

Citations and Further Reading

Preface

Citations

Robert Frost, “The Death of the Hired Man” (1914).

Arrest of Samuel Oliver-Bruno: <https://rewire.news/article/2018/12/14/samuel-oliver-bruno-deported-after-an-immigration-appointment-in-his-own-words/>. Oliver-Bruno was deported not long after his arrest, as reported here. I humbly encourage readers to consider supporting the sanctuary movement. Trusted friends suggest donating to the Church World Service, <https://cwsglobal.org/support-the-sanctuary-movement/>.

Raleigh on Commonwealth: *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh: Maxims of State* (London: Henry Mortlock, 1722), 6.

Locke on Commonwealth: *Second Treatise of Government*, chap. 10, para. 133 (1689).

Abraham Lincoln, “Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society” (Milwaukee, Wisc., September 30, 1859). This is erroneously identified in the text of the book as an 1858 address.

“Cooperative Commonwealth”: Alex Gourevitch, *From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Lyndon B. Johnson, “The Great Society” (Ann Arbor, Mich., May 22, 1964); Bayard Rustin, “From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement,” *Commentary*, February 1965.

Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2015), 11; Robert Frost, “The Gift Outright” (1941).

“War capitalism”: Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton* (New York: Knopf, 2014), 105–18.

Meriwether Lewis, journal entry of June 14, 1805 (description of beautiful and sublime landscape features); Philip Freneau, “The Indian Burying Ground,” in *Poems of Freneau*, ed. Harry Hayden Clark (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), 355–56.

“Little savages”: Ernest Thompson Seton, *Two Little Savages* (1903); Wendell Berry, “A Native Hill,” in *Essays*, ed. Jack Shoemaker (New York: Library of America, 2019), 95.

Kathryn Schulz, “The Many Lives of Pauli Murray,” *New Yorker*, April 10, 2017; Joan Didion, *Where I Was From*, in *We Tell Ourselves Stories in Order to Live: Collected Nonfiction* (2003; New York: Knopf, 2006), 1092.

Further Reading

To learn more about the ideological rationale for the expropriation of indigenous land and its centrality to the history of American land regimes, I particularly recommend Aziz Rana’s *Two Faces of American Freedom* (2010) and parts of my own *After Nature* (2015). For a contemporary political and cultural of the legacy of these expropriations, readers may turn to Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done* (2017). For an introduction to Pauli Murray’s experience of Durham, which I have found endlessly engaging and instructive, there is no substitute for Murray’s own books: *Song in a Weary Throat* (1987), a memoir, and *Proud Shoes* (1956), a history of her family, including her own Durham childhood.

There is a rich broader literature on landscape, memory, and identity, to which this preface is indebted. Lauret Savoy's *Trace* (2015) is a gorgeous, troubling, persistently generous and insightful book about the American landscape as viewed through one set of African American eyes. Robin Wall Kimmerer's *Braiding Sweetgrass* (2013) is an extraordinary treatment of ways of knowing places and the nonhuman, informed by her botanical and ecological training and her deep immersion in Anishinaabe traditions of knowledge. Wendell Berry's "A Native Hill" (1968) is a precise, sometime quietly rending meditation on the burdens of accepting a place and its history as one's own, and the legacy of harm, violence, and identity that he carries as the descendant of Kentucky settlers and farmers. I have also learned over the years from Kathleen Norris's *Dakota* (1993), Wallace Stegner's *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs* (1992), Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996), William Kittredge's *Who Owns the West?* (1995), and of course many, many others.

When I wrote the essays and lectures that make up this book, the current crisis at the U.S.-Mexican border had not yet taken its virulent form. In trying to understand its stakes, I have found particularly valuable Greg Grandin's *The End of the Myth* (2019), a study of that border's role in the history of U.S. politics and its close relation to white supremacy and the fantasy of infinite expansion. (I reviewed Grandin's book here: www.thenation.com/article/greg-grandin-end-of-the-myth-frontier-border-wall-book-review/.) Both Grandin's book and Suzy Lee's article "The Case for Open Borders" (2019, <https://catalyst-journal.com/vol2/no4/the-case-for-open-borders>) pay close attention to the role of borders in sorting laborers into more and less vulnerable positions. Corey Johnson and Reece Jones have assembled a valuable collection on the ways that "bordering" sorts people by power and vulnerability in many places ways, some far from national frontiers: *Placing the Border in Everyday Life* (2014). Attempts to reckon with the

lived experience of borders owe much to Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands* (1987), which understands borders as both legal and material realities and symbols of other, more intimate forms of division and seeks to imagine "mestiza" identity beyond those divisions.

