



TROUBLE IN THE FOREST

California's Redwood Timber Wars



Richard Widick

“What Mike Davis has so memorably done for Los Angeles County in *City of Quartz*, Richard Widick has now done for Humboldt County in this provocative narrative. Through the prisms and perspectives of history, social theory, contemporary conflict, and analysis from a global/local point of view, Widick evokes a clash of civilizations pitting unregulated capitalism against an increasingly militant reformist concern for the survival of the planet.”

—KEVIN STARR, University of Southern California

“*Trouble in the Forest* is a first class work of considerable importance. There is no equivalent book to this one in the study of the conflict over the California redwoods, even though it is one of the emblematic struggles of modern environmentalism.”

—JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER, University of Oregon

Wars over natural resources have been fiercely fought in the Humboldt Bay redwood region of Northern California, a situation made devastatingly urgent in recent decades. In *Trouble in the Forest*, Richard Widick narrates the long and bloody history of this hostility and demonstrates how it exemplifies the key contemporary challenge facing modern societies—the collision of capitalism, ecology, and social justice. An innovative blend of social history, cultural theory, and ethnography, *Trouble in the Forest* maps how the landscape has registered the impact of this epochal struggle and how the timber wars embody the forces of market capitalism, free speech, and liberal government.

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Map of Humboldt County, California, created by Richard Widick

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Preface

One ought to read everything, study everything.
In other words, one must have at one's disposal
the general archive of a period at a given moment.
And archaeology is, in a strict sense, the science
of this archive.

—*Michel Foucault*

All production is appropriation of nature on the
part of an individual within and through a specific
form of society.

—*Karl Marx*

Wigi. Later, in a new tongue, even local Wiyot would call it Humboldt Bay. In 1850 Wiyot tribal lands surrounded the bay, reaching south beyond the Eel River to Bear River, north beyond the Mad River to Little River, and inland into the first mountain ranges, and so the Wiyot took the greatest blow when the men of the Laura Virginia Company finally discovered the entrance bar and sailed their cutter into the bay, permanently anchoring the Euro-Anglo-American culture system of capitalism along with their boat right in the center of the Wiyot universe. So began the colonization that would, over the next 150 years, first by force and then by way of commodity production to infinity, produce a new place from the old, a place we now call

Humboldt County, California, or simply Humboldt—the place of the redwood timber wars.

The old language of this place was only spoken, not written, and the effect on cultural transmission was tremendous when, on February 26, 1860, pioneer settlers massacred between eighty and one hundred Indians on Humboldt Bay's Indian Island. The killers also struck at Wiyot villages around the mouth of Humboldt Bay and to the south along the Eel River at Eagle Prairie, a spot now occupied by the town of Rio Dell. No final count of the bodies was ever made (estimates range between 150 and 200), but this much we do know: between first contact in 1850 and the massacres of 1860, disease, murder, slavery, enclosure, depletion of wildlife, starvation, war, and state-sanctioned removal and concentration on reservation camps reduced the population of Wiyot from somewhere between fifteen hundred and two thousand to perhaps two hundred. The tribe reports that only one hundred full-blooded Wiyot were living within the tribal area in 1910. Today there are approximately 550 members enrolled, some living on the eighty-eight-acre Table Bluff Reservation overlooking Humboldt Bay from the south. But the tribe has not danced together since that ghastly night 150 years ago. According to Albert James, a descendant of Wiyot tribal leaders and onetime leader of the effort to reclaim Indian Island for the tribe, writing in a report of the Eureka Planning Department in 1971 titled "Far West Indian Historical Center, Indian Island," Wiyot used to perform the Jump Dance and other ceremonial dances using a portion of the island's two massive shell mounds—one was six hundred feet long and fourteen feet high—during weeklong celebrations at which tribal groups from around the region came together for religious rituals and a feast of clams, fowl, venison, and berries. It was at the close of one of these celebrations that the white men struck, killing with club and knife every man, woman, and child they could find.

The Wiyot genocide helps explain why there are no running historical accounts of the seaborne colonization of northern California's Humboldt Bay redwood region handed down to us from Wiyot elders. There is no comparable archive of Wiyot-language counternarratives to challenge the colonizers' own stories of discovery, conquest, appropriation, and settlement of Humboldt. Between 1850 and 1990, more than 96 percent of the ancient forests fell in the name of this cultural onslaught. But the local stories of capital culture and the American

nation-state reaching into redwood ecology and Indian territory were told, printed, and archived in English—the New World's hegemonic tongue—and so these are the texts that shape the experience of every new scholar of the place of Humboldt.

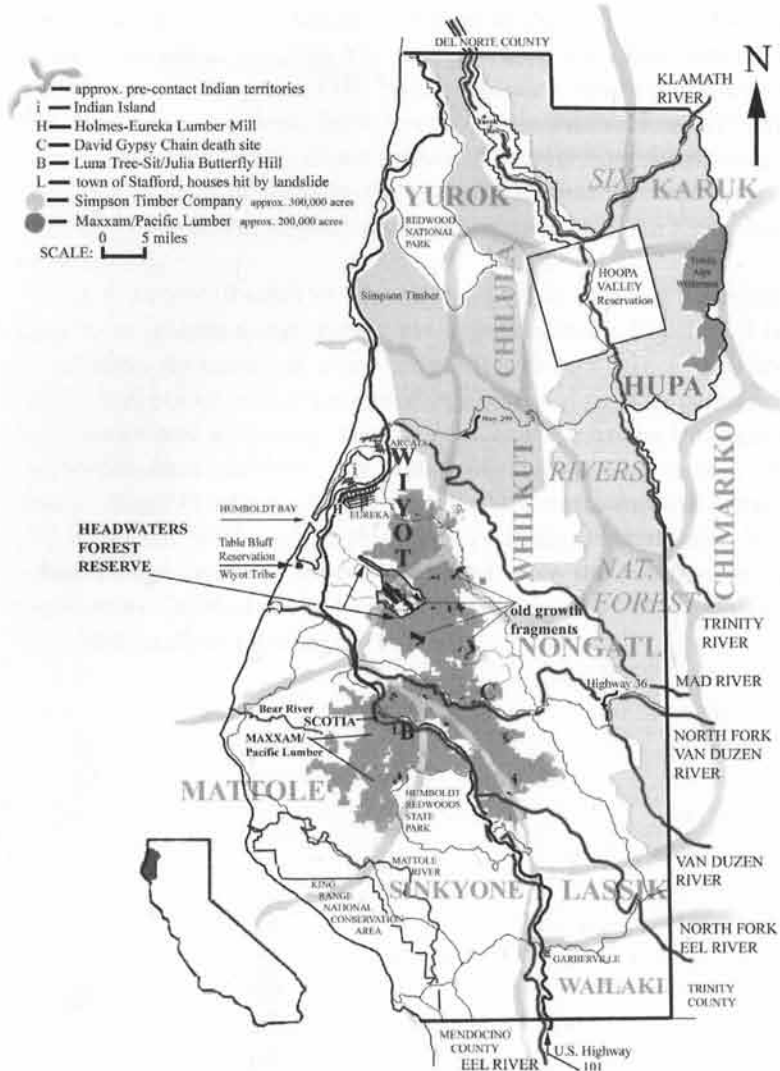
Trouble in the Forest: California's Redwood Timber Wars is my search through the textual ruins of capital culture in the bay redwood region, seeking a sense of that colonizing culture's knowledge and power—the motor, in other words, of its institutional dynamism. Fifteen decades of capital in Humboldt structure the place and the contemporary redwood timber wars that animate it, ensuring that the struggle over ancient forests is always about much more than trees. It is a battle for the future, over how this place has been and will be known, over how it has been and will be recognized and represented, and over how its peoples' constitutive memories, energies, and attentions will contribute, or not, to emergent global civil society. The place we discover here today is an outcome of this ongoing struggle over local knowledge, but it also feeds into a larger struggle—perhaps the greatest that humankind has ever faced. We are entering an era of planetary ecological crisis, in which leading establishment environmentalists like James Gustave Speth concur with the Union of Concerned Scientists and socialist environmental theorists like John Bellamy Foster that capitalism as we know it today cannot sustain the environment. For this reason, we critically need studies of specific places, like Humboldt, to help us understand why.

To this end, my project begins from the perspective of place and asks the difficult questions of how historical colonization by the culture system of capitalism made the redwood region what it is today. Inquiring across ecological, political-economic, and historical disciplines in search of answers, I was forced to become a sort of collector. The help I received from archivists at Humboldt State University became more indispensable the further I dug in. Edie Butler and Joan Berman were instrumental in navigating the university's superb Humboldt Room. At the Humboldt Historical Society in Eureka, I was treated with generosity, ensuring my days in the reading room were most pleasurable and rewarding.

At the Noyo Hill House in Mendocino, I found a rare camaraderie and intellectual enthusiasm with local historians and archivists Russell and Sylvia Bartley; their assistance and firsthand knowledge of North Coast history supplemented my energy when I needed it most.

They are now at work on what promises to be an important new resource for regional history, as well as social history in general, especially that of environmental activism and forest defense: the new Bari Collection at the Mendocino County Museum in Willits, California. They treated me to an advance viewing of the as yet to be cataloged collection, which includes the car in which Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were riding when the bomb exploded, sending chills up and down the spines of forest defenders and environmentalists everywhere and changing the North Coast forever. My great hope is that this collection will soon be open to the public and that my own efforts in *Trouble in the Forest* might compel others to investigate these matters more closely.

For those on all sides of the redwood timber wars who aided my inquiry by granting interviews, my appreciation is limitless. I hope these pages do justice to your generosity. Fellow travelers in social theory and praxis whose guidance was essential to this work include John Foran and especially Martha McCaughey. At the University of California, Santa Barbara, the unflagging support and critical reflections of Roger Friedland, Richard Flacks, Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, and Elisabeth Weber made this work possible. I would also like to acknowledge financial support received from the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center and the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara.



Humboldt County, California, 2000

Entry Point: Mapping the Humboldt Bay Region

Humboldt Bay, the largest and best deepwater seaport between San Francisco and Puget Sound, lies 231 miles north of that famed gold rush city and sixty miles south of the Oregon border. For the gold- and land-hungry capitalist settlers, the bay meant easy access to the northern heart of the densely forested redwood bioregion that hugs the Pacific coast of North America with increasing density as it stretches north from the Big Sur coast south of Monterey, California, and reaches into southern Oregon. The fifteen-thousand-acre estuary drains about 250 square miles and four major watersheds, forming a key ecosystem of mudflats and eelgrass ideal for salmon, sea otters, and a great many local and migratory birds.¹ It also forms an obvious center for the redwood industry, and Humboldt County, incorporated on May 12, 1853, was at that time 80 percent forested, largely by old-growth temperate rain forests of the towering redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*.²

Whereas the tallest redwoods typically root in saturated creek bottoms where dense coastal fogs protect the trees' short-needled branches from sun-driven evaporation, in 2006 scientists discovered the tallest specimen on record (in fact, at 379 feet, the tallest tree in the world) on a steep slope in northern Humboldt's Redwood National Park. Named Hyperion by the redwood ecologist Stephen Sillett, the tree's immensity challenges simple description and photographic representation. The fibrous bark of a redwood tree grows up to ten inches thick; its wood is colored red by tannins that resist fire and rot and secure its high commercial value. The trunk, up to thirty feet in diameter, teems with lichen and can live for more than two thousand years.

Arboreal canopy soils accumulate several feet deep in trunk fusions and crotches of high-flying branches, creating a barely known aerial sanctuary for salamanders and myriad vascular plants like leather-leaf ferns and spike moss, as well as microscopic crabs and other fauna yet to be discovered. The redwood lives and dies over forest floors blanketed by sword ferns that camouflage fallen trees as they decay over centuries, not years, making the ground beneath as impassable today as it was to wagons and horses in the nineteenth century.³ These are the world's most massive forests, where a single hectare (2.47 acres) can carry over 10,000 cubic meters (353,000 cubic feet) of biomass.⁴

The redwood belt is approximately one to thirty-five miles wide and 450 miles long, with broad variation in associated species across local climates, landforms, and substrates. Average annual precipitation reaches one hundred inches in Humboldt, and thirty-nine at the Salmon Creek springs that drain the remnant cathedral grove at Headwaters Forest Reserve. From the bluffs in Eureka overlooking Indian Island, redwood coastal mountain peaks dominate every horizon, their sandstone ridges thrust up over tectonic eons of Gorda Plate subduction under North America. Torrential rains cut salmon-bearing streams and river channels that drain predominantly northwest to the sea through Humboldt Bay and the mouths of Redwood Creek and the Mattole, Bear, Van Duzen, Eel, Mad, Little, Trinity, and Klamath rivers. These waters engendered a vast and legendary salmon ecology whose runs of coho, chinook, steelhead, and cutthroat trout sustained Wiyot, Yurok, Karuk, Hupa, Chilula, Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole, Sinkyone, Lassik, Wintun, Chimariko, New River, Konomihu, and Tolowa peoples for thousands of years—but they could only stand up to world-system markets for less than a century before their collapse. Today these onetime biological powerhouses are devastated, and Indian reservations totaling about 148,000 acres hold the region's First Peoples back from the treasured bay.

On average the great salmon runs reach less than 10 percent of historic levels. More than seven thousand acres of once salmon-rich salt marsh ringing the bay have been reduced to nine hundred acres, the greater portion having been diked off for agricultural use. Miles of additional interwoven channels have been silted in by erosion from logging, a condition exacerbated by road building and development. Upstream dams divert water from the largest rivers, reducing the power of normal rainfall to scour the channels and renew the habitat of clean gravel that salmon need to spawn. Cape Horn dam in Mendocino, for

example, diverts up to 90 percent of the flow in the upper main stem of the Eel River, which drains north through the forested mountains of Humboldt to join the Van Duzen and empty into the sea through fertile alluvial flats a few miles south of the bay. The diverted water feeds the hungry grape growers and urban sprawl that Humboldters now see creeping up the coast.⁵ Lewiston dam diverted upward of 90 percent of the Trinity River into California's Central Valley irrigation projects in the years after it was completed in 1961, but by 1999 conservation efforts had succeeded in cutting that amount to 75 percent, and debates are ongoing about the ecology and economics of restoring the flow to 50 percent.⁶ Six dams on the Klamath River block salmon runs through the Yurok and Hoopa Indian reservations, taking so much water for agribusiness that fish die en masse when the summer sun heats the water.⁷ Hundreds of other streams and tributaries run through logged-over industrial timber land, exposing the small numbers of salmon that do hatch to similarly extreme temperatures, aggravating their struggle to survive—they must live for one to two years in the relative safety of these degraded streams to grow large enough to survive in the harsh open seas.

Typical redwood forests are dominated by the so-called ever-living tree, but Douglas fir intrude on north-facing slopes and at higher elevations where the fogs begin to break, and tan oak intermingle on southerly slopes, as do stands of red madrone, grand fir, Sitka spruce, western red cedar, western hemlock, and red alder in certain riparian zones. On the forest floor redwood sorrel thrives on the rich and moist alluvial flats, giving way to sword fern on drier middle and upper slopes or ridges; and everywhere rhododendron, salal, and evergreen huckleberry settle the shady, cool, fog-dripping rain forest bottoms.⁸

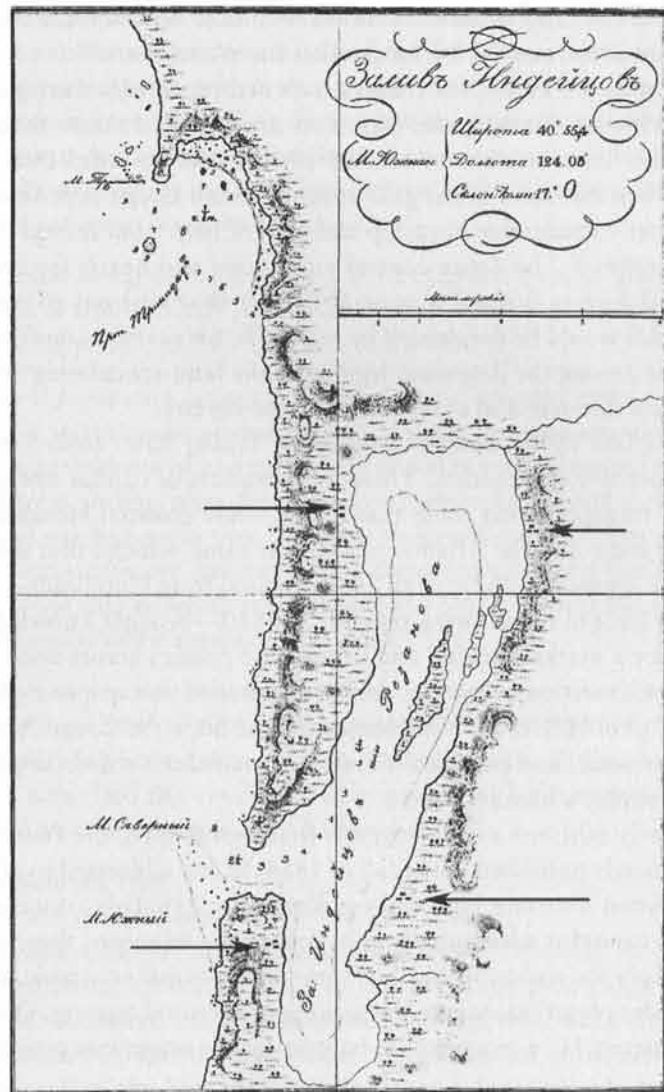
Mammalian histories of mule deer, black bear, Roosevelt elk, Humboldt marten, fisher, gray fox, and spotted skunk might each carry a historian's imagination through a volume of social and environmental history—consider, for example, how the grizzly, extirpated in the nineteenth century, could symbolize the total transformation of redwood ecology and the First Peoples' worlds. Alternatively, think of the stories of marten and fisher, commercially valued for their furs and hunted to near extinction in the region. They too incited capitalist imaginings, calling up labor into actions of trapping and hunting and accumulating furs for distant cash markets, so much so, in fact, that taking their bodies was banned in 1946, and today the mere existence of the Humboldt marten is a credible question.⁹ They too could serve

as emblems of cultural change, more tragic dramas of modernization ecology that future social and environmental historians could write into timber war stories.

