, 2019), 298–317.

7. An eclectic selection by way of introduction: Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Julie Cruikshank, "Are Glaciers 'Good to Think With'? Recognising Indigenous Environmental Knowledge," *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology* 22, no. 3 (2012): 239–50; M. M. R. Freeman, "The Nature and Utility of Traditional Ecological Knowledge," *Northern Perspectives* 20, no. 1 (1992): 9–12; Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003); Fikret Berkes, J. Colding, and Carl Folke, "Rediscovery of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Adaptive Management," *Ecological Applications* 10, no. 5 (2000): 1251–62; Peter J. Usher, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Environmental Assessment and Management," *Arctic* 53, no. 2 (June 2000): 183–89; Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013). The most sweeping effort to encompass Indigenous environmental ethics and non-Western philosophies may be J. Baird Callicott, *Earth's Insights: A Multicultural Survey of Ecological Ethics from the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

8. See, for example, J. Baird Callicott and James McRae, eds., *Environmental Philosophy in Asian Traditions of Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), in which can be found the essays flagged above on Gandhi (Bart Gruzalski, pp. 53–70), Chinese neo-Confucianism (Mary Evelyn Tucker, pp. 133–48), and the Japanese intellectual tradition (David E. Shaner and R. Shannon Duval, pp. 291–314). Ramachandra Guha early on marked the importance of respecting difference with an essay critiquing the embrace of wilderness preservation and deep ecology by American environmentalists: "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique," *Environmental Ethics* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 71–83. See also Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Ecology and Equity in the Use and Abuse of Nature* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

9. For commentary on and pointers to some of the literature on environmental governance in non-English-speaking authoritarian societies, see Robert M. Wilson, "Authoritarian Environmental Governance: Insights from the Past Century," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 109, no. 2 (2019): 314–23.

10. Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

11. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); Thomas Dunlap, *DDT: Scientists, Citizens, and Public Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

12. Joanna Dean, "A Gendered Sense of Nature," in Coates and Wynn, *Nature of Canada*, 281–97; John R. McNeill and P. Engelke, *The Great Acceleration: An Environmental History of the Anthropocene since 1945* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

13. Aldo Leopold, "The Land Ethic," in *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), 201–26.

14. The photography-as-weapon quote is from Eliot Porter, whose photographs are combined with Thoreau's words in Eliot Porter and Henry David Thoreau, *In Wildness Is the Preservation of the World* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1962), but it resonates more generally with the campaigns of the Sierra Club and other wilderness defenders during this period. For an excellent overview, see Finis Dunaway, *Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American Environmental Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

15. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*.

16. For a recent review, see Andrew C. Isenberg, "From the Periphery to the Center: North American Environmental History," *Global Environment* 12 (2013): 80–101. For more on this point, consider Robert M. Wilson, "Making Tracks: Scholar Activist?" Seeing the Woods: A Blog by the Rachel Carson Center, August 25, 2016: "Environmental history is a child, in part, of the 1970s environmental movement. Early environmental historians participated in and supported the movement but over time, many developed a critical distance between their scholarly practice and the movement that helped birth the field. For environmental historians trained in history this was particularly important; their fellow historians sometimes regarded environmental history as simply 'activist history' and therefore insufficiently rigorous. Gaining disciplinary legitimacy partly entailed establishing some distance between the practice of environmental history and the social movement of environmentalism." https://seeingthewoods.org/2016/08/25/making-tracks-robert-wilson/.

17. See Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1087–1106; Richard White, "Environmental History, Ecology, and Meaning," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1111–16; William Cronon, "Placing Nature in History," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1122–31.