Chapter 1

Citations

"Revolution": Raymond Wheeler, "War on the Colorado Plateau," *High Country News*, September 12, 1988 (quoting statement of San Juan County commissioner Calvin Black).

Ammon Bundy: Jedediah Purdy, "The Bundys and the Irony of American Vigilantism," *New Yorker*, January 5, 2016.

Pruitt: Juliet Elperin and Brady Dennis, "EPA Chief Scott Pruitt Tells Coal Miners He Will Repeal Power Plant Rule Tuesday," *Washington Post*, October 9, 2017.

Technosphere: Jan Zalasiewicz et al., "Scale and Diversity of the Physical Technosphere: A Geological Perspective," *Anthropocene Review* 4, no. 1 (2017): 9–22.

James Scott, *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2017).

Obama proclamation: Proclamation No. 9558, *Federal Register* 89 (January 5, 2017): 1139.

Further Reading

For a deeper understanding of the history of claims on public lands, I recommend Dorceta

Taylor, *The Rise of the American Conservation Movement: Power, Privilege, and Environmental*

Protection (2016), Carolyn Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors* (2014), and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (2001). For ongoing coverage of this issue, *High Country News* is an indispensable source of information. For those who wish to get some sense of the tone of right-wing public lands populism and an understanding of its claims, *Range* magazine is a useful place to start.

On the coalfields, I have learned a great deal from the unpublished doctoral dissertation of the late West Virginia journalist Paul Nyden, which he completed at Columbia University in 1976: “Miners for Democracy: Struggle in the Coal Fields.” Trish Kahle has also done valuable research on the environmental dimensions of miner radicalism, some of it sketched in “Rank-and-File Environmentalism,” *Jacobin*, June 11, 2014.

For historical studies of American political rhetoric and ideas, particularly around the idea of constitutional unity, I recommend Aziz Rana, “Colonialism and Constitutional Memory,” *UC Irvine Law Review* (2015), Rana’s forthcoming book on the constitution in American politics, and Rana, “Goodbye, Cold War,” *n+1* (2018). I also recommend Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (1987). On the teachers’ strikes, I recommend Sarah Jaffe, “The Rising Ghosts of Labor in the West Virginia Teacher Strike,” *New York Times*, March 5, 2018, and, for a framing view, Gabriel Winant’s writing on labor, including “Who Works for the Workers,” *n+1* (Fall 2018).

If you want to understand North Carolina politics, you might start with the deeply knowledgeable political reporter Rob Christensen’s *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics* (2008). For more recent events, one fine place to begin is in the pages of *Scalawag* magazine, which has worked to highlight radical and dissenting voices from the South.

Chapter 2

Citations

“Safe” levels for MCMH: Ken Ward Jr., “Scientists ID Amount of Chemical They Consider Safe,” *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, January 11, 2014.

Inspection history of site: Alexandra Field et al., “West Virginia Chemical Spills Shines Spotlight on Loose Regulation,” *CNN*, January 13, 2014; Tomblin: Ken Ward Jr., “Crisis ‘Pulls Back the Curtain’ on Water Threats,” *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, January 12, 2014.

Tomblin: Ward, “Crisis ‘Pulls Back the Curtain.’”

“Racism”: Michigan Civil Rights Commission, “The Flint Water Crisis: Systemic Racism through the Lens of Flint” (February 17, 2017), 9.

Arlie Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: New Press, 2016).

Eliza Griswold, *Amity and Prosperity* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2018).

Pauli Murray, *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (Boston: Beacon, 1956).

Phil Neel, *Hinterland: America’s New Landscape of Class and Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Opiate deaths: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “Drug Poisoning Mortality in the United States, 1999–2017,” www.cdc.gov/nchs/data-visualization/drug-poisoning-mortality/. A vivid visual summary is also available at www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/07/us/drug-overdose-deaths-in-the-us.html.

Coal production: West Virginia Office of Miners' Safety, Health, and Training,
www.wvminesafety.org/historicprod.htm.

Appalachian Voices: <http://appvoices.org/end-mountaintop-removal/ecology/>.

Scale of transformation of coalfield terrain: Matthew R. V. Ross, Brian L. McGlynn,
and Emily S. Bernhardt, "Deep Impact: Effects of Mountaintop Mining on
Surface Topography, Bedrock Structure, and Downstream Waters,"
Environmental Science and Technology 50, no. 4 (2016): 2064–74.