Putting these terms of redwood ecology into the service of social history and cultural analysis of the redwood timber wars requires pushing the concept of ecology beyond biological relations to encompass the region's social relations past and present, because social relations have come to govern how ecologies and places are known among the peoples whose institutional actions transform, destroy, and potentially restore them.

My means of telescoping the career of capital culture in this place will not be to study just one or even several ecological constituents of the dynamic whole that now carry its traces but rather to study the collective fixations of its total public culture. In a special sense, that is central to my method, this work is conducted at the intersection of cultural geography and media theory, a junction at which transportation and communication technologies signal their reciprocal constitution and transformation of time and space, and where historical, economic, environmental, and cultural sociologies encounter locals experiencing and classifying things in distinctive ways in the always emergent present moment of long and ongoing developmental processes.¹⁰ For example, consider in what follows how describing the nautical channels and communicative paths by which capital culture entered the places of redwood First Peoples and physical redwood nature will have to blur genres and range across disciplines.

First came the Spaniards Ceremeño, Vizcaíno, and de Hezeta, who explored the coast of Alta California between 1595 and the 1790s but failed to enter and map Humboldt Bay or establish a colony anywhere north of San Francisco. An English expedition led by George Vancouver finally reached Trinidad Bay to the north, but it too bypassed Humboldt Bay. Next came joint efforts by Russian and American fur traders using native Alaskan otter hunters. Plying the coast for animal bodies, their first expedition in 1803–5 brought back 1,800 skins. On their second foray, with Captain Jonathan Winship Jr. at the helm, they found passage into Humboldt Bay in 1806. By 1807 the enterprise had taken 4,819 otters and produced the first map we have, pictured here as modified by the ethnogeographer and archaeologist Llewellyn L. Loud, who added the rectangles to indicate the Wiyot villages he dug through on the south spit and eastern shore of



Jonathan Winship's map of Humboldt Bay, 1806. Reprinted from L. L. Loud, *Ethnogeography and Archaeology of the Wiyot Territory* (University of California, 1918), 407, Plate 4. Loud writes: "Explanation of Plate 4: Photographic reproduction of a map of Humboldt Bay sketched in 1806 by Capt. Jonathan Winship, engaged in the fur trade for the Russian-American Company. Published as a subchart to general chart XIII in *Atlas of Northwest Coast of America, Aleutian Islands, and other Places in the North Pacific*; compiled in 1848 by Captain Tibinkof and printed in 1852 at St. Petersburg. Mad river is not shown upon this map while the portion from Little River northward was probably taken from Vancouver's Chart. Location of four Indian villages are indicated by rectangles." The arrows have been added to highlight the villages, the lower of which were the sites of the 1860 massacres.

the bay in the early twentieth century. But after Winship, the bay was lost again in the coastal fog for another forty-two years.¹¹

As far as we know, fur traders returned repeatedly during those years without entering the bay, and an overland route from the California interior was not accomplished by whites until December 1849, when members of the gold-rushing Josiah Gregg expedition arrived after considerable hardship and a lot of help from several Indian communities.¹² The dense coastal mountains and nearly impassable redwood forests formed a natural barrier that ensured passage to Humboldt would be dominated by sea traffic for years to come, if only someone among the Argonaut legions or the land-speculating companies could discover and chart the mouth of the bay.

In the late 1840s, news of gold in the Trinity River stoked a wave of competitive exploration. These ambassadors of capital opened up the bay transportation route that linked white colonial Humboldt to the east coast and the Atlantic world. The same vehicles that shuttled gold and lumber south through San Francisco from Humboldt—at the western limit of the growing republic in 1850—brought knowledge of the nation's market, media, and democratic politics across wide-flung merchant marine and interior railroad routes of newspaper exchange from Capitol Hill, the White House, and the Supreme Court. And this legal, semiotic, and psychical network attached the redwood peoples to the country's founding texts.

In early editions of the region's first newspaper, the *Humboldt Times*, newly published in the fall of 1854, letters addressed to all who would listen illustrate how white colonization explicitly conceived itself as a capitalist adventure from its first public moments; they foretell how deeply the nation would carry its constitutional economic, racial, and gender prescriptions into the making of redwood country. One was signed merely H., a pioneer civic booster for the settlement project:

The interests of the coast section, of northern California, are the more *inviting for capitalists* and will prove to be the more permanent, from the fact that they are naturally of a treble character—mining, lumbering and agricultural and all of them capable of great extension. . . . The lumber interests of Humboldt County, are certainly unequalled by any other portion of the coast. During the year, terminating on the 30th of June, 1854, there were one hundred and eighty-three arrivals of vessels in Humboldt Bay. The amount of lumber exported in these, was twenty seven million five

hundred and sixty-seven thousand feet. But for the great depression in the lumber market the last half of the year, this amount would have been largely increased. And should the trade be good during the present year, our mills will turn out nearly forty million feet of lumber. And yet, the lumber interest on this bay, is of only two years growth and is capable of multiplication to any extent that a home, or foreign market may demand.¹³

In the following weeks, a series of letters signed “citizen” also spoke favorably of this national project of market revolution to the paper's new reading public, and beyond that to the world:

There is no country on earth, perhaps, which indicates greater fertility of soil than this county, if we may judge from the abundance and luxuriousness of its vegetation; the soil is everywhere covered with trees, shrubs, vines, ferns, grasses, herbs or covers and each to a great size and perfection. . . . Trees claim our attention first and redwood stands per-eminent among them, from its great size and the varied uses to which it is applied; it is found all over the timbered region and is usually 300 ft. high.¹⁴

Every new country uses certain symbols to represent itself to itself and constitute itself as such, and on one early occasion in Humboldt the national flag served that purpose. Once again the *Times* shows us how—it saturated the symbolic environment with the commentary, history, narrative, and poetry of nationalism:

Our National Flag

*“The star spangled banner! Oh long may it wave
O'er land of the free and the home of the brave!”*

The following historical Sketch of the origin and progress of the flag of the Union, from the *National Intelligencer*, will be read with interest: Under the head of the “Reminiscences of the Present Century,” in the *National Intelligencer*, in September last, we mentioned the fact of that first national flag of the present design, adopted in 1818, was made under the direction of the gallant Captain Reid and made at his house, in New York, by his wife and a number of young ladies. . . . In the Flag, as it now waves, the Past and the present are truly and faithfully remembered. It was a happy idea—simple, republican and comprehensive.¹⁵

What followed were paragraphs narrating the making of an American symbol—the union flag—but the story itself is a flag of its own, an

emblem transmitted and retransmitted, proliferating from newspaper to newspaper and lip to lip, a media spectacle calling up attentions and forming up structures of feeling for nation. The account was intended to bind together the people by wedding paternal values of masculine domination with war, glory, strength, and commitment to revolutionary patriotism—and even family passions, as we learn that Captain Reid designed it, but his unnamed wife and some young ladies actually sewed it. In this way the *Times* editor created, gendered, and racialized public culture with symbolic reminders of a national drama whose originary rhetoric invited in everyone, but whose new institutions of property, press, and polity pointedly excluded women, blacks, and Native Americans. These invitations are well known: *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . . We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union. . . . Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; of the right of the people to peaceably assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.*

The colonial energies of market revolution marshaled in Humboldt cannot be understood apart from the media that the American nation's founding words and charters juridically constituted as such. Labor called up by commercial imagination on continuous display in the mass-mediated public sphere helped make capital and its labor, the bay and its seaport, the roads and their mill towns, the logging crews and their landscapes, the schools and their pupils, and the press and its publics all into archives recording a message that the nation has always broadcast—a message still coming out of Humboldt today, embedded in the voices of the redwood timber war: For better or worse—and especially for profit—we invite you to labor on the land with us and to exercise your rights of free speech, press and property, in the name of the public good. Property and press in free speech public culture are ways we live up to our national calling.

One fact evinces the magnitude of change this colonial labor wrought and links it to the contemporary timber wars; of approximately two million acres of redwood forest before Anglo-European contact, only 4 percent remained uncut in 1990.¹⁶ The staggering scale of this industrial accomplishment has a mythological place in Humboldt, where a thriving industry delivering historical experience doles out the narratives of heroic logging men and their timber baron operators. Today loggers work in an environment permeated with images and narratives memorializing the lives and times of these

pioneers—cultural material that saturates schools, parades, museums, and tourist attractions, each one both a vector of literary force and a material structure available for use in assembling provisional self-understandings in the present, perhaps as an ideal on which to model oneself, or maybe as an icon to shatter, positive or negative, either for or against current forestry practice. The celebration of this history is always on display, for example, in the free logging museum at Fort Humboldt State Historic Park in Eureka, where, among a pictorial narrative lining the walls of the museum, one photograph showing white men working at the base of a redwood tree has a caption with this simple message: “Cut’er Down, Boys—There’s Plenty More Over The Next Hill! Felling the mighty redwoods was a difficult task. But using his strength, his sweat and his Yankee ingenuity, the American Logger chopped and sawed and hammered and hewed and the big trees came down.”

In place of the photo essay at the logging museum, I offer the series of three photos here, taken between the late 1880s and 1930, precise locations within the bay redwood region unknown. What we do know is that they represent two early stages in the development of logging. In the first, men with ax and saw worked with the aid of animal teams, and in the second the aid of steam machines was enlisted, in this case the Dolbeer Spool Donkey. In a third stage, not pictured, tractors and chain saws entered the woods. Today chain saws still reign, but helicopters aid in the yarding of logs, extending the companies’ reach to the most remote, steep, and difficult-to-access ridges. Note the near-total destruction of forest habitat. The total symbolic environment to which these images contribute includes the logged-over landscape and its industrial architecture, which together provide a structure of feeling for logging that invites individuals to work and transform themselves and their world. Men toil in the woods with this knowledge on hand, and it helps their labor feel proper to their sex and their place in family and society. It may seem a truism that patriotic working-class masculinity thrives in the industrialized redwood forest, but it has to be mentioned because the ongoing struggle for power over property in redwood ecology runs into this cultural body right where it stands between big corporate owners, whose property value originates largely in the labor this body produces, and the forest defenders, who can only hope to achieve their aims by persuading timber folk and loggers to identify with the cause. And though this dominant culture can be reflected and cast into language, it remains largely tacit, embodied as



Redwood logging between the 1880s and 1930 in the Humboldt Bay region. Courtesy of the Ericson Collection, Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University Library, Arcata, California.

meaning expressed in the practice not of “Chop ’er down, girls!” but of “Cut ’er down, boys!”

How deep this gendered capital culture of man and machine still runs was again on display at a retired loggers’ conference I attended at a home for seniors in Eureka. The boys told stories that extend the narratives of these black-and-white photos. They were World War II and Vietnam veterans who had seen enough real war not to be much distracted by timber war talk, which in fact never came up as the camera crew recorded their oral histories for a public television documentary that the producer told me would deal with “past ways of life.” But the conversation did turn to the way things have changed, first to the land and the dearth of big trees and then to the logging machinery that extended their hands and thoughts to the world.

Though Humboldt’s economy is now in transition toward a lower-paying service economy, with poverty and even hunger on the rise as the timber and fishing industries continue long downward trends, timber extraction remains crucial, and the big timber operators are still the largest generators of the private wage-labor payroll on which most other sectors in the region have always depended.¹⁷ While the search for a sea route to Trinity gold brought capital to the bay, and California Highways 299 and 101 still follow early paths up from the bay into ghost towns and gold camps on coastal range rivers, over time the railroads, highways, and city services were all drawn away to the commodity circuits of emergent lumber culture. Likewise regional architecture can be traced down the corridors that run from the lumber camps along the rivers to the company towns and bayside population centers and finally out the mouth of the bay into markets around the world. These are the spatial, temporal, and semantic coordinates of the redwood timber wars in which *Trouble in the Forest* sets to work, assembling the traces of Indian war, labor trouble, and environmental resistance with which I hope to show what the place of Humboldt can teach us about rights-driven capital culture in its moment of globalization and converging peoples’, labor, and environmental movements.

Introduction

The Case of Humboldt: Violence, Archive, and Memory in the Redwood Timber Wars

On the morning of September 17, 1998, in the coastal forest of Humboldt County, a logger working for the Maxxam corporation’s Pacific Lumber Company felled a redwood tree that crashed through the skull of David “Gypsy” Chain. The event occurred as Chain and several allies in the North Coast Earth First! movement confronted the loggers directly, interrupting their work and challenging them to stop an illegal harvest of timber in the nesting grounds of an endangered seabird called the marbled murrelet. In a rare moment of apparent reconciliation between history-making individuals usually compelled by social position into hostile confrontation, the fifty-three-year-old logger and the activists knelt together in prayer next to the corpse—a mere instant in conventional time but a veritable lightning strike in the historical space of California’s redwood timber wars.¹

National newspapers carrying the story incited my search for more-detailed accounts. It proliferated as magazines picked up the drama and environmental groups posted Humboldt’s local *Times-Standard* reportage to the Internet. The flurry of discourse captured my attention, and I started to archive every trace of the incident. The conditions under which I began this archival and ultimately ethnographic descent into the timber wars are integral to the story: when the new media of cyberspace cultural transmission addressed me from afar, attracting my concern and identifying me first with the struggle to save ancient redwoods and then with new network movements against corporate globalization, I entered a worldwide public that was at that moment just finding its voice. I came to the matter at hand in this

way—through the media portal of David Chain's death, through its archive, that is, its medium and its message.

By *archive* I mean something more than a collection of documents and the building that houses them. In what follows, I consider the archive of any event to contain every mark it occasions in the field of cultural production in which it occurs. All recorded images of the event, comments on it, and narrations of it become monuments to it, contributing to the growth of its archive; and the archives of certain events become reservoirs of psychical energies, investments, attachments, and interests that mediate the event in the sense of standing in for it or bearing its impression across time and space to inform the experience of those who come after. Happenings are in this way collectively made into historically freighted affairs. They create public culture. Subsequent attitudes, actions, politics, and modes of memory and historical consciousness are always mediated by such archives, and by the term *mediation* I mean that they enable and constrain future attitudes, actions, political consciousness, and memory in the manner that language does speech—they are, or rather over time they become, a priori meaning-making structures that people use to constitute their lives and identities, their fortunes and politics. The case of Humboldt I introduce here begins in the emergent archive of the killing of David Chain.

"Death in the Forest" read the day-after headline in the *Eureka Times-Standard*, showing a map to the "death site" and a picture of activists circled up, arm in arm, heads down, mourning their loss. Also on the front page: "Activists weep for comrade: Friends lament loss but don't blame logger," and then "PL officials 'saddened.'" Said company spokeswoman Mary Bullwinkel, "Despite all our precautions, a trespasser was apparently killed by a falling tree at one of our logging sites on private property."² Her words are telling. *Property* is the corporation's first line of defense. Pacificlumber.com, Maxxam's online corporate bullhorn in Humboldt, posted an immediate news release that reiterated Bullwinkel's reaction and addressed the public in the company's distinctive idiom of property rights, which situates the company as a guardian of the law: Chain was killed by a "falling redwood tree while trespassing on private property."

