

Love in the Time of Logging: Conflicting Methods of Eco-Activism in California's Old-Growth Forests

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Abstract: In the winter of 1997 in the Headwaters Forest of Northern California, Julia Butterfly Hill made history when she climbed up into an ancient redwood tree named Luna that the company known as Pacific Lumber had slated for logging. Feeling a spiritual calling to protest tree-felling in the Pacific Northwest's old-growth forests, Julia lived in Luna's branches for a record-setting 738 days. Attracting the attention of mainstream media, Julia's protest ignited awareness in the American public, but also set ablaze conflict—not only with the loggers tasked with felling the tree in which Julia lived, but also with Earth First!, a radical environmentalist group. Earth First!, known for its activism based on civil disobedience, had protested old-growth logging for years before Julia's arrival and had established Julia's own protest in Luna's canopy. Despite this relationship and a shared deep passion for the preservation of old-growth environments, Julia and Earth First! ended up at odds—offering an opportunity to examine how and why conflict arises between activists driven by the same goals.

A Web of Conflict in a Web of Life¹

On a seven-foot platform made of salvaged materials including duct tape and a windsurfer sail, suspended more than 180 feet above the ground in the canopy of a tree called Luna, Julia Butterfly Hill thought she was going to die. The winds of a severe winter storm in the Headwaters Forest of Northern California in 1997 threw her about the platform on which she lived for over two years while she prayed to Luna for her life; however, it would not only be the bitter temperatures, blistering winds, or freezing rain and snow of Northern California's El Niño winters that would try to pull Julia from Luna's branches. Loggers of the Maxxam Corporation-owned Pacific Lumber, tasked with cutting down Luna, a redwood tree over 1,000 years old, wanted Julia down so they could get on with their jobs and get paid. Tensions between environmental activists and loggers ran high in the old-growth forests during the 1990s, occasionally escalating to physical violence and even fatal accidents. Julia's presence in the tree dangerously placed her in the middle of this conflict, but it was not only her presence that stirred up controversy—some found her protest methods problematic as well.

Julia's voice for the forest was one of spirituality and deep love for all people in a shared environment, including loggers and industry leaders, which contrasted with the message cultivated by the radical environmentalist group Earth First! that had sponsored the initial protest for Luna's

¹ The following section comes from Hill, Julia Butterfly. 2000. *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.

protection. Earth First!, which had built Julia's platform in Luna's branches and supplied her with food and other necessities, held that the needs of people came after the needs of the environment, particularly if those people participated in the destruction of the environment. Although Julia and Earth First! both protested for the preservation of California's old-growth forests, conflict arose between them over how to reach their shared goal. Ultimately, Earth First! wanted Julia down, but Julia stayed put. "Though Luna started as an Earth First! tree-sit, I wasn't—and still am not—part of that group..." Julia wrote. "Helping save the ancient forest seemed like the urgent answer to a question I didn't even know I was asking. I really didn't care [who] sponsored [my] actions" (Hill 2000, 24).

But should she have cared?

American Environmentalism and the Birth of Earth First!

American environmentalism has its roots deeply embedded in the history of the country. It emerged as both a philosophy and a political movement of American citizens; at its core, it was built around a critique of consumption (Stoll 2007). As human exploitation of the environment swept across America during its development as a nation, sped by increasing advances in tools, new technology, and demands for natural resources, the country responded with what would become the first of three waves of environmentalism. This first wave, from the 1820s to 1913, was made up of somewhat elitist conservation groups, mostly constituted by affluent white males seeking to conserve the environment for their own aesthetic pleasure and recreation (Shabecoff 2000; Taylor 2002). The environmental movement continued to gain increasing momentum over time. Peaking in the 1960s and 1970s, concurrent with the Civil Rights movement, the "golden age" of the environmental movement's second wave featured the first Earth Day in 1970 and the pivotal publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which linked pesticide poisoning to wildlife and human rights (Taylor 2002). A significant portion of the American public developed a strong foundation of support for the movement as they began to link issues of the environment to issues of democracy, such as equal access to a clean, healthy, and safe environment across race and gender lines (Shabecoff 2000; Taylor 2002). Confronting environmental problems became a way of confronting "the sources and limits of human power" (Lee 1995, ix).

The second wave came to a crashing halt with Ronald Reagan's election as president of the United States and his establishment of a political agenda that relaxed regulatory requirements designed to uphold the integrity of the country's environment. With increased power in the hands of corporate America, the third wave of environmentalism was born. Turning toward tactics that emphasized negotiation and compromise for the protection of the environment, the movement became characterized by extensive oversight (Taylor 2002). This wave stimulated the evolution of different camps of environmentalism, with dividing lines based on degree of radicalism. Conservative groups worked mainly through the private sector to protect the environment for its economic and recreational value. Mainstream groups focused on making basic changes to sociopolitical systems by working collaboratively within them in order to make incremental reforms to environmental policy (Satterfield 2002). In opposition to both conservative and mainstream groups, anti-business and anti-government radical environmentalist groups, disenchanted with a perceived inability to access systems of power took a far-left, apocalyptic approach to environmentalism that placed the needs of the natural world before the needs of humans (Shabecoff 2000).