18. Frank S. Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Robert Olney Easton, *Black Tide: The Santa Barbara Oil Spill and Its Consequences* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1972); Teresa Sabol Spezio, *Slick Policy: Environmental and Science Policy in the Aftermath of the Santa Barbara Oil Spill* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018); Jennifer Reed, *Love Canal* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2002); Allan Mazur, *A Hazardous Inquiry: The Rashomon Effect at Love Canal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Bikem Ekberzade, *Standing Rock: Greed, Oil and the Lakota's Struggle for Justice* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon, "The Black Snake, #NoDAPL, and the Rise of a People's Movement," in Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon, eds., *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019); Ellen Griffith Spears, *Rethinking the American Environmental Movement post-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2019), "Introduction."

19. Mark Fiege's *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012) is the most concerted effort to place environmental history at the center of the American story.

20. Robert Gioielli, "New Histories of Environmental Activism: A Review of *Rethinking the American Environmental Movement*," *Southern Spaces*, July 7, 2020, https://southernspaces.org/2020/new-histories-environmental-activism-review-rethinking-american-environmental-movement/.

21. Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2005); Spears, *Rethinking the American Environmental Movement*.

22. For discussion of environmentalism in France and Germany, see Michael Bess, *The Light Green Society: Ecology and Technological Modernity in France, 1960–2000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), and Frank Uekötter, *The Greenest Nation? A New History of German Environmentalism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).

23. Carry van Lieshout, "British Environmental History," *AREAS. Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales, Historia ambiental en Europa y América Latina: miradas cruzadas* 35 (2016): 27–35; T. C. Smout, "The Environmental Historiography of Britain," in T. C. Smout, ed., *Exploring Environmental History: Selected Essays* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Graeme Wynn, "Travels with George Perkins Marsh: Notes on a Journey into Environmental History," in Alan MacEachern and William J. Turkel, eds., *Method and Meaning in Canadian Environmental History* (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), 2–23; Graeme Wynn, "'Tracing One Warm Line through a Land so Wide and Savage': Fifty Years of Historical Geography in Canada," *Historical Geography* 40 (2012): 5–32.

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26. William Dietrich, *The Final Forest: Big Trees, Forks, and the Pacific Northwes*t (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010); Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); Jared Hobbs and Richard J. Cannings,

Spotted Owls: Shadows in an Old-Growth Forest (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2007); James D. Proctor, "Whose Nature? The Contested Moral Terrain of Ancient Forests," in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 269–97; Terre Satterfield, *Anatomy of a Conflict: Identity, Knowledge, and Emotion in Old-Growth Forests* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002); Phill Pullinger, *Pulling a Swiftie: Systemic Tasmanian Government Approval of Logging Known to Damage Swift Parrot Habitat*, a report prepared for Environment Tasmania, available at https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/marine/pages/488/attachments/original/1427079734/Pulling_a_Swiftie_Report_WEB.pdf?1427079734.

27. Media Release, "NSW and Tasmanian Swift Parrot Habitat Logging Halted by Protests," Bob Brown Foundation: Action for Earth, https://www.bobbrown.org.au/mr_07122020.

28. In some respects, Greenpeace led the way here, as Bob Hunter, a journalist involved in the movement's first protest action, coined the idea and encouraged the strategy of deploying media "Mind Bombs" (images that would explode in people's heads all over the world, changing social consciousness); see Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace!*

29. Richard White, "'Are You an Environmentalist? or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," in Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*, 171–85.

30. Guy David Wright, "Swiling: An Ethnographic Portrait of the Newfoundland Seal Hunt" (master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983); John Livernois, "The Economics of Ending Canada's Commercial Harp Seal Hunt," *Marine Policy* 34, no. 1 (January 2009): 42–53.

31. Donald Kaniaru, ed., *The Montreal Protocol: Celebrating 20 Years of Environmental Progress. Ozone Layer and Climate Protection* (London: Cameron May and UNEP, 2007). The Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants, which came into force in May 2004 and is ratified by more than 152 countries, stands as another successful treaty for global environmental protection. See Marco A. Olsen, *Analysis of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 2003).