The twenty-four-year-old Texan had been in California for about two weeks, according to fellow forest defenders, who told reporters that "he was just here because the forest was being cut down and he felt he could make a difference."³ After a day of public mourn-

ing and understanding on both sides, the accusations started to fly. Saturday's headline read "PL blamed for forest death."⁴ An activist named Farmer who was with Chain at the time of his death told reporters that the logging crew knew activists were close by and that the logger was purposely aiming trees at them. Farmer, aged sixteen, published his eyewitness account at *enviroweb.org* on October 1. "I arrived at the drop-off point and started hiking up the hill," he said. "There were nine people including myself and a camera person. . . . When we arrived at the tree the loggers shouted obscenities at us while someone tried to reason with them." Carey Jordan broadcast her account over Berkeley radio's KPDK on September 29. "We went there to talk to the loggers," she said. "We [had] demonstrated the day before at California Department of Forestry to make them aware that we thought PL was logging illegally. . . . A road was punched in before September 15. That's the official end of marbled murrelet nesting season. They're not supposed to do any work before then. Plus they hadn't finished the murrelet surveys before they started and also there was the danger of landslides because the slope they're cutting on is practically straight up and down."⁵

Forest defenders who videotaped the scene extracted audio from the tape and posted it on the Web, publicizing the unforgettable screams of the angry logger. The *Times-Standard* quoted it with discretion, but we tune in here to the uncensored Internet files: "You've got me hot enough now to fuck," screeched Maxxam tree feller A. E. Ammons, shown charging the activists in a copy of the video I later obtained from a North Coast Earth Firster, "I wish I had my fuckin' pistol"; and then "I'm gonna start fallin' into this fuckin' draw!" Chain was dead within the hour, killed by a tree that Ammons cut.

Another Saturday *Times-Standard* headline declared, "PL Workers shocked, not surprised at death." Joe Rogers, an employee at Maxxam/Pacific Lumber for thirty-two years, told reporters he tried to stay out of the controversy: "We need people to pursue causes," he said, but he had hoped everything would end with the so-called Headwaters deal that had recently preserved the largest existing unprotected ancient redwood grove. "This brings it home," he concluded—the timber wars were still on. Less sympathetically, Mark Cobb, a twelve-year employee, told reporters: "PALCO is taking care of me and my family, providing me with insurance, a decent paying job, a great place to raise a family—I am sick and tired of only hearing negative things about PL."⁶

On the following Wednesday, the *Times-Standard* ran an editorial titled "Lessons must be learned after death": "David Chain was a person," wrote the editors; yes, he was trespassing, but "he didn't deserve to die, like some callous people who have grown weary of the protestors have said." On the other hand, they continued, "we can't see many loggers laying down their saws and refusing to cut. They have jobs to do. They have families to feed." And then the lesson—the solution—offered by the editors: "So what we're stuck with is a problem with no solution—unless Earth First! puts an end to the predicament."⁷ The question of corporate forestry violations is elided: The problem is dissent, not domination, not hegemony.

This way of framing the timber wars is characteristic of the *Times-Standard*, whose editorial lean is well known and predictable without being monolithic. While letters to the editor representing all positions are regularly printed, Humboldt is timber country, and this is a timber-friendly paper. Stuck in the middle, the *Times-Standard* receives criticism from hardcore timber supporters, who claim it glorifies radical forest defenders and gives them an undeserved stage by reporting their actions against Maxxam as news, as well as certain of the forest defense, among whom one nickname for the paper is the "Slime-Standard." These acute expressions do not divide the field of opinion into opposing camps as much as suggest a finely graded polarization in the timber war public.

What forest defenders do know is that media spectacle is vital to big timber's cultural hegemony.⁸ They know that mass media make public consciousness. But because they are unable to compete with the corporations' public relations and advertising budgets—Maxxam's Bullwinkel, for example, was a paid corporate spokeswoman, and pacifclumber.com was maintained for both commercial advertising and corporate image management—they strive to make news instead. Of course, they also build the movement with grassroots organizing; they network, do research, monitor timber harvest plans, raise money, sell T-shirts, direct-mail to members, and dedicate their own time and resources to the cause. But symbols, they know, are powerful things. Forest defenders thus wage a permanent struggle to project their symbols and get their message out, sometimes with great success, as, for example, with the Luna tree-sit campaign.

At the time of Chain's death, Julia "Butterfly" Hill had been living for over nine months two hundred feet up in the canopy of Luna, one of the corporation's ancient redwoods. Speaking through mass media

to the world by cell phone from her tree-sit platform, high on a steep ridge several miles south and west from the mountain where Chain was killed, Hill broadcast a message of love for the tree she was protecting *and* for the workers from whom she claimed to protect it, as well as a lesson in global economics and a call for alliance between labor and environmental movements against rapacious corporations. Fifteen months later she made an agreement with Maxxam to purchase Luna for \$50,000 and descend from her protest, preserving the tree and herself—two living symbols of peaceful resistance for the redwood forest defense, the environmental movement and its union labor sympathizers, and thousands of others who heard her story on TV and radio or read about it in newspapers and magazines all over the world.

During the tree-sit, Hill spoke out continuously against the so-called Headwaters deal, in which Maxxam was slated to receive cash and land valued at \$480 million in return for the highly contested 2,700-acre Headwaters Grove—the sacred center of the forest defense since the grove's discovery by activists in 1986—around which the state would create an old-growth biopreserve. In March 1999, six months after the killing of Chain and just as the Luna tree-sit was building a global public, the federal government, the state, and the corporation completed their deal to transfer the largest remaining unprotected ancient redwood grove out of the market and into the public trust. While many hoped that the deal would end the redwood timber wars, in fact it had the opposite effect. It sparked scrutiny and years of litigation; forest defenders from across the movement network protested its "sacrifice zones," and Earth First! carried on refining its political art of sitting in trees and forming tree villages to defend specific sites, increasingly aggravating both loggers and management. By the end of the year, United Steelworkers, locked out at Maxxam's Kaiser Aluminum plant in Tacoma, Washington, linked arms with Humboldt forest defenders in the Battle of Seattle, helping not just to shut down the World Trade Organization's ministerial conference but to transform the discourse of free trade itself and with it the future of globalization.⁹

On the highway between Grizzly Mountain, where Chain was killed, and the high redwood ridge where Hill sat in Luna, lies a third point of intense collective psychological investment that captured my attention: Scotia, the last authentic company logging town in California and, from the standpoint of forest defense, the symbolic

center of profane power in the timber wars. It was the headquarters of Maxxam's Pacific Lumber, Humboldt's second-largest landowner (more than 220,000 acres) and largest private employer in 1998 (more than 1,000 employees). To the chagrin of many workers, community members, and company men, the global extraction conglomerate from Houston had succeeded in its hostile acquisition of the family-controlled and widely respected local timber company in 1986.

Charles Hurwitz, CEO of Maxxam, moved quickly. Whereas he retained the Pacific Lumber name, he set to work changing what mattered most to many citizens, landowners, lumber workers, and forest defenders—he abandoned the company's conservative, selective-cut forestry methods and doubled the harvest rate, intent on converting the ancient forest inventory into cash. While the old Pacific Lumber would leave up to half the trees standing on every acre cut, the new Maxxam plan called for clear-cutting everything fast. It was asset liquidation designed to raise capital and cover high-yield junk-bond debt created to buy the company. But the region's nascent forest defense movement closed ranks rapidly in response, raising the stakes of the conflict and ultimately producing the largest forest rallies and mass arrests in U.S. environmental history, as well as the precedent-setting deal that created Headwaters Forest Reserve.

In 1992, amid the escalating tension, an earthquake struck Scotia, crumbling the town's central shopping complex and consuming it in fire. Maxxam rebuilt with great fanfare and a promise to sustain the logging community, beautifying the town center in an architectural spectacle that doubled as political legitimation for a company beset by environmental critics. Today Scotia's presence looms large over Humboldt, a historical cipher and architectural rebus that both masks and reveals a local transmutation of twentieth-century American capitalism. The town itself is a fluid but material signifier expressing the long struggle of the industry to maintain its position in the cultural occupation of the region. When Maxxam declared Pacific Lumber bankrupt in 2007 and left the county in 2008, Scotia's fate was all but certain. The new owner was the Mendocino Redwood Company, and its business plan included the parceling out and privatization of the last real redwood company town.¹⁰

Trouble in the Forest is an account of my journey to this place—an ethnographic, historical, and cultural analysis of its redwood timber wars. In the twilight hour of the great lumber culture that made Humboldt, in the ruins of the timber industry, the forest, and the

twentieth-century communities that thrived there, I immersed myself in the timber wars and discovered a public struggle between forces of globalizing capital, embodied in Maxxam Inc., and a new social movement against neoliberal corporate globalization and for social justice, embodied in the redwood forest defense. It is a struggle that exemplifies perhaps the biggest challenges facing the twenty-first century: the growing contradictions of capitalism, planetary ecology, and social justice.

All over the world, these contradictions are expressed in place and locale, where concrete particular struggles are waged over land and its remnant communities of labor and environment. In every case, technology and labor, employed by capital, blast latent values out of the environment into commodity circuits that sustain distinct cultures. Local ecologies, by definition self-regulating and self-sustaining, are severely disrupted. Communities of labor suffer doubly where resource-dependent economies short-circuit after boom-time extraction, leaving people underemployed in a depleted environment characterized by increasing difficulties in extracting values. Grievances arise and public struggles ensue as corporations and workers try to hold on to what they have built, while changing conditions associated with declining extraction economies invite worker unrest, state regulatory intervention, environmental activism, and new economies of restoration, tourism, and service. Such developments put capital under increasing cost pressures, producing incentives to seek lower wages and weaker regulations both at home and abroad. In these social spaces and places of conflict, outcomes register as changes in the land that determine linked social and ecological futures. Place by place, community by community, conflict by conflict, ecosystem by ecosystem, and violence by violence, these social struggles determine the planetary ecological future.

Trouble in the Forest addresses this transformation by examining one place that globalization is producing with savage distinction. My initial position as an outsider looking in through mass-media representation and historical investigation presented an opportunity to ask wide-ranging questions. What deep cultural and social forces are driving the long-running timber wars? How did they originate, and how do they work? Why do they continue even after the largest remaining groves have been preserved? How do they embody the twentieth-century rupture of globalization? And what do they say about the United States, not just as a nation with feelings for its own history but

as a nation divided by its principal role in making the history of globalization and thus our collective ecological future? As the spectacle of American hegemony rises within the global system of modern capitalism, helping drive that system—by its own inexorable logic of continuous exploitation, reinvestment, and expansion—into ever greater scales of commodity production, it also drives deeper the world contradictions of economy, ecology, and social justice and pushes social actors everywhere into increasing conflict. When and where these global forces and actors implode in local conflicts and place-bound events, charges of capitalist *empire* ring out, and new claims are made on the natural-cum-human rights that were constitutionally inscribed in the United States' vaunted self-image of liberty, equality, and justice. People demand that the established power deliver on the liberal promise inscribed in those virtues and pay up for the social and environmental costs it imposes on communities of labor and nature. And so if emergent forms of new social movements indeed carry messages, as the Italian theorist Alberto Melucci has written, then place-based conflicts like the one Maxxam incited in Humboldt can and should be treated as messaging machines or broadcast devices.¹¹ This raises the question: just what is the redwood struggle transmitting?

By way of exploring these open-ended questions, I set out for Humboldt with the ethnographer's dream of "going out there" to engage in the struggle and "coming back here" with a story to tell. By means of field research, participant observation, archival study, and wide-ranging interviews, I documented the timber wars, reading them as a symptom of our historical moment. What I learned about Humboldt's property culture, spectacular politics, new movement networks, and violent landscape of social memory—within which all these communicative actions make sense—sent me back through the region's long social history of hard common struggle, back through its archive of conflict in the public sphere. Here I discovered how preceding epochs of labor trouble and Indian war had set the conditions for the timber wars and in fact share a deeper cause with them: namely, the performative utterances of the nation's republican constitutional framers, whose nation-building and people-making speech acts and texts institutionalized private property, the press, and democratic polity in the New World and drove the American market revolution to its western frontier.

When I set about tracing the social and environmental conditions of these successive conflicts, I found that each had produced a particular

moment of unusual violence around which social memory had crystallized over time, archiving them and creating public culture, just as the killing of Chain did in the closing moments of the Headwaters deal. The massacre of Wiyot on Indian Island in 1860, the killing of redwood strikers in the great lumber strike of 1935, and the car bombing of forest defenders in 1990 are events whose archives similarly inhabit Humboldt's various media and structure its living, symbolic, and built social memory. In three historical chapters, I treat the archives they occasion as reservoirs of valuations, investments, desires, and discourses that carry a signature of social relations in their historical moment. Taken together these horrific events record and map out a social history of place, showing how it became a traumatic structure that structures emergent practices of timber production and oppositional politics. They tell a difficult story of changing contradictions in the capital culture that colonized Humboldt and made it the place it is today. They suggest how integral rights-driven juridical institutions of property and press were, and still are, to the national, racial, gendered, political, and economic—in other words, the *cultural*—formation of place, power, and politics on this capitalist frontier.

This is a work of historical and environmental sociology as well as descriptive cultural and media theory in which my portrayal of social history gives context for theoretical interpretation of the ethnographic present—a present that must be understood as an expression of economic, environmental, and cultural conditions opened up and transformed by emerging events and history-making agents. But the whirling phantasmagoria of this ethnographic *now* can be grasped only by arresting it for contemplation—by blasting it out of the chaotic flow of mundane events, images, and narratives.¹² Dialectical thought must begin like this, theoretically synthesizing the experience of complex totalities like the timber wars, then seeking patterns and using them to ask questions, analyzing their conditions and reflecting on comparable cases and society in general, in view of strengthening the theory that originally shaped the research project.¹³ David Chain, Julia "Butterfly" Hill, and the company town of Scotia are psychically charged events of violent death, extraordinary life, and geographic sites where I enter the timber wars and seize them in representation, informing my descriptions with social, environmental, media, and cultural theory. I then use my experience in the archives they occasion to guide my study back through the labor troubles and Indian wars that set the conditions of the present. Immersing myself in the

archival, mediated moments of extraordinary violence that defined these preceding conflicts, and similarly using them as points of entry into history, I write the emergent timber war story with a method of arrest. What I produce is a series of snapshots taken at those historical moments when collective cultural colonization by the agents of Euro-American modernity culminated in violence. What was the object of such intense collective attention in those moments? In each case, a struggle over property was at hand.

Property and Place

On one side, timber corporations and their supporters argue that logging is a matter of private property rights protected by law. On the other, forest defenders shout, "Not one more ancient tree!" With less than 4 percent of the original redwood forest left uncut and approximately three-quarters of these remnant acres already protected in parks and other conservation arrangements, forest defenders demand preservation of the final 1 percent and regulated, sustainable industrial forestry on the rest—Humboldt's vast, cutover timber production zone (TPZ). Decades of logging produced this social, symbolic, and environmental landscape, the conditions of which forest defenders use in constructing their demands and building concepts not just of the environment (i.e., physical nature) but also of the capitalist system and its local subculture of redwood commodity production. Saving these forests is a matter not just of biological principle or quasi-spiritual connection; it is also an opportunity to contest the whole reigning social order. What drives the symbolic wedge between these positions is not just trees and their disputed value—biodiversity versus profit or some such schematic—but the long-running contest over character and culture that animates the U.S. tradition of political life and expresses the seminal concepts of Enlightenment rationality inscribed in the juridical engines of national experience. The conflict, in other words, has roots as deep as the nation itself and therefore a history at least as long as American modernity.

When I encountered Humboldt's language of property and protest, I was driven back to the constitutional grounds of the claims being made. My original and far more limited intent of documenting the redwood struggle in the contemporary moment of globalization collapsed. Writing the timber wars entailed writing a history of the place that informs them, the place wherein they make sense as communica-

tive action. The timber wars are embedded in a history of conflicts that are similarly broad in scope and institutional in character. They stand at the present end of capitalism's long career in the North Coast redwoods—a crowning achievement of the cultural colonization that capitalized the redwoods in an extraction economy that simultaneously established the nation in Humboldt.

These two processes—colonization and capitalization—are actually one, and together they form a conceptual umbrella under which I gather all the signal forces that made Humboldt modern and set the conditions for environmental conflict. The timber wars today are an expression of that making, and as such they are haunted by the indigenous First Peoples whom that making devastated, the labor power it channeled, and the bio-zoological landscape it transformed, the character of which, as we will see, necessarily entered into the local formation of capital culture.