In the 1980s, a group of individuals dissatisfied by a lack of progress towards serious solutions for America's environmental issues met to form a group that would eventually become

a key player in American radical environmentalism. Beginning with a core set of philosophies that emphasized the “evils” of American government, corporate infrastructure, and culture, the group combined an urgent belief in an impending environmental apocalypse with a strongly-held theory that humans must consider the needs of all species and of the environments that support people before the greed of the species. Thus, Earth First! was born (Lee 1995).

As a group, Earth First! rejected formal organization that reflected a corrupted government in favor of modeling themselves after historic hunter-gatherer community structures (Lee 1995). A diverse group of environmentalists, they operated communally under a rule of consensus (Hill 2000). From this model, they made specific demands for the preservation of the environment, motivated by what the group perceived as an integral goodness of nature that could not be supported by the negative impacts of the corporate state of America. As a result, the solutions Earth First! believed in required a complete change to government, industry, and cultural values (Lee 1995).

Earth First! held that the most effective way to bring about this change was through radical civil disobedience: public and nonviolent radical acts intentionally carried out against the law. The term “civil disobedience” was originally coined in 1948 by David Thoreau, who also figured prominently in the shaping of the environmental movement in America. Historically, those who protested by civil disobedience, such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Nelson Mandela, played significant roles in addressing and responding to critical societal problems (Brownlee 2017).

Protests occur on a continuum of disobedience, in which Dr. Kimberley Brownlee of the University of Warwick argues there are five defining points: legal protest, rule departure, conscientious objection, civil disobedience, and radical protest (2017). Legal protest occurs completely within the bounds of the law, and thus is not considered legally disobedient, though it may violate some social norms. Rule departure involves a refusal, usually discreetly, to carry out a certain action because it is believed to be wrong and is generally practiced by those in positions of authority. Conscientious objection is a violation of the law that does not seek to communicate but is rather practiced when an individual finds it morally impossible to follow a direct legal injunction or administrative order. Civil disobedience, in contrast, communicates an individual’s or group’s moral objection to law via public, nonviolent, but usually illegal protest. Finally, radical protest, which is urgent and extreme, seeks rapid change through brutal strategies. Radical protesters oppose entire regimes that enact particular laws, in contrast to those who practice civil disobedience, who demonstrate opposition to a law in the belief that the regime can change (Brownlee 2017). Earth First!’s activism falls between radical and civil disobedience (Lee 1995). Characteristic of radical groups, Earth First! held a belief that America’s environmental issues could only be remedied by a complete overhaul of its social, political, cultural, and corporate norms. The group questioned the values of dominant American social structures, yet it protested nonviolently, following a central tenet of civil disobedience (Mallory 2006; Shabecoff 2000). Despite this, mainstream media tended to “demonize” Earth First!, describing them as “violent terrorists,” replacing the term “ecoactivism” with “ecoterrorism” (Watters 2001, 2).

A protest tactic that came to characterize Earth First!, known as tree-sitting, involved posting activists up on self-erected platforms for extended periods of time in the canopies of trees designated for logging (Mallory 2006). By drawing public attention to the issue, this kind of peaceful disobedience is practiced in the hopes of preventing a tree and its surrounding forest from being cut down (Hill 2000). Tree-sitting emerged in response to what is known in environmental circles of the Pacific Northwest as the “Easter Massacre”—the cutting of a stand of old-growth

wood known as Millennium Grove in Oregon (Satterfield 2002). The stand contained some of the oldest and largest trees in the continental United States, which Earth First! along with other demonstrators fought to protect for three years using a variety of protest tactics (United Press Index 1989). Environmentalists chained themselves to trees, created human blockades, buried themselves in rock on roads leading to the felling site, and destroyed logging machinery (United Press Index 1989). Though a federal appeals court ultimately refused to halt logging of the 63-acre site in 1989, civil disobedience and logger-environmentalist conflicts became established at disputed logging sites from then on—particularly those in old-growth forests like the one in which Luna grew (Satterfield 2002).