32. On environmentalism as a new social movement, see Lester W. Milbrath, *Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

33. Jacklyn Cock and David Fig, "The Impact of Globalisation on Environmental Politics in South Africa, 1990–2002," *African Sociological Review* 5, no. 2 (2001): 15–35; see also Carruthers and Jacobs, "History of Environment, Power, and Justice."

34. David Suzuki and Graeme Wynn, "Has Environmentalism Failed?" in Lev Bratishenko and Mirko Zardini, eds., *It's All Happening so Fast: A Counter-History of the Modern Canadian Environment* (Montreal and Heijningen: Canadian Centre for Architecture / Jap Sam Books, 2016), 167–89.

35. Thunberg quotes can be found at https://curious.earth/blog/greta-thunberg-quotes-best-21/.

36. For an eclectic sampling, see Jason W. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London: Verso, 2015); M. Himley, "Geographies of Environmental Governance: The Nexus of Nature and Neoliberalism," *Geography Compass* 2, no. 2 (2008): 433–51; James McCarthy and Scott Prudham, "Neoliberal Nature and the Nature of Neoliberalism," *Geoforum* 35, no. 3 (2004): 275–83; Karen Bakker, "The Limits of 'Neoliberal Natures': Debating Green Neoliberalism," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 6 (2010): 715–35; Graeme Wynn, "Framing an Ecology of Hope," *Environmental History* 25, no. 1 (2020): 2–34; Maria Ojanen, Wen Zhou, Daniel C. Miller, Sue Helen Nieto, Baruani Mshale, and Gillian Petrokofsky, "What Are the Environmental Impacts of Property Rights Regimes in Forests, Fisheries and Rangelands?" *Environmental Evidence* 6 (2017), https://environmentalevidencejournal.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s13750-017-0090-2.pdf; Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (New York: Free Press, 2004); Eric T. Freyfogle, *Why Conservation Is Failing and How It Can Regain Ground* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); George Monbiot, *How Did We Get into This Mess? Politics, Equality, Nature* (London: Verso, 2016).

37. Barbara A. Kennedy, "A Naughty World," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 4, no. 4 (1979): 550–58.

38. For current ecological plight and overshoot, see Will Steffen et al., "Planetary boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet," *Science* 347, no. 6223 (2015): 736 and 1259855-1 to 1259855-10; Will Steffen, "Trajectories of the Earth System in the Anthropocene," *PNAS* 115, no. 33 (August 14, 2018): 8252–59; Johan Rockström et al., "A Safe Operating Space for Humanity," *Nature* 461 (2009): 472–75. For ills reduced, think of air and water pollution, and note the argument in Adam Rome's *The Genius of Earth Day: How a 1970 Teach-In Unexpectedly Made the First Green Generation* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2014) that Earth Day 1970 gave voice to concerns about waste and pollution and produced what Rome calls "the first green generation." A coalition of youth, scientists, conservationists, and middle-class women demanded action, and the US Congress legistlated the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act to address these problems. Earth Day and the movement it spawned were also instrumental to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970. In a similar vein, Michael Bess sees France as a society in which much has been changed by environmental concerns "but modestly, moderately, without upsetting the existing state of things too much" (*Light Green Society*, 5); here as in many other parts of the world, citizens espouse the value of being green and avow the importance of "sustainability" but stop short of making the deeper, more costly, and disruptive structural changes needed to contend with climate change and similar environmental challenges. For an account

of significant difference-making through one of the world's best environmental treaties, see Kaniaru, *Montreal Protocol*.

39. For Dubos's use of the term in 1972, at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, see Ralph Keyes, *The Quote Verifier: Who Said What, Where, and When* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2006), 79.

40. Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); R. Buckminster Fuller, *An Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth* (Washington, DC, 1967); Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth," in H. Jarrett, ed., *Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy: Essays from the Sixth RFF Forum* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 3–14.