Every domain of social memory I encountered in my ethnographic and historical investigation pointed me in the same direction. The imaginative personal remembrances, media chronicles, historical records, cultural museums, local architecture, and landscape each pointed back at a long social history of property conflict.

First came a period of so-called Indian trouble in the 1850s and 1860s, when what had been tribal lands, the indigenous commons, were signified as fungible property, appropriated by whites and enclosed for agriculture, subjected to industrial husbandry, and earmarked for timber production. This was the time of primitive accumulation—accumulation by force prior to and constitutive of capitalist accumulation as such, whereas the latter phase of accumulation proceeds by profit-driven commodity production and exchange in competitive markets and grows by reinvestments in labor and machinery aimed at staying competitive by keeping costs down.¹⁴ With the advent of redwood industrialization, labor trouble was imminent. It culminated in the 1930s and 1940s, when the practical meaning of this redwood property was deeply transformed as workers won rights to collective bargaining. This was the time of internal contradictions, when capital exercised great power over workers in wage labor markets and sparked the revolts that won higher wages and better conditions. But organized redwood labor's collective prosperity, in league with redwood capital, represented the fruit of increasing scales of lumber production, and the resulting acceleration of deforestation laid down conditions for a new round of struggles—the era of environmental conflict. This was

and remains the time of external, so-called second contradictions, when the externalized costs of expanding capital are piling up fast, spawning new social movements and regulatory responses that again change the practice of property rights. From their place in the signature archives of violence, these conflicts come to dominate politics in Humboldt, giving them both structure and a lot of material for future political actors to use.¹⁵

Today the stories of Indian war, labor trouble, and forest defense that circulate constantly through redwood country place working people and communities on a tenuous middle ground between indigenous, corporate, and environmental claims. American Indians make public claims that their struggles are, like those of their ancestors, based on the loss of their lands and autonomy; working men claim that their troubles are still about fairness and unaccountable corporate power; and forest defenders build both colonial and labor stories into their analyses of ecological decline and demands for species protection, habitat preservation, sustainable forestry, economic democracy, human rights, and social justice in general—the big timber corporations stand in the sights of their critical narratives.

In the register of material culture, these conflicts have produced a physical landscape and cultural geography that provides additional structure that people here can and do use in personal and collective self-understanding. The place of Humboldt, in other words—as it has been achieved, as it has been built by this history of struggle—is a condition of possibility for the claims and counterclaims in the ongoing timber wars. The history accumulated in bodies, narratives, traditions, archives, architecture, and landscape gives to the conflict a communicative inertia. From within the timber industry that grew out of the settlers' first struggles with Indians for ownership of their land, an extended struggle developed for control of the labor that industry required. Decades later, from within the environs that organized and controlled labor continuously consumed and transformed, the conditions for environmental conflict emerged. This built history of memory and conflict ensures that social life in the redwoods will always be speaking a language of contested property in land, labor, and ecology—and because it all pivots on property rights, it fosters a cultural politics contesting the institutionalized, philosophical ideas of nation and citizenship that originally gave America its sacred name.

What I found on the ground beneath all this history is a place of contradictions. It is a place of Indian museums and somber monu-

ments to genocide, but also of living reservations and active tribal life; a place of labor halls and an unorganized redwood labor force racked by memories of violence and repression, but also of Labor Day picnics, visions of converting to sustainable forestry, and nascent labor alliances with forest defenders against corporate domination; a place of industrial landscapes, decimated forests, species extinction, and memories of forest defenders' bodies exploded, crushed and bleeding, but also a place of redwood parks, old-growth reserves, restoration economies, and collective struggles to halt the decline.

To grasp what is at stake in revealing the inner connection of these events and archives, I begin with a brief historical sketch of the timber wars.

Maxxam in Humboldt

Globalization came to Humboldt with a vengeance in 1985, when Maxxam announced its takeover bid for the Pacific Lumber Company. By that time there was already a forest defense movement in the works among local residents, a grassroots effort distinct from the long-running work of professional, national groups like the Save the Redwoods League, the Sempervirens Fund, and the Sierra Club. This new activism emerged primarily from southern Humboldt and Mendocino counties, to the south, in a campaign to save the last, largest groves in Mendocino from the Louisiana-Pacific and Georgia-Pacific corporations. But when Maxxam seized control of Pacific Lumber, it became the principal private owner of surviving ancient redwoods. The center of gravity in forest defense quickly shifted north into Humboldt.

Organized as the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) and based in the southern Humboldt hamlet of Garberville, these original forest defenders formed a core around which many other groups and alliances would eventually gather. When Maxxam arrived, EPIC had just won a precedent-setting court decision. *EPIC v. Johnson, 1985* held that the California Department of Forestry must consider the cumulative environmental impacts of timber harvesting each time it approves a timber harvest plan. The ruling established that the timber harvest review process is governed by the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) of 1970, according to which every action taken by the state that affects an environment must first be considered within the total field of effects of state action on that environment.¹⁶ The timber harvest plan must act as an

environmental impact review. Wildlife surveys and watershed science were thus legally mandated for each timber harvest plan, because assessing the impact of logging requires an understanding of the forest being logged. It thus became law that the forests' species and its full web of life must be documented *before* the chain saws turn on.

With this court decision, the ecology movement came of age in the redwoods, and both the federal and state endangered-species acts became powerful tools of forest defense. The legal grounds on which the battle to save the Headwaters forest would soon be launched were prepared. Maxxam blue-lined Headwaters Grove, physically marking the redwood trunks with the blue line of paint that says to the tree feller that the trees are ready to be cut. Marking Headwaters for total liquidation was the move that called the forest defense into action and emboldened it to assert local control over the social and ecological values at stake. For them, the very balance of life and death was at stake, as that balance was embodied in the number and nature of lumbering jobs and the remnant populations of owls, marbled murrelets, salamanders, and salmon, and in the accumulation of corporate capital and the long-term viability of ecosystems, species, and fresh watersheds. But Maxxam fought with moneyed finesse, all the while cutting old growth quickly in advance of the anticipated regulatory wave. The company took 3.3 billion board feet out of the forest between 1987 and 1996, and approximately \$3.6 billion out of the county, but somehow still left Pacific Lumber saddled with more than \$700 million in debt in 2007, the year that Hurwitz finally called it quits and declared the company bankrupt. Where did all the money go? Upstream to Maxxam timber note holders. As Hurwitz famously explained when he bought the company: "The function of PL is to throw off cash flow."¹⁷

As Maxxam ramped up the cut rate in 1986, direct-action forest defenders joined the struggle alongside EPIC, led by an Earth First! group originally calling itself the Redwood Action Team.¹⁸ With the Mattole Restoration Council and the Salmon Group, also formed in the early 1980s, Humboldt's local network of new social movements for environmental defense and sustainable forestry had emerged. Each element had its particular interests and expertise, but the arrival of Maxxam gathered and unified their intentions without effacing their differences. Their collective focus on ancient redwoods occurred within the wider context of a national ancient forest preservation movement that peaked in the late 1980s, when a federal judge yielded

to environmental interests and ruled that the northern spotted owl must be listed as an endangered species. Across the Pacific Northwest, traditional lumber communities, steeped in working-class lumber-mill culture and familiar with industrial labor organization, struggled to come to grips with rising public sentiment for forest preservation. When the owl was finally added to the endangered-species list, forcing the government to restrict timber harvest on millions of acres of national forest, many feared that mill towns from Washington to California would be shut down. And that is precisely how the big timber companies tended to publicize the story.¹⁹

Not surprisingly, mass media followed suit, structuring reports along the same lines. Timber workers and families completed the formation, reproducing the dominant interpretation in their own lived experience: "owls versus jobs" and a spirited defense of "our way of life" characterized their response. Corporate public relations firms were employed by big timber companies to help construct this perspective by forming citizen front groups to organize and fund yellow ribbon campaigns in defense of the lumber communities.²⁰ Countering these narratives of owls versus people, forest defenders argued that conversion to sustainable forestry methods would preserve environments *and* jobs. They worked to show that the companies' cut-and-run, boom-and-bust extraction forestry was the real threat to jobs and to thriving communities. When the big trees are gone and the forest is converted to monoculture tree farms, mills are shut down, hours curtailed, and workers laid off.

But the situation developing in Humboldt was distinct. Elsewhere in California and the Pacific Northwest, the ancient-forest conflict revolved around timber sales in the publicly owned national forests, sales that had for decades functioned as a subsidy to the private timber industry and a pipeline of economic values into timber culture. While the ancient Douglas fir and mixed conifer forests of Oregon and Washington were being sold by the state and cut by the corporations, the redwoods were almost all privately owned. Thus whereas the movement to preserve ancient forest on public lands required forcing the federal government to do a better job of public land stewardship, its inarguable mandate, the movement to preserve redwoods required forcing private landowners to relinquish property rights over their land. This ensured that the redwood timber wars would be fought in the terms of property and person that occupy the center of American national cultural identity.

When the pivotal year of 1990 arrived, and the decision to list the owl as endangered grew nearer, tensions were flaring across the ancient forest belt. Maxxam was cutting its big trees fast, and the growing alliance of forest defenders was preparing what they hoped would be the largest direct-action protest campaign in history. They called it Redwood Summer—a whole season of rallies, marches, blockades, and nonviolent demonstrations of mass civil disobedience. Adding to the growing social hostility between the forest defenders and the redwood timber industry—by which I mean management, pro-management workers, and their communities of support—was another powerful factor: a California voting initiative on the fall ballot that would permanently preserve all the state's ancient trees. Its supporters named it *Forests Forever*, and if it passed, it would take out of production every acre that contained six or more trees aged over two hundred years. The listing of the owl and the ballot initiative promised to transform the redwood commodity circuit dramatically, rechanneling long-established flows of labor energy and capital accumulation.

Then the signature event of the timber wars occurred. After a period of harassment by redwood logging supporters in early spring, including a series of anonymous but closely linked death threats, Redwood Summer organizers Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney were car-bombed in Oakland.

The 1990s began with that bang, so to speak, and the timber war tumult has not stopped since. The spotted owl was listed, and eventually millions of acres of national forest were set aside by court order; and Redwood Summer proceeded, without the energy of Bari, however, who had been temporarily knocked out of the action. But the corporations defeated the voter initiative with the help of a high-stakes corporate image consulting company that ran a campaign publicly linking the conservation initiative with the falsely accused and not yet exonerated Earth First! "ecoterrorists." This freed Maxxam and others to continue liquidating their ancient trees and left the forest defenders scrambling to protect each isolated grove in any way they could, one timber harvest plan at a time.

Having lost at the state level, grassroots redwood defenders fell back on local nonviolent direct-action and continued to press on the legal front. The grove at Owl Creek, for example, first targeted by Maxxam in 1988, was successfully protected by a combination of EPIC lawsuits, Earth First! direct actions, and ultimately state pur-

chase of the property in 2000 as part of the Headwaters deal, but not before Maxxam surreptitiously entered the grove on Thanksgiving Day in 1992, cutting a million dollars worth of logs before EPIC could work through the California Court of Appeals to gain an emergency stay on Maxxam operations. Forest defenders dubbed it the Thanksgiving Day Massacre. In 1993 EPIC sued for a violation of the Endangered Species Act at Owl Creek, and in 1995 a federal judge issued a permanent injunction.²¹ Then, in September, more than two thousand people rallied at the gates of Maxxam's Carlotta sawmill, calling for an end to the company's assault on Owl Creek and the preservation of Headwaters forest. More than two hundred people were arrested for civil disobedience.²² The Carlotta action was repeated on September 15 in both 1996 and 1997, during which first three thousand and then a record six thousand people gathered, respectively. In 1996 the number arrested reached 897. In 1997 three hundred police officers participated in the arrest of one thousand peaceful protesters.²³ The escalating commitment of forest defenders was transmitting an unmistakable message.

But defenders continued to press on other legal fronts as well. In 1992 the marbled murrelet, a seabird that reproduces by laying a single egg in the branches of old growth, had gained protection under the California Endangered Species Act, winning the forest defense another opportunity to obstruct Maxxam's plan to cut all its remaining old-growth forest, including the majestic Headwaters Grove. Then, when EPIC pressed Maxxam at Owl Creek and Headwaters using the murrelet ruling, Hurwitz responded with a historic Fifth Amendment "takings" lawsuit, charging that enforcement of the murrelet rule had in effect seized all the value of his property without due process or just compensation. With this appeal to the law, Maxxam made the issue of redwood forest defense an explicit constitutional question, driving the redwood timber wars even deeper into the domain of national character and culture.²⁴

On September 28, 1996, the takings case was essentially settled out of court when the state of California and the U.S. Department of the Interior agreed in principle to the preservation plan, which would not be completed until 1999. Eventually they paid Maxxam almost half the amount Hurwitz initially put up for the entire company. It was a stunning profit. But local forest defenders fought the deal because it did more than pay for the grove—it also instituted a precedent-setting

Habitat Conservation Plan that, despite its innocuous name, gave the company a fifty-year license to kill endangered species in so-called sacrifice zones on the company's remaining 200,000-plus acres.²⁵

By the time the deal was completed and signed by all parties in March 1999, the global media events of David Chain's death in 1998 and Julia Butterfly's occupation of Luna were well under way, promising to make problems for Maxxam indefinitely. But forest defense was not the only trouble brewing for Maxxam in the 1990s. In 1988 the company had acquired the transnational and unionized Kaiser Aluminum Corporation, headquartered in Spokane, Washington. When contract negotiations with the United Steelworkers broke down in the late 1990s, Maxxam locked out the strikers and shipped in laid-off lumber workers from Scotia for use as scabs.²⁶ In response, United Steelworkers came to Humboldt, climbed Luna to meet with Julia Butterfly Hill, and shared in founding the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, an organization committed to creating a world "where nature is protected, the worker is respected and unrestrained corporate power is rejected through grassroots organizing, education and action."²⁷ By giving the steelworkers and forest defenders a common target, Maxxam had set the stage for a historic coalition between labor and environmental movements.

At the Seattle protest against the World Trade Organization in 1999, forest defenders and steelworkers linked arms and marched in front of a towering two-story Hurwitz puppet, its global media debut graphically representing the seminal role of Maxxam and the redwoods in the historic rupture of antiglobalization protest. Redwood forest defenders had made the connection between the destruction of local environments and the global unfettering of corporate capitalism, which was manifest, as they saw it, in the rush of so-called free trade agreements and the rise of the WTO. They took this realization to the streets in Seattle and made Maxxam into a global symbol of the corporate destruction of interwoven communities of labor and nature.

The Battle of Seattle was a moment of global identification that revealed once again the crucial role of emergent communications technologies. Redwood forest defenders were able to identify their plight with those of Mexican farmers, French cheese makers, Brazilian Indians, African villagers, and Chinese sweatshop laborers because they could see the faces and landscapes of faraway destruction and read all about each other's regional and local movements, call each other on the telephone, communicate instantaneously and anonymously if



Street puppet depicting Charles Hurwitz, CEO of Maxxam/Pacific Lumber, is carried by redwood forest defender at the Battle of Seattle anti-World Trade Organization protest, November 30, 1999.

necessary via the Internet, and through all these channels effectively plan on marching together. The victory of WTO protesters, who managed to scramble the entire conference, revealed how the movement had already begun changing the character and direction of globalization. The ensuing militarization of security for global trade meetings became one surface indication of how seriously the event was taken by the advocates of free trade globalization. More important, perhaps, was the considerable shift in the actual policy language that globalists themselves began using. Free trade is now increasingly described as a global program for good jobs and sustainable environments. Global industrial associations in the extractive industries, for example, almost uniformly proclaim, especially in their online mission statements, that the primary goal of their organizations is sustainable development. And in the post-Headwaters deal environment, Maxxam redesigned pacifclumber.com in a way that reflected the same transformation. Are these merely co-optations of the movements' messages and a chimerical greening of the same old corporate programs, or something more significant—a signal, perhaps, of a real operational shift in attitudes governing corporate citizenship and world trade policy? One thing is certain: these events put us squarely in the domain of history,

and the case of Humboldt has been and still is an exemplary part of its making.