Further Reading

Ronald Eller's *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers* (1982) remains an invaluable book about the history of Appalachia. There's a valuable updating of some of its themes in Steven Stoll's *Ramp Hollow* (2017). Both works press against a received idea of Appalachia as a timeless backwater or frontier remnant, treating instead its character as an extractive periphery of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and of postindustrial capitalism today). Karida Brown's *Gone Home: Race and Roots through Appalachia* centers the place of African Americans in the history of Appalachia's mining regions, which are often wrongly imagined as mainly white. Jessica Wilkerson's *To Live Here, You Have to Fight* (2019) brings to life the role of working-class women in the community mobilizations of the region. Any sustained reflection on the role of coal in the region needs to consider Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (1962) and *My Land Is Dying* (1971).

Chapter 3

Citations

Henry David Thoreau, "Slavery in Massachusetts" (1854).

Journal of H. D. Thoreau, June 17, 1854.

“The reason why”: Thoreau, oral version of “A Plea for Captain John Brown”

(Boston, November 1, 1859).

“I can almost say, Walden, is it you?”: Thoreau, “The Ponds,” in *Walden* (1854).

“Maimed and imperfect nature”: Thoreau journal, March 23, 1856.

“A horrid rumbling”: Cotton Mather, “The Terror of the Lord” (1727).

Thomas Prince, “Earthquakes the Works of God and Tokens of His Just Displeasure”

(1727).

Henry More, *An Antidote Against Atheism*, 3rd ed. (London: James Flesher, 1662).

Hobbes: This interpretation rests on a reading of all of Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, but

particularly parts 1 and 4. I am glad to share an unpublished manuscript on

Hobbes and Montaigne as Epicureans with anyone who is curious.

“Humanity . . . obligation”: Michel de Montaigne, *Essays* 2:11, 318, trans. Donald

Frame (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958).

“Most barbarous”: Montaigne, *Essays* 3:13, 852.

“Indra”: Thoreau, “Solitude,” *Walden*.

“We preserve”: Thoreau, “A Plea for Captain John Brown” (1859).

“Quiet diffusion”: Thoreau, “A Plea for Captain John Brown.”

Further Reading

On Thoreau, I cannot say enough good about Laura Dassow Walls’s *Thoreau* (2017), which does generous justice to its subject. Years ago I greatly admired Stanley Cavell’s very different *The Senses of Walden* (1972), though I haven’t read it recently. When it comes to Thoreau, like Hobbes and Montaigne, I find that the best approach is just to read and reread them, and to read

around, seeking surprises in the more obscure texts. For someone who really wants to get to know Thoreau, the journals are especially valuable. For what it's worth, I use Donald Frame's translation of Montaigne (from Stanford University Press), and I read Richard Tuck's editions of Hobbes (from Cambridge University Press). As I note in the citations to this chapter, I'm glad to share an unpublished essay on Hobbes and Montaigne as Epicureans, if anyone is curious.

Chapter 4

Citations

“Weight of human infrastructure”: Jan Zalasiewicz et al., “Scale and Diversity of the Physical Technosphere: A Geological Perspective,” *Anthropocene Review* 4, no. 1 (2017): 9–22.

Haff: Peter K. Haff, “Technology as a Geological Phenomenon: Implications for Human Well-Being,” in Colin N. Waters, Jan A. Zalasiewicz, Mark Williams, Michael A. Ellis, and Andrea M. Snelling, eds., “A Stratigraphical Basis for the Anthropocene?,” *Geological Society, London, Special Publications* 395 (2014): 396.

Lear: William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, act 3, scene 4, lines 111–15.

The statistics on global trends here come from Will Steffen, Wendy Broadgate, Lisa Deutsch, Owen Gaffney, and Cornelia Ludwig, “The Trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration,” *Anthropocene Review* 2 (2015): 81–98.

William J. Ripple et al., “World Scientists’ Warning to Humanity: A Second Notice,” *Bioscience* 67, no. 12 (December 2017): 1026–28.

Further Reading

The emphasis on the built environment as key to environmental studies has many sources. One that has been relevant to me is Benton MacKaye's *The New Exploration: A Philosophy of Regional Planning* (1928). Another is William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991). Brett Frischmann's *Infrastructure* (2012) is closer to some of the definitions I use in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Citations

“Keeping it in the ground”: On November 4, 2015, Senator Sanders introduced the cosponsored Keep It in the Ground Act, which would have banned new fossil fuel leases on federal lands and in federal waters.

Kate Aronoff: “The Best of a Bad Situation,” *n+1*, no. 33 (Winter 2019) (editorial crediting this formulation to Aronoff).

“The places”: Luke W. Cole and Sheila R. Foster, *From the Ground Up: Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 16.

My summary of the development and key arguments of the early environmental justice movement is more fully developed and supported in a scholarly article, which shares its name with this chapter, and in the sources cited therein. “The Long Environmental Justice Movement” is publicly available at <https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2170&context=elq>.