41. John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911; San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 110 (citations are to the 1988 edition); Leopold, *Sand County Almanac*; Carson, *Silent Spring*; Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968); Donnella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jørgen Randers, and William W. Behrens III, *The Limits to Growth* (New York: Universe Books, 1972); Andrew Kirk, *Counterculture Green* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007). Ursula K. Heise offers a smart, wide-ranging, and important discussion of the relations between ways of imagining the global and ethical commitments to the local (upon which these opening paragraphs broadly rest) from the perspective of literary ecocriticism in *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), where she pays particular attention to global-scale representations of ecological crisis.

42. Scott Russell Sanders, *Staying Put: Making a Home in a Restless World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), xvi (cited by Heise, *Sense of Place*, 38).

43. Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974), 4. At the University of Toronto, Edward C. (Ted) Relph submitted a PhD dissertation titled "The Phenomenon of Place" in 1973. Revised and published as *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), it became a "classic of human geography" (see *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 4 [2000]). Relph recalls that his search of library card catalogs ca. 1970 revealed that almost nothing had been written about place (see his website Placeness, Place, Placelessness, http://www.placeness.com). In his website discussion of Tuan's influential book, Relph points out that both W. H. Auden and Gaston Bachelard had earlier used variants of the term.

44. Paul Shepard, "Place in American Culture," *North American Review* 262, no. 3 (Fall 1977): 32; Wendell Berry, *A Continuous Harmony: Essays Cultural and Agricultural* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 68–69; Sanders, *Staying Put*, xiii–xv (all cited in Heise, *A Sense of Place*, 29–31).

45. Robert Fulford and John Sewell, *A Sense of Time and Place* (Toronto: City Pamphlets, 1971); Northrop Frye, "Conclusion," in Carl F. Klinck, ed., *Literary His-*

tory of Canada: Canadian Literature in English (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Neil Evernden, "Beyond Ecology: Self, Place and the Pathetic Fallacy," in Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm, eds., *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 92–104; Philip Buckner, "'Limited Identities' Revisited: Regionalism and Nationalism in Canadian History," *Acadiensis* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 4–15; J. M. S. Careless, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 50, no. 1 (March 1969): 1–10.

46. Arne Naess, "Identification as a Source of Deep Ecological Attitudes," in Michael Tobias, ed., *Deep Ecology* (San Diego: Avant Books, 1985), 268.

47. This paragraph distills much of the substance of Heise, *Sense of Place*, chapter 1, "From the Blue Planet to Google Earth: Environmentalism, Ecocriticism, and the Imagination of the Global."

48. The phrase is adapted from the opening lines of William Wordsworth's poem written in opposition to the proposed Kendal and Windermere Railway in the English Lake District in 1844; in the original, it reads: "Is then no nook of English ground secure / From rash assault?" It was used in the title of James Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault: Sustaining the Victorian Environment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

49. Harald Welzer, *Climate Wars: What People Will Be Killed for in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012); Michael F. Maniates, "Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World?" *Global Environmental Politics* 1, no. 3 (August 2001): 31–52.

50. Heise, *Sense of Place*, 21.

51. Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 147. See also David Harvey, *The Condition of Post Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 240; David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

52. Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today* 38 (June 1991): 24–29, quotation on 28; Tim Cresswell, *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction* (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), chapter 11. See also Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, "Neoliberalizing Space," *Antipode* 34, no.3 (2002), 380–404; "Doreen Massey on Space," Social Science Bites, http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/.

53. Mark R. Leeming, *In Defence of Home Places: Environmental Activists in Nova Scotia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 149.

54. Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace!*; Robert Wilson, "Making Tracks"; Justin Page, *Tracking the Great Bear: How Environmentalists Recreated British Columbia's Coastal Rainforest* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014); Juliet Eilperin and Steven Mufson, "Activists Arrested at White House Protesting Keystone Pipeline," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2013.

55. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 7; Maureen G. Reed, *Taking Stands: Gender and*

the Sustainability of Rural Communities (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003).

56. Leeming, I*n Defence of Home Places*.

57. Mike Allen, "Portsmouth-Born Canadian Activist Reflects on Life," *The News* (Portsmouth), November 25, 1994, http://home.ca.inter.net/~greenweb/David_Orton_reflects_on_life.pdf.