When I began extended field research in Humboldt during September 1999, Julia Butterfly was nearing the end of her second year in Luna, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial conference at Seattle was on everyone's calendar for November. For the next two years, I lived and worked in this globalizing landscape of capitalist knowledge and power, immersed in Humboldt's ancient forest conflict. I followed it to the Seattle protests, camped in its archives, and interviewed its people. I attended logging conferences, demonstrations, blockades, and protest rallies. I got to know its forests, Indian reservations, manufacturing plants, and logging towns. Everything I encountered sent me into the past on my search for the present. How could it have been otherwise, given the question I asked in the wake of Chain's untimely death and in the light of Butterfly's extraordinary life? That question was the timber wars, their origin, meaning, logic, implications, and message to the future—and the answer, again, was landscape and history.

Landscape and History

Concurring with many in the burgeoning field of culturally tuned environmental history, the historians Richard White and John Findlay see place as collective ideas imposed on time and space; they view the American West as a text written large by a people set in motion by the nineteenth-century market revolution in national culture and society.²⁸ Pushing that concept, I see Humboldt as a place that a people could make only as subjects of a culture system much larger than they—a system that called their action into specific forms of world historical labor and transformed the so-called frontier into what we see now. Culture enters nature through labor, in the exacting terms of the eco-philosophizing social theorist James O'Connor, where by nature he means the physical environment on whose tremendous riches capitalism ultimately depends for primary inputs of material and energy.²⁹ But nature enters culture in the same transaction, materializing nature “in historico-geographically contingent and variant ways,” as Noel Castree puts it, positioning the work of Bruce Braun and other cultural geographers who grapple with Marxism at the vital theoretical threshold of nature-culture dialectics.³⁰

To the insights of O'Connor, Castree, Braun, and the western environmental theorists and historians, I add those of psychoanalytic social and cultural theory, with special emphasis on an idea drawn from Louis Althusser. Where Althusser saw ideological state apparatuses call subjects into actions that reproduce social relations of domination, I see culture systems call place into being through bodies that work by invoking those systems' meaning-making potential. Language is the model for this understanding. It exists before the subject does, embracing it, prefiguring its psychological functions, as do the rituals, traditions, institutional practices, and collective representations that also always already have the subject in their grip, so to speak, even before birth, as Althusser put it, explaining what is simplest to grasp in Freud.³¹ We are born, prematurely, into an ordered and ordering universe of systemic social-symbolic practices that is already up and running; for example, in those systems of marriage ties about which the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan wrote, they “are governed by an order of preferences whose law concerning kinship names is, like language, imperative for the group in its forms, but unconscious in its structures.” Unconscious language and social structures constrain the subject to speak and act in particular ways while enabling and inviting it—calling it—to communicate and be social in the first place. “Man thus speaks,” said Lacan, “but it is because the symbol[ic order] has made him man.”³² Likewise people work on the land, but it is because the sociosymbolic system has made them working people: In Humboldt, people value and fight over redwood property, but it is because the system of property is already up and running—a juridical culture available to them for making meaningful lives and material gains. Indian, labor, and timber war stories give their politics flesh-and-blood purchase. And landscape, too, from this perspective, is a shared structure for signifying action, one that labor, over time, imposes on the physical world as it builds that world into *place*. The given, built environment—that which every experience in a place must encounter—addresses the subject precisely like a language, both hailing and enforcing its meaningful practice. Landscape is culture, in other words, and it calls on the subject to act.³³

In this way, we can grasp the native intelligence of a phrase commonly heard in Humboldt: “This is redwood country,” people say, expressing a naturalized competence in this language of place and an understanding of the powerful role played by environment in making

the symbolic and material conditions of meaningful social life. At one time the region had been physically dominated by the gigantic trees, as it is today by the monoculture redwood tree farms that replaced the ancient forests. Signified as property by the culture system, those ancient forests addressed a massive invitation to labor in redwood commodity production, contributing greatly to the making of timber culture.

That such a system of signification imposed itself on the redwoods from the outside and made the place we call Humboldt is the simple thesis guiding this study. That meaning-making system was nineteenth-century American capital culture exploding through market revolution—an ecology-gobbling, territory-colonizing machine fueled by slave accumulation, genocidal Indian removal, patriarchal family socialization, corporate paternalism, labor exploitation, universal education, and a Protestant calling to Manifest Destiny—an institutional dynamo that crucially took additional energy from emergent print culture and public-sphere media. Without the continuous display of the nation's uniquely enumerated founding speech of natural political and civil rights, which this rising media culture provided, *the people* would have been hard-pressed to identify collectively as such, as Americans, as members of the group, as part of something they saw as big, noble, legitimate, and historic. Adapting Lacan for our purposes here, this institutional order must be seen as imperative for the group in its forms, but unconscious in its structures.

Psychoanalytic social theory emphasizes the importance of the visual and physical-spatial as well as the structural-linguistic registers of these objective institutional unconscious structures.³⁴ They are the means—the media—of interpersonal experience that subjects use in building the self- and object representations that become the internalized building blocks of self-identification and ultimately complex identity formation. The lovers, for example, form a group of two, but under normal circumstances they must somehow meet eyes, whereupon the image of the other, garbed in all its cultural accoutrements (clothes, eyeglasses, nose rings, circumcisions, and so forth), enters the realm of possible use in self-representation. The nuclear family forms a group of two or three or more, wherein the intimate home establishes proximity and with its furnishings helps mediate and thus channel desire through libidinal investments into social bonds that endure over time. People commit their attention and energies to their lovers

and children, their friends and neighbors, using spatial coordinates such as these—they also impose an order that is imperative in its form but unconscious in its structures.

Timber culture, too, must be bound together, but such larger groups set in urban and wide-open spaces need transportation and communication technologies to identify and maintain social-psychical bonds. According to Freud, psychological and emotional ties or bonds involve libidinal investments, where by “libido” he means the passionate life energies that animate the psychical drives for both love (including sexuality) and self-preservation. Ultimately libidinal investments manifest themselves in a universally observable human impulse to combine in the service of pleasure, friendship, procreation, family, collective self-defense, and so forth. This is the energy of desire (*libido* is Latin for desire, longing, wish, and fancy, including sexual appetite, lust, and passion). It is the energy of the investments that form attachments and make collective subjects what they are—emergent, tenuous, fluid, and collectivizing foci of individuals' desirous attentions, labors, and actions into public formations. Media make powerful collective subjects like hegemonies and social movements possible because they put individual subjects in contact, bridging time and space and making possible the common experience of events, leaders, ideas, values, and symbols around and through which collective identifications are built. More than this, and in the same way that languages, landscapes, homes, and family relationships impose an order that greets every new child with life-changing force, mass public-sphere media also impose an order that tends to be imperative for the group in its form but unconscious in its structures.

In this way, public-sphere media can be described as technologies for producing *the common*. They constitute a kind of technological a priori, conditions of possibility, in other words, for collective subjects to take a form that I call identificatory publics. Conceived as aggregated and directed psychical attentions and energies—we can even say *psychical labors*—identificatory publics are constituted by the partial object orientations of individual subjects as they channel their attention into the common when they concretely participate in a psychical collectivity by identifying with a cause or investing their attentions in projects and objects.³⁵ Only through wide-reaching media can collective subjects self-organize and focus their psychical energies into world historical labors on the world. And as already noted, such media also

have storage capacities that play important roles—namely, they accumulate traces of public discourse in archives that are necessary to sustain collective identifications and projects over time.

In concrete terms, consider that a forest and factory can bring workers together, and a town can bring its people together, but only mass media can bring the wide-flung regional timber folk together, spread out as they are across cultural spaces of forest, family, factory, and town. But local publics like this reach further still, upward and outward in scale, to identify local practice with national cultures and ultimately global political and scientific communities, larger collectives whose universalizing concepts of self-identification and inclusion—for example, citizenship and globalization as capitalist world system—are now used with facility in the collective self-identifications of timber workers, Maxxam managers, and forest defenders alike. People now cast themselves in global terms. They project themselves imaginatively into identification with global public cultures, contributing physical and psychical labor to ever greater unities by directing their attentions into world historical events and projects.

In this way psychoanalytic social theory allows us to speak of collective political subjects, for instance, the hegemonic cultural order of capitalism and oppositional social movements like the forest defense, without falsely isolating individuals into discrete categories—that is, without hypostatizing publics into groups of discrete actors that mobilize their bodies in unitary directions. This logic of collective identification helps us better understand a number of complex situations encountered by ethnographic field-workers, for example, a timber worker who consented to work on antiunion shop floors while criticizing the corporation, sympathizing with forest defenders, and attending environmentalist rallies. Is he a forest defender or a logger? His identity, not unitary, flows in both directions and presumably in others. Likewise, a forest defender who supports timber workers could organize against Maxxam while defending the traditional, pre-Maxxam Pacific Lumber's reputation as a good environmental steward. The timber war field of cultural politics is precisely this struggle for power over flows of attention and psychical investment in the sociomental environment.

The concrete expression of this struggle, through the long detour of political processes that ultimately control elections and policy decisions, including the forest practice rules governing redwood production, appears in the channeling of the flows of values that human

labor, attending to nature, blasts out of nature into the commodity circuits of capitalism. Capital accumulations appear as compromise formations in the material pattern of values projected by opposing identificatory public and counterpublic forces.

It follows that the timber wars must be viewed as a symbolic politics of subject formation, embedded not just in the social relations of capital to labor but in those of the democratic republican—that is, the liberal—constellation of institutions that define everyday life, especially media. They are a redwood politics of libidinal-economic production. Just as Michel Foucault described the human sciences as power-knowledge complexes—discourses that produce and further subjectify the bodies they represent, technologies through which the European Enlightenment remade the masses that remade the world—so too do new social movements of labor and environmental defense create new public cultures with newfangled powers that reconfigure social actors and redirect their (psychical) labor (energies) into new collective place-making projects that carve out alternative places in alternative futures.

The Deep Culture Drive of Perpetual Conflict

At the energizing core of this constellation of liberal institutions—this colonizing culture of rights—lies the concept of individual property right. The framers of the U.S. Constitution, the pioneer lumbermen of Humboldt, the big redwood timber barons of the twentieth century, the lumber and sawmill union folk, and the CEO of Maxxam all agreed on one basic point: This is America, they repeated, the singular nation of liberty and equality, of which the distinguishing character is a specific program for the collective defense of individual rights, with property, free speech, press, assembly, and religion the most popularly understood.³⁶ But among these rights, property has historically exercised extraordinary power. According to the prevailing faction of the nation's founders—the Federalists—the Constitution was conceived and written to represent and thus constitute the citizen as a free person, owner of his own body, mind, labor, and products, thereby forging him into a concrete Lockean bulwark against intruding power, governmental or otherwise. It was a necessary mechanism, they argued, for a newly conceived democratic polity in which a propertyless but newly enfranchised majority faction would certainly threaten minority rights sooner or later.³⁷

In the words of the historian George Mace, “the major innovation of the American Founding Fathers [was] the conversion of economic social conflict from confrontation based on the amount of property to confrontation based on the kind of property.”³⁸ This understanding of changing class relations can be traced in the words of Publius (Alexander Hamilton, writing in the *Federalist Papers*), who explained that by combining the democratic institution of direct election with the republican institution of representation, and repeating this structure at the state and federal levels while checking and balancing the powers, “the federal Constitution forms a happy combination.” By ensuring the rights of property and setting a course for expansion of the nation’s geographic sphere, it guarantees the public good somewhat paradoxically by guaranteeing a proliferation of opposing private property interests anchored in places distant in space and time.³⁹

What the authors of the *Federalist Papers*, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison—and the white owning class they represented—dreaded most was concentrated, unaccountable political power and its possible embodiment in a tyrannous majority. Two methods of preventing majority faction presented themselves: destroy the liberty that allows destructive differences to emerge, or produce “the same opinions, the same passions, the same interests” in everyone (10.4). The first cure would be “worse than the disease,” while the second is impractical and unwise because “the reason of man is fallible and he is at liberty to exercise it, [so] different opinions will be formed,” with the result being continuous instability and violence (10.6). This is because “as long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves” (10.6). Citizens, in other words, are driven both by reason and by their passions. Reason will consistently fail if the passions are not contained. This familiar refrain of Enlightenment philosophy is directly embodied in the sacred institution of individual property and must be interpreted as the founders’ most concrete solution to majority faction and limited government. Pure democracy could foster tyranny of the masses—a united, impassioned majority—unless, that is, the countervailing institution of a civil right to property is made equally as sacred as the political right of franchise. In property lay the life or death tendency of the national body politic.

One consequence of this program is clear: it helped carve out for the nation a colonial future of perpetual property conflict driven by reciprocally constitutive institutions of free speech, press, and assembly in each new place over which the colonizing culture extended its sphere—institutions that establish a modern public sphere and constitute a social space of media technology for the formation of collective will and public power. Such was the ambivalent nation of public rights and individual liberties imagined and construed in the founding discourse.

From these remarks, we can draw several conclusions. There was a riotous, libidinal, and embodied subject conceptualized in the framers’ performative and people-making constitutional utterances. We must therefore see the framers not merely as politicians but as philosophical psychologists as well—their Enlightenment views represented the essential nature of the human being as passionate and driven by impulses beyond its own control. People are ambivalent creatures whose drives, if not contained, overpower their reason. Their energies must be bound in productive institutions. The ambivalent, vindictive, rapacious, conceited, envious, fearful, loving, and ultimately irrational subject must therefore be subjected to rationalization by the rule of law. Only the law can make this creature into a citizen—a rational modern. And the law of property was central to the plan, as was the panoply of civil rights, including free speech, press, pulpit, and assembly, through which the institution of property is continuously made into a public affair. Property is, in fact, a state institution that hails all people into citizenship with spectacular public representations of their national character.⁴⁰

The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, the *Federalist Papers*, and innumerable lesser documents, including a litany of Supreme Court decisions, invoke a disciplinary, psychological discourse that channels its classifications and concepts of essential human nature into the great project of constituting the nation. In so doing, they did more than just recognize a passionate, interested, and conflicted subject desirous of property and fascinated by the law; they called it into being. Revolutionary U.S. nationalism must therefore be viewed as an economic psychology with a normalizing force that energized the colonizing culture, facilitating its privatization of the New World. It established constitutionalism as a deep cultural drive, among whose most profound effects are a

constant proliferation of rights-based forms of property and of free-speech public spheres, which together ensure the ongoing production of our modern archive culture and the filling of it with evidence of rights discourse.

The political architects of American modernity understood that it is not possible to extract the psychical character of human organisms from their economic, political, and spiritual livelihoods. To produce and maintain a successful nation, a political constitution must extend its government to the realm of subjectivity, where the liberty of economic, political, religious, and sexual energies inextricably merges in the psychosocial performance of citizenship.

It will help to recall that property is not the *thing* suggested by common sense and much property discourse but rather a social relationship defined by a bundle of enforceable rights that govern the relations between individuals with regard to things.⁴¹ Property rights are made by communities of struggle and institutionalized in laws that establish such relations, relations that are ultimately backed by force of some kind, for example, the state's monopoly on legitimate violence.⁴² They are philosophical concepts being put—and again, eventually forced—into action.⁴³ The right of individual property, for example, puts the philosophical idea of communally defined and publicly limited personal freedom into action.

But over time a problem emerges. The juridical institution of property rights begins to demonstrate its advantage over the coarticulated and reciprocally constitutive political and civil rights of universal franchise, free speech, press, religion, and assembly: being anything legitimately appropriated from nature through labor, property accumulates materially as power over labor under conditions of relatively open competition and freedom of contract. Accumulating power over labor then subverts its own conditions when, deployed in emerging markets, it perverts the operation of rational discourse in the public sphere. The philosophy of freedom, institutionalized as property, provides for, and even invites aspirations to, domination in the public sphere. The basic rights package turns out to be a program for perpetual conflict in the public sphere over property (rights).

But there is something more primary still in the representation carried by these institutions, something now built into this program for social conflict: a deep cultural context of modern European philosophy—the sciences of man!—a new certainty in the knowledge of the human being's intimate connection to nature, its vulnerabil-

ity to nature, and its rootedness in nature. Knowledge of man as nature suggests that man must be dominated like nature—that it can and must be improved just as surely as wild external nature must be. Modern democratic polity makes these improvements a mandatory state project—through them Enlightenment philosophy addresses and forms a new national public of continuous improvement. When the framers wrote this perspective into the textual engines of national self-identification, it was part of a rational plan to defend against and to improve that alien, wild, natural force—the passionate, erotic, unruly, angry, envious, and greedy nature of actually living people—the unreasoning body.⁴⁴ Thus did modern American democracy begin on the psychical defensive. The labor of government was rationally divided against itself, separated into tripartite powers, and set up to be continuously revolutionized with updated technology for the exercise of free speech, press, and assembly. These were conditions for republican democracy that alone made possible the aggregation of popular attentions and sentiments that gave substance to the philosophical concept of a general will embodied in a secular state, a state that was legitimately sovereign for just that reason—a state that had the right to rule because it was the rule not just of right reason but of collective, public reason.