“Two faces”: Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

“Complete mastery”: Madison Grant, “The Future of Our Fauna,” *Zoological Society Bulletin*, no. 34 (June 1909): 504.

Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916).

“My Bible”: Jonathan Spiro, *Defending the Master Race* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2009), 357.

“A capital book”: Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 158.

“Conservation of that race”: Henry Fairfield Osborn, “Preface,” in Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, ix.

“Nordics”: Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 272.

Grant obituary: “Madison Grant, 71, Zoologist, Is Dead,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1937, 15.

“Noble”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips on the Prairie and in the Mountains* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1885), 317–18.

“Paupers”: Irving Fisher, “National Vitality: Its Wastes and Conservation,” Senate Doc. No. 419, 61st Cong., 2nd Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 627.

“Race suicide”: Theodore Roosevelt, “On American Motherhood: Address Before the National Congress of Mothers” (Washington, D.C., March 13, 1905).

“Animal people”: John Muir, *Our National Parks*, in *The Writings of John Muir*, vol. 6 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), 20.

“Sambos”: John Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf*, in *Writings of John Muir*, vol. 1, 287.

“Dirty and irregular”: John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra*, in *Writings of John Muir*, vol. 2, 206.

“As to Indians”: Muir, *Our National Parks*, 32.

“Poor fellows”: Muir, *Our National Parks*, 32.

“Favorable selective influence”: William Vogt, *The Road to Survival* (New York: William Sloane, 1948), 250.

Henry Fairfield Osborn Jr., *Our Plundered Planet* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948).

“People eating”: Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (Cutchogue, N.Y.: Buccaneer Books, 1968), 1–2.

Richard Nixon, “State of the Union Address” (Washington, D.C., January 22, 1970).

Sierra Club, 1972: David Peterson del Mar, *Environmentalism* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 163.

“A form of racism”: Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States* (1987), ix.

“White middle and upper-class”: Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, *Toxic Wastes and Race*, xi.

Fred Krupp: Katie Davies, *The Rise of the U.S. Environmental Health Movement* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 49.

“It’s no longer”: Personal correspondence with Mitch Bernard.

William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton, 1995).

Carson: Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962).

“Flows”: Benton MacKaye, *The New Exploration: A Philosophy of Regional Planning* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1928), 5–25.

Marshall: Robert Marshall, *The People’s Forests* (New York: Smith and Haas, 1933).

“Healthful”: Wilhelm C. Hueper, *Occupational Tumors and Allied Diseases* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1942), 3–5.

Alice Hamilton: Alice Hamilton, *Exploring the Dangerous Trades* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1943).

“From the point of view”: Grace M. Burnham, “A Health Program for Organized Labor” (pamphlet, 1921).

“Man’s environment” and “only kind of society”: Sen. Edmund Muskie, speech at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, April 22, 1970, memorialized in *Congressional Record* 120 (1974): 11324–35.

“Those who believe”: Sen. Edmund Muskie, speech at Harvard University, April 21, 1970, memorialized in *Congressional Record* 116 (1970): 15705.

The historical narrative summarized here is elaborated with supporting references in my article “The Long Environmental Justice Movement,” <https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2170&context=elq>.

Charles Haden: The key decision here was *Bragg v. Robertson*, 72 F. Supp. 2d 642 (S.D. W.Va. 1999), which was overruled in *Bragg v. W. Va. Coal Association*, 248 F.3d 275 (4th Cir. 2001). A similar pattern went on for about a decade: district court decisions limiting mountaintop removal, followed by appeals court overrulings.

Further Reading

The history of the environmental justice movement is treated much too briefly in this chapter. One should really read the original 1987 report from the United Church of Christ, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*, which is available online. A full treatment of the PCB conflict in Warren County, N.C., is in Eileen McGurty's *Transforming Environmentalism* (2009). Luke Cole and Sheila Foster's *From the Ground Up: Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement* (2000) remains indispensable. On indigenous resistance, I refer readers again to Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's *As We Have Always Done* (2017). Robert Gottlieb's *Forcing the Spring* (revised 2005) is a valuable history of environmentalism from the point of view of inequality and justice, and Dorceta Taylor's *The Rise of the American Conservation Movement* (2016) (also mentioned earlier) critically centers race in this story.

Forward Citations

Rawls: John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1971), 512.

Saint Paul: Romans 7:15.

My discussion of value here is indebted to Martin Hagglund's *This Life* (2019). I am looking forward to the treatment of the Green New Deal that Kate Aronoff, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen, and Thea Riafrancos will soon publish with Verso.