58. *Between the Issues* (October 1980), https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10222/14780/MS-11-13_31264026410238.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

59. Amory B. Lovins, "Energy Strategy: The Road not Taken?" *Foreign Affairs*, October 1976, 65–96. Many years later, Holtz's brief résumé noted that she was "the founding Vice Chair of both the Nova Scotia and the now-disbanded National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy," and that she had served on numerous other advisory bodies and panels. In a 2013 article titled "Redirecting Anti-Wind Energy," the fundamental philosophical difference between her position and those of more radical environmentalists committed to oppositional politics (between Leeming's ecomodernist and nonmodernist groups) was starkly exposed in her assertion that "some public stands are simply characterized as broad—and predictable—knee-jerk negativity: CAVE (Citizens Against Virtually Everything); BANANA (Build Absolutely Nothing Anywhere Near Anything); and NOPE (Not On Planet Earth)." In Holtz's mature view, adversarial processes, including Canada's legal and political systems, served to block progress on contentious public issues. See Susan Holtz, "Redirecting Anti-Wind Energy: Individuals, Communities and Politicians Can Turn a Debate Stalemate into an Opportunity for Collaboration," *Alternatives Journal* 39, no. 5 (September/October 2013): 44–47.

60. A much-remarked example in Canada is provided by Patrick Moore, a member of the Greenpeace crew on the voyage to Amchitka and a prominent member of the group's inner circle in its early years. With a PhD (1974) on the administration of pollution control, he was involved in protests against French nuclear testing in the Pacific and in Greenpeace's early "Save the Whales" campaigns. He served as president of Greenpeace Canada and as a director of Greenpeace International before parting ways with the organization, citing political differences in 1986. In the 1990s he served as a consultant to various industries and advocated sustainable development. In the new millennium he was increasingly vocal in support of nuclear energy, he supported tropical rainforest logging, and he expressed doubts about global climate change. Environmental activists criticize him for advocating for many of the industries and activities that Greenpeace was founded to counter.

61. Catherine Knight, *Beyond Manapouri: Fifty Years of Environmental Politics in New Zealand* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 2018).

62. These facets of Royal Commission proceedings are well discussed in Molly Clarkson, "Speaking for Sockeye, Speaking for Themselves: First Nations Engagement in the Cohen Commission (2009–2012)" (MA thesis, University of British

Columbia, 2016), chapter 2. Similar observations about the often deleterious consequences of environmental impact assessment procedures for Indigenous groups abound. See Carly A. Dokis, *Where the Rivers Meet: Pipelines, Participatory Resource Management and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015).

63. Richard Grant, "Paul Watson: Sea Shepherd Eco-Warrior Fighting to Stop Whaling and Seal Hunts," *Daily Telegraph* (London), April 17, 2009; see, for example, Mark S. Winfield, *Blue-Green Province: The Environment and the Political Economy of Ontario* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).

64. Charles Bugg, "Stewardship," in Trent C. Butler, ed., *Holman Bible Dictionary* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1991), 1303–4, https://www.studylight.org/dictionaries/eng/hbd/s/stewardship.html.

65. Nathan J. Bennett, Tara S. Whitty, Elena Finkbeiner, Jeremy Pittman, Hannah Bassett, Stefan Gelcich, and Edward H. Allison, "Environmental Stewardship: A Conceptual Review and Analytical Framework," *Environmental Management* 61, no. 4 (April 2018): 597–614.

66. Donald Worster, *A Passion for Nature: A Life of John Muir* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Stephen Fox, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), one of the foundational texts of American environmental history, was important in emphasizing the importance of wilderness for Americans.