Critical theory and history of American modernity—and by extension its subsidiary conflicts like the redwood timber wars—should begin here, in the juridical culture system that combines the legal authority of property rights with the other core symbols of the revolution (namely, the other civil and political rights) to form an institutional engine that proliferates public struggles and expands geographically as it constitutes the affective performance of American nationalism. The end result is a colonizing knowledge system, among whose chief institutional achievements must be included the collective force of its patriotic worker-citizens' deep and pleasurable feeling of consent to be governed by a perpetual conflict of interests.

The Public-Sphere Spectacle of Rights

We should not be surprised to find that this conflict pervades the permanent record of media spectacle in Humboldt, for reasons intrinsic to the concept of the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas has shown how the natural rights constructed by modern constitutions in effect called the public sphere into its modern configuration, guaranteeing its

role as the technology of public address through which nations would call themselves to order. With the rights of free speech, press, assembly, and association, he wrote, “the functions of the public sphere were clearly spelled out in law.”⁴⁵ These constitutional choices also inaugurated “the [juridical] protection of the intimate sphere (with the freedom of the person and, especially, of religious worship),” in what amounted to an “early expression of the protection of the private sphere in general that became necessary for the reproduction of capitalism in the phase of liberalized markets.”⁴⁶ Nicholas Garnham lauds this Habermasian model for its “focus upon the indissoluble link between the institutions and practices of mass public communication and the institutions and practices of mass democratic politics,” for its “focus on the necessary material resource base for any public sphere,” and for its “escape from the simple dichotomy of free market versus state control.”⁴⁷ My point here is that the so-called free market is a political construction deeply imbued by the state constitution with imbricated rights of free speech, press, and assembly.

On the nation’s frontier, where the story of the colonization of Humboldt begins, newspapers were a singular transmission line for the cultural discourse of the nation. They dominated the public sphere with a spectacle of words from the distant capital and eastern population centers, a vital technology connecting Humboldt’s local conversation to the continuous address that was forming the nation. They made possible a relatively informed, nominally free, and increasingly heterogeneous discourse in which something called informed public opinion might ostensibly form, something from which an idea of consensus could be derived through electoral process, something like a collective will.

Of course there was much more to the public sphere. There were bars, conversations on the docks and in the streets, citizens groups, voluntary associations, and even Humboldt’s genocidal volunteer Indian-hunting militias—these were all places where the conversations took place that boiled down opinion. They were sites for exchange between citizens. But the function of the newspaper system stands out among these collectivizing channels. It projected the culture of rights and perpetual conflict into the redwoods. And while this public-sphere rhetoric claimed universality and spoke as if it had no body at all, it was, as Michael Warner succinctly puts it, “structured from the outset by a logic of abstraction that provides a privilege for unmarked identities: the male, the white, the middle class, the normal.”⁴⁸

This was precisely the character of newspaper address that spoke to Humboldt through the region’s first local paper, the *Humboldt Times*. From its first issue in 1854, through the period of Indian trouble in which the indigenous lands were enclosed and otherwise appropriated, the *Times* was there, holding up a mirror of universal republican virtue in the bay redwood region and facilitating the instantiation of national culture.

In this way, newspaper culture initiated a media archive on which so much of Humboldt’s future historical consciousness would ultimately come to rely. The *Times* recorded the colonial discourse of redwood settlement, preserving its rhetoric of perpetual conflict and providing future historians with classifications and discourses through which the people invading the redwoods tended to see the world and remake it. In the stories of Indian trouble, labor trouble, and trouble in the forest I tell in later chapters, the papers are a primary source, as they have been for all previous historians of the region. The dominant conflicts that rocked the region in the decades leading up to the timber wars largely work on the present through this archive’s towering presence in historical consciousness. The state’s self-investment in the people and markets that constituted the nation as a public performance of affective character must largely be measured in terms of this collectivizing technology. Media made national self-consciousness possible, and so interpretation of Humboldt’s contemporary historical consciousness, and by extension the redwood timber wars, must begin in the voice of its public-sphere archive.

We need to treat the colonizing discourse of rights-driven markets, publics, and politics as an apparatus of power and ask how its continuous display in regional papers help set the cultural conditions of timber war. We can start by considering how the *Times* represented Anglos as citizen-subjects of what Étienne Balibar called “the nation form,” by which he meant a matrix of institutions that collectively shapes modern subjectivity in the image of national ideology. Modern nation-states produce national identity with a cultural and psychological depth that Balibar calls “fictive ethnicity,” which essentially means a feeling of “community instituted by the nation-state.”⁴⁹ Nationality is a structure of feeling or community embodied and lived as identity produced under social conditions of state signification. It is formed within a field of power governed by state-sanctioned institutions of modern everyday life. It is crucial to note that the term *fictive* does not signify something unreal, untrue, or nonexistent but rather points to

the presence of a social imaginary, in the constitutive sense that cultural theory gives this term, as I will explain in the following section. For Balibar, "Every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions is imaginary, that is to say, it is based on the projection of individual existence into the web of collective narrative, on the recognition of a common name and on traditions lived as the trace of an immemorial past, even when they have been fabricated and inculcated in the recent past. But this comes down to accepting that, under certain conditions, *only* imaginary communities are real."⁵⁰ That would be the very conclusion reached in Cornelius Castoriadis's *The Imaginary Institution of Society* and Benedict Anderson's celebrated *Imagined Communities*.⁵¹

Balibar sees the institutions of family and compulsory education as the principal engines of fictive ethnicity in twentieth-century Western nations, whereas in the nineteenth century and before, the family-church institutional dyad had done most of this work. Universal schooling under the national compulsion of enlightened social engineering produces collective linguistic identity and community that, according to Balibar, in each case "produces the feeling [in the present] that it has always existed . . . it assimilates anyone, but holds no one . . . it affects all individuals in their innermost being (in the way in which they constitute themselves as subjects), but its historical particularity is bound only to interchangeable institutions." Yet "the contemporary importance of schooling and the family unit does not derive solely from the functional place they take in the reproduction of labour power," he says, "but from the fact that they subordinate that reproduction to the constitution of a fictive ethnicity—that is, to the articulation of a linguistic community and a community of race implicit in [that nations'] population policies."

Race is essential to such language communities because they can always add strength and stability to their social project of maintaining order by positing a biologically material anchor for national identity. The geographic frontiers of a people are not in themselves necessarily enough to bind the structure of feeling for the nation across time and space. It "therefore needs an extra degree (*un supplément*) of particularity, or principle of closure, of exclusion . . . that of being part of a common race."⁵² Consequently family, school, church, gender, language, and race are held to combine in the fictive ethnicity of the modern nation form. And this amalgamation is precisely what we hear in the archive of media spectacle and newspaper culture stretch-

ing back through the history of conflicts that map out the story of capital in Humboldt—a mélange of variously practical, cultural, narrative, and discursive supplements that, taken together, fairly describe an American national form of fictive ethnicity as it was differentially achieved in the redwood bay region under local conditions of Indian trouble, industrial forestry, and deforestation.

But the foregoing argument compels me to stress again the operation of mass media in the complicated engine of modern cultural colonization, for it was there that the specter of constitutional law was continuously displayed, addressing the people together, one and all, *e pluribus unum*, with an ideal image of republican virtue, calling all peoples (white and male, largely) into collective being by gathering their attentions in a public structure of feeling, situating them within a broadcast image that identified them with each other in and through that great symbolic structure—the national form of fictive ethnicity. The continuous spectacle of democratic public-sphere nationalism made locally informed participatory citizenship possible, calling to people with symbols of liberty and equality that channeled the force and fuel of their bodily labor and psychical attentions through juridical institutions that expanded the national colonial project.

Finally, the case of Humboldt teaches us to add one last cultural institution to our conceptualization of the national form of fictive identity that colonized the redwoods. In the modern American social imaginary, the concept of property forms another supplement, another extra degree of particularity or principle of closure and exclusion through which American identity knows itself and performs. The constitutional people-making machine and the media spectacle that helped establish its public and universal norms have never strayed far from this principal symbol of American virtue.

Benedict Anderson has shown how print capitalism in general and newspaper culture in particular helped make collective feelings of modern nationalism possible by establishing the experience of horizontal simultaneity—that new form of modern time consciousness in which a Humboldt pioneer, for example, who would never know and never meet more than a tiny fragment of his or her countrymen, could nevertheless develop "a complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity."⁵³ Here again is that media link that channeled the nation and its culture of rights into redwood ecology and Wiyot territory, setting in motion the long march of capital though Indian war and labor trouble that created the conditions for

timber war in the late twentieth century. It helped make this place modern by way of instating what the political philosopher Charles Taylor, among other culturally inclined theorists, would call a modern social imaginary.

The Redwood Imaginary

Cultural sociologists debate how best to interpret the meanings of social life and explain their institutionalization and reproduction, especially as they contribute to economic, gender, racial, and other pernicious forms of inequality.⁵⁴ In this sense, questions of social justice are always at the center of cultural sociology. In this book I use the culturalist concept of a social imaginary—shared symbols, values, laws, and meanings performed and embodied in the institutional repertoires of a group—to theorize the local formation of a redwood imaginary, which I define as a unique, place-based manifestation of the modern social imaginary. I strive to show how it came to embody and shape local expressions of power, domination, and resistance in redwood social history and thus how it ultimately set the conditions for timber war.

We should pause for a moment and consider the analytic content and usefulness of this term—*social imaginary*—for bringing cultural and environmental theory together in a new analytic tool for studying conflicts like the timber wars. With Taylor we can start by defining a society's or group's social imaginary as the shared knowledges, competencies, and values embodied in the various patterns of its actors—their institutions; a social imaginary, he writes, is a “common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy.”⁵⁵ But common understanding comes from common practice, and this circular formula constitutes the peculiar strength of the social imaginary as an analytic category: it is dialectical critical theory, a way of defining and analyzing collective cultural phenomena as complex and always emergent processes in which energetic subjects answer, carry out, and ultimately embody and reproduce the cultural structures within which they emerged and which invited them to participate in collective action and gave them so much opportunity to do so in the first place. Institutions within a social imaginary are its culture patterns—its practical, tacit knowledges performed as meaningful, signifying actions. The effects of a social imaginary on the world register in the labor these institutions direct.

A social imaginary therefore consists of *instituted* ways of acting in the same way that a language consists of instituted ways of speaking and that collective belief systems, like religions, consist of instituted ways of seeing the world. Because they are symbolic systems, people use them for signification—and because signification is material, they transform the world.

For Taylor, rational capitalism, the public sphere, democracy, and rights discourse are the vital institutions of modern social imaginaries.⁵⁶ They are what is modern in modern social imaginaries, and they show how social imaginaries are in fact moral orders, in which differing ideas and values enacted in the relatively autonomous but reciprocally constitutive spheres of everyday economic, social, and political life establish a shared way of life. They are, in brief, what we mean by modern culture.

The compound term *social imaginary* is more insightful and analytically productive than the simple term *culture* precisely because it identifies, separates, and then dialectically binds the subjective and objective elements that common usage of the term *culture* too often leaves oblique. The social is nothing if not objective and collective, so the term *social imaginary* must be read as *objective and collective imaginary*. But the term *imaginary* refers to the imagination—which is nothing if not the subject's active representation and meaning-making activity; so now it reads *objective collective representational action*. One final ingredient is necessary: in the structuralist and semiological movements indebted to the linguistics of Ferdinand Saussure, first among others, the objective collective social world is nothing if not a symbolic order; it is a meaning-making system comparable to a language system, an enabling and constraining system that individual and collective subjects put to use. Hence the term should be read *objective-collective-symbolic order of and for active representation*. There seems to be only one way to interpret this complex idea: the concept of a social imaginary defines the social as a usable system of ideal elements already up and running in institutional structures that individuals encounter as an objective moral order. Thus a social imaginary is a system of meaningful, value-laden institutions into which people are thrown and which they tend to embody and naturalize for use in making, performing, and expressing their own symbolic meanings, values, and practical lives.

Whereas Émile Durkheim called this performative order the world of collective representations and compelled us to treat them as social

facts,⁵⁷ and Max Weber spoke of how armies and corporations originated and now characterize modern institutional spheres of psychosocial discipline,⁵⁸ the works of Karl Marx consistently turn on dialectical phrases that secure this same tenet of cultural theory: men make history, he states in the well-known phrase, but not under conditions of their own choosing. Yet seldom do citations of this powerful statement of reciprocally constitutive structure and agency go on to take note of the linguistic, cultural metaphor that he uses to explain the point: "The beginner who has learned a new language," writes Marx, "always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he assimilates the spirit of the new language and expresses himself freely in it only when he moves in it without recalling the old and when he forgets his native tongue."⁵⁹ To understand culture and its function in reproducing the imaginary institutions of society, it is necessary to know how social memory works by forgetting what has always already been there for the subject to use. The modern social imaginary is contemporary cultural theory's name for what people forget in order to live—it is nothing more or less than our everyday cultural unconscious.

Applying this dialectical model of language to all social life brings us up to date with the turn to practice in social theory. But my case study in Humboldt pushes the idea further by introducing environmental theory and history: the redwood imaginary is modernity in the redwoods, a local instantiation of the modern social imaginary in the redwood ecozone—a geographic, spatial installation of its institutional system for meaning-making lives. The idea of a modern social imaginary is more intelligible and useful if we make it a spatial, geographic, and ultimately environmental category.

Cultural Theory, Media Studies, and Environmental Sociology

The modern social imaginary—a culture system of democratic-republican polity and public-sphere media-driven capitalism—arrived on the redwood coast of northern California in 1850, setting in motion the total transformation of the region's environment and native lifeworlds into the place known as Humboldt, a built social world that colonization made significant: the place of the redwood imaginary. My central premise here is that the U.S. political culture and its textual engine in the people-making, nation-forming Constitution drove this process, making the redwood imaginary a local, place-based instantiation of its universalizing vision. I am talking not about a single

cause of the timber wars, responsible for everything we will find in the conflict, but rather about a triumphant organizing address that called into being and action a constellation of institutions that, though dynamic and changing, came to dominate the redwoods.

By way of answering the questions I have asked about the timber wars—how and why did they originate and how do they work? where are they leading? what do they tell us about globalization? the nation?—my method is to combine the cultural theory of social imaginaries with elements of media studies and environmental sociology in the writing of social history. By describing the living, symbolic, and built place of the redwood imaginary as a complex and relatively autonomous cultural structure, I show how and why the places of capitalist colonization accumulate meaning-making potential over time, differentiating them as they continuously archive local history and memorialize events, especially events of unusual violence.

This program for cultural sociology expands the definition of place to include its living, symbolic, and built characteristics. By *living* I mean the institutions that express the norms and values of everyday life, as they are acted out, ritualized, performed, or practiced in the anthropological sense of that term. By *symbolic* I mean the full range of more or less codified, narrative, and written textual artifacts, for example, newspapers, journals, letters, diaries, speeches, photographs, and the history books that rest on such primary materials, as well as the stories, legends, and myths in oral circulation. And by *built* I mean the range of material artifacts, including architecture, physical geography, landscape, and the humanly modified remnants of ecology like extinct and threatened salmon runs, deforested hillsides, and silted-in bays and waterways. I treat this collective living, symbolic, and built place of the redwood imaginary as an archive of social memory that enables and constrains political action.

Turning to media studies and environmental sociology and history to develop this cultural theory of the archival redwood imaginary, I build on James O'Connor's understanding that the deepest cause of environmental history and hence of contemporary environmental movements is "a structural one: capitalist political and legal systems, capital accumulation and the commodification of social life and culture."⁶⁰ Using a word synonymous with the universal compulsion of capitalism, he writes that commodification is "the 'division of nature' into means and objects of production and consumption"; it produces "a new nature, a specifically capitalist 'second nature.'" This is nature

subjected “to the discipline of the financial market,” the transformation of lakes, coastlines, forests, and all biological systems into assets, the economization of all things natural, and ultimately the remaking of nature “in the image of capital, e.g., via bioengineering, factory forests and the like.” And all of this was “unimaginable before social [life] and cultural life were commodified.”⁶¹

Pushing O’Connor’s language toward my idea of the modern social imaginary as a colonizing cultural system of capital, it follows that second nature is produced as the whole of global time and space fall ever more deeply into its force-laden, capillary field of scientific knowledge; it is a world resignified under science-based capitalist culture. Indeed, as O’Connor says, the ultimate effect of continuous capitalist signification is that “politics, economics, social and cultural life and environment are successively revolutionized, i.e., become more specifically capitalistic.”⁶² In my interpretation, second nature archives social memories of science-driven economic modernization.

Two contradictions determine how this culture system develops. The first arises from within: the well-known internal class contradiction that follows from competitive and accelerating scientific exploitation of labor and results in continuous downward pressure on prices (including wages, the price of labor), ultimately driving the system into so-called realization or demand crises. Open competition between capitals to cut the cost of production drives wages down while increasing the rate of production, leaving masses impoverished and so many products that consuming them all becomes a new central problem. This first contradiction compels the system through recurring bouts of expansion, crisis, and reorganization—a business cycle in which individual capitals are forced to continuously expand their markets and aggregate power lest they fall behind in the all-out competition. The result is a capital culture driven to continuously expand, which it does by innovative technology, speed-up, replacement of labor by machinery, the expansion of scale, vertical and horizontal merging of firms, and every other imaginable strategy to reduce the cost of production. The system survives, in other words, only by dint of the application of science and technology to everything, all the time, from here to infinity. To exist it must continuously revolutionize the means of production. Nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, urbanization, war, and the advertising system are among the developments that this analysis of capital culture’s structural compulsion to expand can help us interpret.

In the New World, this first contradiction in the colonizing system of Anglo-American capitalism produced a grotesque deformation of the laboring classes under eighteenth- and nineteenth-century conditions of industrial revolution, with the labor movement of the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth emerging in response. In the twentieth century new social and cultural contradictions emerged, embodied, for instance, in the civil rights movement and the so-called new social movements of women’s liberation, gay liberation, identity politics, and environmentalism. These are responses to the ongoing exploitation of communities, identities, and environments by the same systemic forces of capitalism against which early labor movements moved. They are surface signs of the deep and continuous revolution—that is, the modernization of every domain of social and ecological life—that drove mercantilism through slave accumulation and indigenous plunder into the era of unionism and eventually to that of civil rights and finally to that of today’s class and race politics. The current consolidation of these cultures of resistance in the networks of anti-neoliberal and corporate globalization movements, the World Social Forum (WSF) and the global justice movement—the so-called movement of movements—are among the most recent and consequential effects of this modernization.

Together with the post-Cold War expansion of capital, the rise of this globally identified movement of movements signals the coming of an era increasingly defined by the second contradiction in capitalism, an antagonism that potentially unites every other human interest: the contradiction of global capital by global ecology. Not transcending but absorbing and extending the first contradiction, the second marks that point where capitalism begins to destroy its external conditions of possibility for production, namely, the communities of labor and environment that constitute its profit-generating capacity, including the spatial arrangements uniting these elements in built environments like cities, watersheds, states, and ecosystems. These are researchable places that embody historical change—places where the conditions of production are external in the material sense that they are not produced by the system itself but rather exist as necessary inputs of energy, including labor energy, and resources.⁶³

The potential oppositional power of communities of labor and environment can therefore be described as structural; being sources of capital, they are required by capital, and so they are all potential sites of contest for control over capital. But whereas it has often been

remarked that the workers have the power, raising the perennial question “Why don’t they use it?” it has less often been recognized that environment is power and whoever defines it and controls the regulatory process largely determines the flow of capital accumulation. Environmental politics consequently become central first to state control over markets and ultimately to the rise of global institutions seeking to rationalize trade liberalization. In this way we see how, when modernity enters the living, symbolic, and built dimensions of place, structuring its objective potential as a meaning-making system and calling up labor, setting it to work in successive epochs of first and second contradictions to capital accumulation, it makes places like Humboldt into archival structures that structure the future of potential politics.

Guy Debord’s concept of the spectacle society is useful for tying the media domain of consumer society to that of the first and second contradictions in capital culture. The second contradictions emerge by way of deferring catastrophic crises, for example, by constructing expansive credit systems, Keynesian state policies, and the advertising system. The society in which the reproduction of the conditions of production relies increasingly on expanding consumption through borrowing and aggressive marketing is the spectacle society—the consumer society. This marks a change in the mode of domination: in the words of George Ritzer, “What becomes important in spectacular society is the desirable surface of images and signs . . . the attention grabbing spectacle.”⁶⁴ As Debord put it, this is society devoted to the “ceaseless manufacture of pseudo-needs.” Now the market must produce consumption, and so it must situate the subject as a consumer, address it as a consumer, and elevate the value of consumption above every other value. Its horizon, again, is infinite expansion, and this sets emergent capital culture on a collision course with planetary ecology.

By describing the cultural logic of capitalist colonization in these dynamic, immanent, dialectical, juridical, media-driven, and finally environmental terms—the cultural system changes as it changes the world—environmental theory of the second contradiction offers a new beginning, not an end, for the project of cultural interpretation in places like Humboldt.

Being one set of external conditions of possibility for its value-extracting commodity circuits, the pre-Columbian geophysical environment entered deeply into the accumulating place of this redwood imaginary. As the physicality of capital’s immediate environment here,

it called up unique forms of colonization, labor, consumption, and resistance and then constantly threw up new challenges for people in each of these registers. For example, when mammoth trees invited labor to clear-cut whole mountains, the land responded with runoff that filled rivers and bays and prepared the future for decades of labor in flood control, dredging, and salmon-restoration ecology. How the spectacular rights-based culture of capitalism driving colonization of the bay redwood region and industrialization of redwood lumber production contradicted redwood labor and ecology and set the conditions for timber war is a tale told by murdered, removed, and concentrated First Peoples, battered unions, deforested mountains, homeless birds, rivers of eroded mud, extirpated mammals, extinct and endangered salmon, and acres of silted-in bay.

Violence, Archive, and Memory

In chapters 1, 2, and 3, I pursue this local modernity in a fieldwork narrative that theorizes the public space of the timber wars. My method hinged on living in Humboldt and immersing myself in the saturated present tense of the timber war discourse, and in the process I came across something quite unexpected. The physical and symbolic terrain was laden with social memories of more distant historical events of extraordinary violence that could not be ignored. The Wiyot massacre, the murder of redwood strikers, and the attempted assassination of redwood forest defenders formed a historical record of capital culture in Humboldt that, together with the figures of Chain, Hill, and Scotia, could help me to write the timber war story.

I call the events on which these stories accrue *signature events* in the redwood imaginary. Each gathers together and records an image of the social relations prevailing in that historical moment. There can be no question that such images are incomplete. But the traces I uncover and assemble allow me to construct this historical study. In chapters 4, 5, and 6, I return to the public-sphere discourse at these signature moments of violence in the successive epochs of Indian, labor, and environmental trouble. The social history is in this way schematically presented through the lens of changing social and environmental conditions that seized the collective imagination in these spectacular moments. In my conclusion, I explain how the redwood imaginary, as an archive of violence, informs social memory and structures the future of timber wars politics.

Chain, Hill, and Scotia are highly invested symbols that serve as a screen on which individuals and groups, speaking through this archive—through this place of the redwood imaginary—project their concerns, hopes, and fears and their sometimes fanciful or practical ideas about the world. Environmentalists, sensing the ecological tragedy of capitalism, channel their life energies through such symbols and use them to produce a discourse of challenge and struggle. Loggers and subjects of timber hegemony defend what they have and what they have made by naming their world at the very same points. These are the loci of symbolic production where the cultural drama takes hold and goes public. It is here, in this public cauldron of cultural construction, that *Trouble in the Forest* sets to work encountering everything lived, symbolic, and built in the region as interested and signifying contributions to the timber war field of cultural production.

Notes

Entry Point

1. The fullest physical description of Humboldt Bay is Roger A. Barnhardt, Milton J. Boyd, and John E. Pequegnat, *The Ecology of Humboldt Bay, California: An Estuarine Profile*, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Biological Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992).
2. Reed F. Noss, *The Redwood Forest* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000), 10, 46–47.
3. Heather A. Enloe, Robert C. Graham, and Stephen C. Sillett, “Arboreal Histosols in Old-Growth Redwood Forest Canopies, Northern California,” *Soil Science Society of America Journal* 70 (2006); also R. M. Burns and B. H. Honkala, *Silvics of North America*, vol. 1, *Conifers* (Washington, D.C.: USDA Forest Service Agriculture Handbook, 1990). On canopy salamanders and crablike crustaceans, see Sillett et al., “Evidence of a New Niche for a North American Salamander,” *Herpetological Conservation and Biology* 1, no. 1 (2006).
4. Stephen C. Sillett, “Tree Crown Structure and Vascular Epiphyte Distribution in Sequoia Sempervirens Rainforest Canopies,” *Selbyana* 20, no. 1 (1999).
5. David Anderson, “Salmon Come First on the Eel, Agencies Say,” *Eureka Times-Standard*, May 6, 1999. Friends of the Eel River maintain an online archive at eelriver.org.
6. David Anderson, “Battle over Trinity Flow Anticipated,” *Eureka Times-Standard*, May 25, 1999. See Dane J. Durham, “How the Trinity Lost Its Water,” Friends of the Trinity River, fotr.org (2005).
7. John Driscoll, “State Warns Klamath Dam Owner over Delays,” *Eureka Times-Standard*, August 8, 2007.

8. Thomas M. Mahony and John D. Stuart, "Status of Vegetation Classification in Redwood Ecosystems," USDA Forest Service Gen. Tech. Rep. PSW-GTR-194 (2007).

9. Noss, *The Redwood Forest*, 153–54.

10. On cultural geography and the concept of capitalist culture systems, see Joseph E. Spencer, "The Growth of Cultural Geography," *American Behavioral Scientist* 22, no. 79 (1978).

11. See Ray Raphael and Freeman House, *Two Peoples, One Place*, vol. 1 of *Humboldt History* (Eureka, Calif.: Humboldt County Historical Society, 2007), 39–90, for the best account of European exploration and discovery; see also Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850–1875* (Los Angeles: California State Historical Association, 1929; reprinted by Humboldt County Historical Society, 1982), esp. 27–32.

12. See L. K. Wood's narrative of the Gregg expedition in Oscar Lewis, ed., *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo: Humboldt Bay; A Collection of Diaries and Historical Accounts of the Area Now Known as Humboldt County, California* (San Francisco: College Publishing Company, 1943).

13. Letter of H., *Humboldt Times*, September 9, 1954 (italics mine). Here and throughout the book, when primary sources are cited, the original irregular wording and punctuation has been retained for historical accuracy.

14. Letter of Citizen, *Humboldt Times*, October 21, 1854; Citizen also appeared in the *Humboldt Times* on November 7, 1854.

15. *Humboldt Times*, October 21, 1854.

16. "Redwood trees grow in an interrupted 724-km belt along the Pacific Coast from the southwestern tip of Oregon (42°09' N. latitude) to southern Monterey County in California (35°41' N. latitude), once covering some 647,500–770,000 ha." Noss, *The Redwood Forest*, 39.

17. Kimberly Wear, "Humboldt County Sees Its Share of Poverty," *Eureka Times-Standard*, August 29, 2007.

Introduction

1. "Pacific Lumber Cited for Illegal Practices," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 25, 1998. On the history, culture, and politics of the international Earth First! movement, see Susan Zakin, *Coyotes and Towndogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement* (New York: Penguin, 1993); John Opie, *Nature's Nation: An Environmental History of the United States* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998); Christopher Manes, *Green Rage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990); Derek Wall, *Earth First! and the Anti-roads Movement: Radical Environmentalism and Comparative Social Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Rik Scarce, *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical*

Environmental Movement (Chicago: Noble Press, 1990); and Timothy Luke, "Ecological Politics and Local Struggles: Earth First! as an Environmental Resistance Movement," *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 14 (1994).

2. Suzanne Zalev, "Death in the Forest," and "Activists Weep for Comrade," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 18, 1998. Bullwinkel, quoted in "PL Officials 'Saddened,'" *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 18, 1998.

3. Zalev, "Death in the Forest."

4. Suzanne Zalev, "PL Blamed for Forest Death," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 19, 1998.

5. Farmer published "How Gypsy Really Died: An Eyewitness Account," on October 1, 1998, at envirolink.org. Jordan's account appeared at envirolink.org before the end of October.

6. Greg Magnus, "PL Workers Shocked, Not Surprised at Death," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 19, 1998.

7. *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 23, 1998.

8. The timber wars are a particular case of the general configuration of social struggles in the age of media spectacle, consumer society, and image politics. I use the terms *spectacle* and *spectacular* to analyze the transition from industrial to consumer society that is driving the contradiction between capitalism and ecology, in other words what John Bellamy Foster writes about in "The Absolute General Law of Ecological Degradation under Capitalism," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 3, no. 3 (1992). The vast technological apparatus of display that is mass consumer culture grows to be so thoroughly captured by capital, devoted to its imperative of defending current profits at any cost, that it tends to prevent or delay public culture from recognizing and acting in its own social and environmental interest. On the spectacular society, see Guy Debord, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Verso, 1988), and *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967; New York: Zone Books, 1994); as well as Henri Giroux, *Beyond the Spectacle of Terror: Global Uncertainty and the Challenge of New Media* (Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm, 2006); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), xiv, 8–9, 47–49, 186–87, 321–23, 347, 458n17, and 458n18; Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 79–82, and *Homo Sacer* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 10–11; Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of the News* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 298–310; and especially Anselm Jappe, *Guy Debord* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). George Ritzer lucidly explains Debord's concept of the spectacular society in terms of consumer society. Ritzer, "The New Means of Consumption and the Situationist Perspective," in

Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption (London: Sage, 2002). On image politics, see Kevin Michael Deluca, *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism* (New York: Guilford Press, 1999).

9. By “discourse of free trade” I mean both the collective representation and performance of globalization—what Jeffrey Alexander calls its semantics and pragmatics. In “‘Globalization’ as Collective Representation: The New Dream of a Cosmopolitan Civil Sphere,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 19 (2007), Alexander suggests that the emergent global civil sphere can be described as a discourse, a collective representation, an imaginary, and a dream. In a similar way, the Battle of Seattle was both symbolic and material. On the role of forest defenders from the Pacific Northwest in Seattle 1999, see Eddie Yuen, ed., *The Battle of Seattle* (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2001); on the role of redwood forest defenders in particular, see Alexander Cockburn, *Five Days That Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond* (New York: Verso, 2000). Cockburn’s text is of special interest to me for having captured my anonymous image in the crowd photo chosen for the cover.

10. Gaye LeBaron, “Remembering Scotia, the Last of the Company Towns,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, October 12, 2008.

11. Alberto Melucci, “The Global Planet and the Internal Planet: New Frontiers for Collective Action and Individual Transformation,” in *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, ed. Marcy Darnovsky, Barbara Epstein, and Richard Flacks (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

12. Here I draw on Marshall McLuhan’s language in the preface to *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951). See also Paul Willis and Mats Trondman, “Manifesto for Ethnography,” *Ethnography* 1, no. 1 (2000): 5–16; Michael Burawoy, *Global Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), and “Manufacturing the Global,” *Ethnography* 2, no. 2 (2001); and Zsuzsa Gille and Seán Ó Riain, “Global Ethnography,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002).

13. A social system, dialectically conceived, is a set of relationships between people, labor, its products, and the world; and concrete and particular events, processes, connections, and developments are viewed as inseparable from the systemic whole, but not reducible to it. For Theodor Adorno, each concrete and particular cultural artifact is an intersection between social structure (institutions, symbolic order) and social action; its field of possible meanings is a function the social totality. Adorno, “Sociology and Psychology,” *New Left Review* 46 (1968). Adorno wrote admiringly that Walter Benjamin “never wavered in his fundamental conviction that the smallest cell of observed reality offsets the rest of the world.” Adorno, “A Portrait of Walter Benjamin,” in *Prisms* (Cambridge,

Mass.: MIT Press, 1967), 236. For concise primers on dialectical thinking and ecological dialectics, respectively, see Bertell Ollman, “Why Dialectics? Why Now?” *Science and Society* 62, no. 3 (1998): 338–57; and David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996).

14. I see primitive accumulation as the constitutive moment of capital and its precondition as such, without being a stage that is somehow surpassed but which rather enters into the form of capital culture. On the continued relevance of the concept, see David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. 145–46; Michael Perelman, “Primitive Accumulation from Feudalism to Neoliberalism,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 18, no. 2 (2007); and Werner Bonefeld, “History and Social Constitution: Primitive Accumulation Is Not Primitive,” *thecommoner.org*, March 2002. Bonefeld cites Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1: primitive accumulation, defined as “the separation of labour from its product, of subjective labour-power from the objective conditions of labour, was therefore the real foundation in fact and the starting-point of capitalist production. But that which at first was but a starting point, becomes, by the mere continuity of the process, by simple reproduction, the peculiar result, constantly renewed and perpetuated, of capitalist production.” He ends his discussion with a note to Walter Benjamin: “The violence of capital’s original beginning is the formative element of the ‘civilized’ forms of equality, liberty, freedom and utility. These forms mystify the real content of ‘equality’ as an equality in the inequality of property. They are the constituted forms of the original violence—violence as civilized normality.” Cf. Walter Benjamin, *Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1965).