67. Wallace Stegner called America's national parks "the best idea we ever had" and bequeathed a title to the Ken Burns/Dayton Duncan six-episode PBS television series *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, which aired in 2009. The first parks quickly became models for others in Canada, New Zealand, and elsewhere. In the last quarter century historians have been critical of exclusion and dispossession of Indigenous people in parks creation. See Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Mark D. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Theodore (Ted) Binnema and Melanie Niemi, "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now': Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada," *Environmental History* 11, no. 4 (October 2006): 724–50. Further challenge to the parks idea came when scholars began to see them, and wilderness, as social constructions; this raised the ire of many preservationists. See William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*, 69–90; Gary Snyder, "Nature as Seen from Kitkitdizze Is No 'Social Construction,'" *Wild Earth* 6, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 8–9; James D. Proctor, "Solid Rock and Shifting Sands: The Moral Paradox of Saving a

Socially-Constructed Nature," in Noel Castree and Bruce Braun, *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 225–39.

68. Adriaan Buys, "What Are the Differences between Conservation and Preservation?" *Conservation Magazine*, November 28, 2020, https://conservationmag.org/en/environment/what-are-the-differences-between-conservation-and-preservation.

69. Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*: *The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959).

70. David Townsend Mason, *Forests for the Future: The Story of Sustained Yield as Told in the Diaries and Papers of David T. Mason, 1907–1950* (Minneapolis: Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1952); John L. Walker, "Traditional Sustained Yield Management: Problems and Alternatives," *Forestry Chronicle* 66, no. 1 (February 1990): 20–24.

71. Dean Bavington, *Managed Annihilation: An Unnatural History of the Newfoundland Cod Collapse* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010); see also Carmel Finley, *All the Fish in the Sea: Maximum Sustainable Yield and the Failure of Fisheries Management* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

72. This catastrophe is the springboard for Bavington, *Managed Annihilation*. It has been much examined. See among other works the scholarly—George A. Rose, *Cod: The Ecological History of the North Atlantic Fisheries* (St John's: Breakwater Books, 2007)—and the sensational—Alex Rose, *Who Killed the Grand Banks: The Untold Story behind the Decimation of One of the World's Greatest Natural Resources* (Mississauga, ON: John Wiley & Sons, 2008).

73. Bavington, *Managed Annihilation*, conclusion, quoting Paul Nadasdy, "Adaptive Co-Management and the Gospel of Resilience," in D. Armitage, F. Berkes, and N. Doubleday, eds., *Adaptive Co-Management: Collaboration, Learning, and Multi-Level Governance* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 223.

74. Quotation from Bavington, *Managed Annihilation*, 116; Kai Bosworth, in "The People Know Best: Situating the Counterexpertise of Populist Pipeline Opposition Movements," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 109, no. 2 (2019): 581–92, has argued recently with respect to the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines "that counterexpertise is a political activity" not because it produces an alternative epistemology "but as a minor science that contests science from within and in the process shapes left-populist political coalitions." For different perspective and commentary on some of the practical implications of the "war on science," see William M. Alley and Rosemarie Alley, *The War on the EPA: America's Endangered Environmental Protections* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020).

75. Christopher D. Stone, *Should Trees Have Standing? Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects* (Los Altos, CA: W. Kaufmann, 1974); Christopher D. Stone, *Should Trees Have Standing? Law, Morality, and the Environment*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also David R. Boyd, *The Environmental Rights Revolu-*

tion: A Global Study of Constitutions, Human Rights, and the Environment (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012); David R. Boyd, *The Rights of Nature: A Legal Revolution that Could Save the World* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2017).

76. Arne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle: Outline of an Ecosophy*, trans. David Rothenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 166. See also Alan Drengson, "Some Thought on the Deep Ecology Movement," Foundation for Deep Ecology, http://www.deepecology.org/deepecology.htm.

77. The sentiment is that of the Canadian political theorist C. B. Macpherson. See Ian McKay, "A Half-Century of Possessive Individualism: C. B. Macpherson and the Twenty-First-Century Prospects of Liberalism," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 25, no. 1 (2014): 307–40.

78. Wynn, "Framing an Ecology of Hope."

79. Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1985); Keith Makoto Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018); Martha F. Lee, *Earth First! Environmental Apocalypse* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

80. Dr. Seuss, *The Lorax* (New York: Random House, 1971).

81. Christopher D. Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing?—Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects," *Southern California Law Review* 45 (1972): 450–501; Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* (New York: Avon Books, 1975); Roderick F. Nash, *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

82. Hugo Echeverría, "Rights of Nature. The Ecuadorian Case," *Revista Esmat* 9, no. 13 (2017): 77–86; Jeremy Lurgio, "Saving the Whanganui," *Guardian*, November 29, 2019; Dan Cheater, "I Am the River, and the River Is Me: Legal Personhood and Emerging Rights of Nature," *West Coast Environmental Law*, March 22, 2018, https://www.wcel.org/blog/i-am-river-and-river-me-legal-personhood-and-emerging-rights-nature.

83. Worth note here are the insights in Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

84. N. Winchester and N. Bailey, "The Return of Cultural Dopes? Cultural Explanations and the Problem of Agency," British Academy of Management Annual Conference, Cardiff University, September 11–13, 2012, https://www.academia.edu/6856242/The_return_of_cultural_dopes_Cultural_explanations_and_the_problem_of_agency?email_work_card=view-paper. Bismarck in conversation with Meyer von Waldeck, August 11, 1867, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191826719.001.0001/q-oro-ed4-00008442.

85. Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing?," 450–51.

86. Nash, *Rights of Nature*.

87. On the discovery of glory in mountains, see Marjorie H. Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Seattle:

University of Washington Press, 1997 [1959]); Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003); Dawn L. Hollis, "*Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*: The Genealogy of an Idea," *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 26, no. 4 (Autumn 2019): 1038–61. The extension of rights to rivers continues, including in February 2021 to the Magpie River in Nitassinan/Quebec: Morgan Lowrie, "Quebec River Granted Legal Rights as Part of Global 'Personhood' Movement," *CBC News/Canadian Press*, February 28, 2021, https://www.cbc.ca/amp/1.5931067.

88. Marcos A. Orellana, "The Case for a Right to a Healthy Environment," *Human Rights Watch*, March 1, 2018 (first published in *World Policy*), available at https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/03/01/case-right-healthy-environment; John H. Knox and Ramin Pejan, eds., *The Human Right to a Healthy Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

89. James Pasley, "35 Vintage Photos Reveal What Los Angeles Looked Like Before the US Regulated Pollution," *Insider*, January 7, 2020, https://www.insider.com/vintage-photos-los-angeles-smog-pollution-epa-2020-1; Christopher Klein, "The Great Smog of 1952: For Five Days in December 1952, the Great Smog of London Smothered the City, Wreaking Havoc and Killing Thousands," *History* (2018), retrieved from https://www.history.com/news/the-killer-fog-that-blanketed-london-60-years-ago; Ian J, Lawson, "Alice Hamilton, 1869–1970, 'The Mother of Occupational Medicine,'" *Occupational Medicine* 68, no. 4 (June 2018): 224–25. To this day the American Society for Environmental History awards the Alice Hamilton Prize for the best article published outside the journal *Environmental History* each year.

90. Vicky Albritton and Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Green Victorians: The Simple Life in John Ruskin's Lake District* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Harriet Ritvo, *The Dawn of Green Manchester, Thirlmere, and Modern Environmentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

91. James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998) introduced the notion of high modernism to discussions of the post–World War II period; Paul Josephson's *Industrialized Nature* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2002) centered the idea of "brute-force technologies." For monographic investigations of these developments, see Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013); Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christopher C. Sellers, *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Christopher W. Wells, *Car Country: An Environmental History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); Tina Loo, *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and*

Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2019).

92. For a lively and informative personal commentary on several of these issues, see Tzeporah Berman, *This Crazy Time: Living Our Environmental Challenge* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, Canada, 2011).