15. Environmental theorists have debated theories of the second contradiction in capitalism in the journals *Capitalism Nature Socialism (CNS)* and *Monthly Review*. See especially John Bellamy Foster, “Capitalism and Ecology: The Nature of the Contradiction,” *Monthly Review* 54, no. 4 (September 2002); and James O’Connor, “Capitalism, Nature, Socialism: A Theoretical Introduction,” *CNS* 1 (1988); “On the Two Contradictions of Capitalism,” *CNS* 2, no. 3 (1991); *Natural Causes* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998); and “What Is Environmental History? Why Environmental History?” *CNS* 8, no. 2 (1997). See also John Bellamy Foster, *Capitalism against Ecology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002); “Marx’s Ecological Value Analysis,” *Monthly Review* 52, no. 4 (2000); “The Scale of Our Ecological Crisis,” *Monthly Review* 49, no. 11 (1998); and “The Absolute General Law of Environmental Degradation under Capitalism,” *CNS* 3, no. 3 (1992). Further see Samir Amin, “A Note on the Depreciation of the Future,” *CNS* 3, no. 3 (1992): 21–22;

Victor Toledo, "The Ecological Crisis: A Second Contradiction of Capitalism," *CNS* 3, no. 3 (1992); and Michael A. Lebowitz, "Capitalism: How Many Contradictions?" *CNS* 3, no. 3 (1992).

16. See my remarks in chapter 6; also see Environmental Protection Information Center, "Litigation Summary," wildcalifornia.org.

17. Mark Lovelace, the Humboldt Watershed Council, "Palco Presentation," humboldtwatersheds.org, 2006.

18. The redwood timber wars have rarely been treated in a scholarly way, but see John Bellamy Foster, "The Limits of Environmentalism without Class: Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle in the Pacific Northwest," in *Capitalism against Ecology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002); Andrew Rowell, *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environment Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 155, 157–81; Jacqueline Vaughn Switzer, *Green Backlash: The History and Politics of Environmental Opposition in the U.S.* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1997), 214–15; David Helvarg, *The War against the Greens: The Wise Use Movement, the New Right, and Anti-environmental Violence* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994), 330–39. Susan R. Schrepfer's history of environmental reform in the redwoods, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), was written before Maxxam moved in and blasted the struggle into the sphere of globalization. Several journalists tell a more up-to-date story: Susan Zakin, *Coyotes and Towndogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement* (New York: Penguin, 1993); David Harris, *The Last Stand: The War between Wall Street and Main Street over California's Ancient Redwoods* (New York: Times Books, 1995); Patrick Beach, *A Good Forest for Dying* (2003). See also Julia Hill, *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2000); and Judi Bari, *The Timber Wars* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1994).

19. Ethnographers have examined the timber conflicts and the social worlds of the loggers across the Pacific Northwest in the 1990s; see, for example, Terre Satterfield, *Anatomy of a Conflict: Identity, Knowledge, and Emotion in Old Growth Forests* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002); Fred Rose, *Coalitions across the Class Divide* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Matthew S. Carroll, *Community and the Northwestern Logger: Continuities and Changes in the Era of the Spotted Owl* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1995); Kathie Durbin, *Tree Huggers: Victory, Defeat, and Renewal in the Northwest Ancient Forest Campaign* (Seattle: Mountaineers, 1996); Beverly Brown, *In Timber Country* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); W. Scott Prudham, *Knock on Wood: Nature as a Commodity in Douglas Fir Country* (New York: Routledge, 2005); also James D. Proctor,

"Whose Nature? The Contested Moral Terrain of Ancient Forests," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996); Jake Kosek, *Understories: The Political Life of Forests in Northern New Mexico* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).

20. Susan Beder, *Global Spin: The Corporate Assault on Environmentalism* (White River Junction, Vt.: Chelsea Green, 1997); Helvarg, *The War against the Greens*.

21. Environmental Protection Information Center of Garberville, newsletter, Spring 2001.

22. John Sterling, "Thousands Rally for Headwaters," *Earth Island Journal*, Fall 1995; Mary Lane, "2,400 Rally against PL," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 16, 1995.

23. Kie Relyea, "897 Cited at Carlotta Protest," *Eureka Times-Standard*, September 16, 1996; Mike Geniella, "Record 6,000 at Headwaters Protest," *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, September 15, 1997.

24. *Pacific Lumber Co. v. United States* no. 96-257L (Fed. Cls). Maxxam's "Complaint for Inverse Condemnation" was filed in the U.S. Court of Federal Claims on May 6, 1996.

25. See my discussion of the deal in chapter 1.

26. In the film *Tree-Sit* (James Ficklin, Headwaters Action Video Collective, earthfilms.org, 2001), members of the United Steelworkers are shown protesting on the streets in Scotia. Union members told the filmmakers the story of Maxxam's unfair labor practices after the takeover of Kaiser, including the company's active recruitment and use of laid-off Palco workers as maintenance personnel to scab at Kaiser's plant in Tacoma, Washington.

27. Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, asje.org.

28. Richard White and John M. Findlay, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

29. O'Connor, "What Is Environmental History?" Without touching on the redwood region, the works of William G. Robbins are important for a general understanding of the timber industry's place in the history of the U.S. West; see his *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); "The Social Context of Forestry: The Pacific Northwest of the Twentieth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (1985); "The Western Lumber Industry: A Twentieth-Century Perspective," in *The Twentieth Century West: Historical Interpretations*, ed. Gerald D. Nash and Richard Etulian (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); and *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890–1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982).

30. Noel Castree, "Geographies of Nature in the Making," in *Handbook*

of *Cultural Geography*, ed. Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage, 2003), 179. Joseph E. Spencer, "The Growth of Cultural Geography," *American Behavioral Scientist* 22, no. 79 (1978), expertly surveys the discipline and its notions of culture systems, especially the culture system of capitalism. Essential reading in the contemporary cultural geography and the critical theory of nature-culture dialectics includes Bruce Braun and Noel Castree, eds., *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium* (Routledge: New York, 1998); Bruce Braun and Noel Castree, eds., *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001); Steve Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Donald Worster, "Doing Environmental History," in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, ed. Donald Worster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Walter Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), and *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Robert Bunting, *The Pacific Raincoast: Environment and Culture in an American Eden, 1778–1900* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); Richard White, *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980); and Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature* (Blackwell: Cambridge, 1992).

31. Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 176, 174–81.

32. In what follows, my descriptive theory of the redwood imaginary draws much from Jacques Lacan's conceptualization of the symbolic and imaginary orders, especially in *Ecrits* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), 65–67, where he further elaborates the exemplary law concerning kinship structures: "This law, then, reveals itself clearly enough as identical to a language order." And finally, "Symbols in fact envelop the life of man with a network so total that they join together those who are going to engender him 'by bone and flesh' before he comes into the world; so total that they bring to his birth, along with the gifts of the stars, if not the gifts of the fairies, the shape of his destiny; so total that they provide the words that will make him faithful or renegade, the law of the acts that will follow him right to the very place where he is not yet and beyond his very death."

33. On uses of psychoanalysis for social and particularly cultural theory, see Richard Widick, "Flesh and the Free Market (On Taking Bourdieu to the Options Exchange)," *Theory and Society* 32 (2003), in which I build on Pierre Bourdieu's idea of "socioanalysis," as well as on the works of Judith Butler, Jacques Lacan, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno,

Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin, Eric Fromm, Leo Lowenthal, and Jürgen Habermas. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 136–37, Bourdieu described his program of socioanalysis in nearly psychoanalytic terms when he wrote that social "determinisms operate to their full only by the help of unconsciousness, with the complicity of the unconscious." Theodor Adorno's "Sociology and Psychology" is still a required introduction to sociological use of psychoanalysis for the critical, dialectical representation of the reciprocal constitution and institutional reproduction of structure and agency; but see Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter* (New York: Routledge, 1993), for a lucid rendering in Lacanian terms. In an earlier effort, Herbert Marcuse anticipated volumes of emerging social theory and influenced a generation of youth counterculture with his revision of Freud's reality principle in the concept of a historically changing performance principle. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 35. His *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) and *Five Lectures* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970) add a great deal to psychoanalytic sociology. Jürgen Habermas's chapter "Psychoanalysis and Social Theory," in *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), esp. 274–75, grounds critical theory in psychoanalysis: "Freud conceived of sociology as applied psychology. . . . The superego, constructed on the basis of substitutive identifications with the expectations of primary reference persons, ensures that there is no immediate confrontation between an ego governed by wishes and the reality of external nature. The reality which the ego comes up against and which makes the instinctual impulses leading to conflict appear as a source of danger is the system of self-preservation, that is, society, whose institutional demands upon the emergent individual are represented by the parents." Joel Whitebook's *Perversion and Utopia: A Study in Psychoanalysis and Critical Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996) should also be required reading in psychoanalytic cultural theory; see especially his comments on Marcuse's performance principle, 24–41.

34. See, for example, Steven Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity* (New York, Routledge, 1996).

35. On psychoanalysis, psychical energies, and psychical publics, see Mustafa Emirbayer and Mimi Sheller, "Publics in History," *Theory and Society* 27 (1998).

36. In *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), Jennifer Nedelsky shows how the Constitution's dual initiatives of democracy and liberty program the schism between political rights and civil rights into U.S. political culture. On the role of enumerated rights in the performance of U.S. political

culture and sociological treatments of U.S. political culture that emphasize the constitutional tension between liberty and democracy, see Knud Haakonssen and Michael J. Lacey, eds., *Culture of Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard Flacks, *Making History: The American Left and the American Mind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Jeffrey C. Alexander, *The Civil Sphere* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and "Citizen and Enemy as Symbolic Classification: On the Polarizing Discourse of Civil Society," in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, ed. Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Richard Harvey Brown, *Society as Text: Essays on Rhetoric, Reason, and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Theodore Meyer Greene, *Liberalism: Its Theory and Practice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957).

37. While Hobbes might best be considered "the founder of liberalism" (Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953], 182) and modern constitutionalism because he first established the necessity of written law (Gary McDowell, "Private Conscience and Public Order: Hobbes and *The Federalist*," *Polity* 25, no. 3 [Spring 1993]), most analyses of liberal political philosophy, constitutionalism, and the U.S. Constitution in particular ultimately turn to the contributions of John Locke and his *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690), ed. C. B. Macpherson (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1952), especially the chapter "On Property," acknowledging how well he formulated the philosophy and how widely influential it became as a justification for revolution in the New World.

38. George Mace, *Locke, Hobbes, and the Federalist Papers: An Essay on the Genesis of the American Political Heritage* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 139.

39. Clinton Rossiter, ed., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Mentor, 1961), article 10, paragraph 19. Hereafter cited in the text.

40. Harry N. Scheiber shows the importance of Supreme Court decisions on the promotion of commercial interests throughout the nineteenth century in "Public Rights and the Rule of Law in American Legal History," *California Law Review* 72, no. 2 (March 1984), and "Law and the Imperatives of Progress: Private Rights and Public Values in American Legal History," in *Ethics, Economics, and the Law*, ed. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (New York: New York University Press, 1982). Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison point out in their chapter "The New Deal" that the National Industrial Relations Act, signed in 1933, ushered the state into commerce on such a large scale that in

1935 the Supreme Court felt compelled to rule the act unconstitutional. Kelly and Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948). But the ruling could not alter the fact that the era of state capitalism had in fact already been launched. Irving Bernstein, *The New Deal Collective Bargaining Policy* (1950; New York: Da Capo Press, 1975).

41. "The facts about a man-made institution which creates and maintains certain relations between people—and that is what property is—are never simple." C. B. Macpherson, *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 1. See also Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); and Gordon J. Schochet, ed., *Life, Liberty, and Property: Essays on Locke's Political Ideas* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1971), 5–6.

42. "Violence haunts liberal political thought," write Candice Vogler and Patchen Merrell in "Introduction: Violence, Redemption, and the Liberal Imagination," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003). "The defining image of early modern European social contract theory—and an image that remains potent in contemporary contractarian moral and political theory—locates the possibility of civil society in a compact among men who are long accustomed to the use of force in the bloody business of self-assertion and self-preservation." The liberal state substitutes normalized, legitimate, monopolized, and patient violence for the pathological violence of unorganized life.

43. In *Ethics, Institutions, and the Right to Philosophy* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 3, Jacques Derrida described the international political institutions constructed after World War II, namely, the United Nations, in terms useful for the case of Humboldt: "These institutions are already *philosophemes*, as is the idea of international law or rights that they attempt to put into operation. They are philosophical acts and archives, philosophical productions and products, not only because the concepts that legitimate them have an assignable *philosophical history* and therefore a philosophical history that is inscribed in UNESCO's charter or constitution; but because, by the same token and for the very same reason, such institutions imply the sharing of a culture and a philosophical language."

44. Fred C. Alford examines this aspect of liberal political theory in *The Self in Social Theory: A Psychoanalytic Account of Its Construction in Plato, Hobbes, Locke, Rawls, and Rousseau* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991).

45. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 83, especially note 60.

46. *Ibid.*, 266n62.

47. Nicolas Garnham, "The Media and the Public Sphere," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 360–61.

48. On race, class, and gender particularism in the Constitution, see Michael Warner, "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 383; as well as "Publics and Counter Publics," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002), and *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

49. Étienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 140. Balibar draws on Louis Althusser's notion of ideological state apparatuses, the central function of which Althusser argued is the institutional reproduction of economic and cultural domination; see also Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 10, 49, 96, 102, 105, 223; and Balibar, *We the People of Europe: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), esp. 8, but also 9, 26, 29, 94.

50. Balibar, "The Nation Form," 138.

51. Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983). In the words of Manuel Castells, "If we mean by imaginary something that is symbolically communicated and expressed, all worlds are imaginary, as Baudrillard, Barthes and a number of other semiologists showed us long ago." Castells, *The Making of the Network Society* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 2001), 19. In the words of Craig Calhoun, "To speak of the social imaginary is to assert that there are no fixed categories of external observation adequate to all history; that ways of thinking and structures of feeling make possible certain social forms and that such forms are thus products of action and historically variable. It follows that cultural creativity can be seen to be basic even to such seemingly 'material' forms as the corporation or the nation. These exist precisely because they are imagined; they are real because they are treated as real; and new, particular cases are produced through the recurrent exercise of the underlying social imaginary." Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 152.

52. Balibar, "The Nation Form," 143.

53. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 26. Thomas C. Leonard, *News for All: America's Coming of Age with the Press* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 29–32; Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (New York:

Oxford University Press, 1989), 13; John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 62–63.

54. On the problems of structure and agency in cultural theory, see Widick, "Flesh and the Free Market"; Jeffrey Alexander, "The Reality of Reduction: The Failed Synthesis of Pierre Bourdieu," in *Fin-de-Siècle Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1995), 128–217; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990); Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

55. Charles Taylor, "Modern Social Imaginaries," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 106.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (New York: Free Press, 1966), 2–3.

58. Max Weber writes: "On the basis of this calculation, the American system of 'scientific management' enjoys the greatest triumphs in the rational conditioning and training of work performances. The final consequences are drawn from the mechanization and discipline of the plant, and the psycho-physical apparatus of man is completely adjusted to the demands of the outer world, the tools, the machines—in short, to an individual function. The individual is shorn of his natural rhythm as determined by the structure of his organism; his psycho-physical apparatus is attuned to a new rhythm through a methodical specialization of separately functioning muscles and an optimal economy of forces is established corresponding to the conditions of work." Weber, "The Meaning of Discipline," in *On Charisma and Institution Building*, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 38–39.

59. Karl Marx, "The Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1852), in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 594–95.

60. O'Connor, "What Is Environmental History?" 8.

61. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

62. *Ibid.*, 22.

63. On the transformation of nature by capitalism, see Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (1957; Boston: Beacon Press, 2001); also Prudham, *Knock on Wood*, 8.

64. George Ritzer, *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption* (New York: Sage, 2001), 181–83.

1. Power and Resistance in Redwood Country

1. "Pacific Lumber Cited for Illegal Practices," *Eureka Times-Standard*, November 25, 1998.