Old-Growth Forests in the Pacific Northwest

Old-growth forests are defined to be at least 200 years old at minimum, yet age alone does not distinguish these forests; rather, it is their complexity. The American Pacific Northwest supports forests that are diverse in structure and development, species composition, and intricate relationships between organisms. Douglas-firs, the dominant tree species of old-growth forests, support large vertical communities of organisms from their highly branched, massive crowns down to their extensive root networks (Rapp 2003). Douglas-fir tree canopies in old-growth forests may feature more than 100 different species of epiphytes (plants growing on other plants), birds, small mammals, and insects, while the roots are associated with fungi and bacteria that enrich soils. When these trees fall, they become colonized by a new array of species, driving biodiversity up even higher (Rapp 2003). Old-growth forests contain more living plant mass per acre than any other studied forest on the planet (Rapp 2003; Satterfield 2002). While the complexity of these forests makes them highly valuable, it is also one of their critical weaknesses: because their composition and structure are so particular, some scientists agree that these forests may not emerge again under the effects imposed by hundreds of years of human disturbance (Rapp 2003).

In the 19th century, pioneers of the coniferous Pacific Northwest were encouraged by the American government to “get the land subdued and wild nature out of it” so that they might begin to farm it (Satterfield 2002, 20). Would-be farmers discovered that the soil best suited for the conifer forests was not conducive to agriculture, but they were not at a loss: healthy conifer forests were conducive to a profitable timber industry (Satterfield 2002). The 20th century saw explosions in populations, advances in machine technologies, and access to the kind of large-scale capital that would make the establishment of America’s timber industry possible. By 1945, industrialization had extended the boundaries of human influence on the environment (Stoll 2007). To keep profits high and operating costs low, logging companies turned to clearcutting as a relatively fast and cheap way of harvesting wood (Angelo 1999).

This practice, considered “the most economical way to cut trees in the thick forests of the Pacific Northwest,” involves clearing a tract of land of every tree, gathering logs to be collected and hauled out, burning remaining understory plants, and in some cases, replanting the cleared ground with fast-growing trees (Egan 1992). The result is the predictable cultivation of young, even-aged trees whose growth is faster and more controlled than their predecessors (McClellan et al. 2000). However, these young trees cannot sustain the same levels of biodiversity as unevenly aged old-growth, due to a lack of canopy complexity and the reduction of fallen logs that provide habitats for a diverse array of organisms. Additionally, clearcutting reduces the stability of mountainsides, increases the risk of landslides, and accelerates rates of erosion (McClellan et al. 2000). Further, burning the land after removing its standing growth destroys decaying forest materials that support hundreds of vertebrate and invertebrate species, as well as immense and

diverse microbial communities that play key roles in recycling organic matter into the soil and keeping nutrients flowing through the environment (Satterfield 2002). On a global scale, the continued loss of forest cover is inextricably linked to global climate change (Shabecoff 2000). As both a worldwide and local concern that impacts the integrity of the physical environment, biodiversity, and human lives, the logging of old-growth forests is a complex issue that attracts a full spectrum of activism—some fighting for the protection of endangered northern spotted owls, for coho salmon, for the trees, and even for loggers’ rights—demonstrating “how so many good people could love the forest so fiercely in such completely different ways” (Satterfield 2000, 17).

Pacific Lumber and Luna: Earth First! Finds Blue Paint

Among those 19th-century settlers of the Pacific Northwest who realized the profitability of its forests were those who founded Pacific Lumber, a family-owned logging company that would become praised in the 20th century for its policy of long-term sustainable forestry (Hill 2000). As a result of generations of thoughtful logging, by the late 1980s, Pacific Lumber held enormous assets in thousands of acres of standing timber in Northern California (Angelo 1999). In 1986, the company was acquired by Charles Hurwitz, the CEO of Texas-based Maxxam Corporation, in a leveraged buyout that put Hurwitz \$800 million in debt (Hill 2000). To cover this debt, Hurwitz aggressively stepped up clearcutting practices (Angelo 1999). By the late 90s, Pacific Lumber would average close to 100 logging violations per year—breaking state laws designed to protect wildlife, soils, and waterways, covering up illegal logging practices, and logging without appropriate licenses required by the state of California (Hill 2000; Nieves 1998). Near the end of the decade, the company’s legal trouble would deepen after a Pacific Lumber logger felled a redwood tree onto a group of protesters, killing activist David ‘Gypsy’ Chain (Clarke 2015).

In the 1990s, Earth First! was active in Northern California, protesting the destruction of its forests. During a hike in the Headwaters Forest near Stafford, California, a town that had been recently ravaged by a landslide connected to other clearcutting activities in the area, Earth First! activists discovered an ancient redwood tree over 1000 years old marked with blue paint, a signal that the tree was slated for destruction by Pacific Lumber (Hill 2000). Spurred into immediate action, Earth First! built a tree-sitting platform in the branches of the redwood out of salvaged materials in the middle of the night, guided by the light of a full moon. Thus, while to Pacific Lumber the tree represented a profit, to the radical Earth First! environmentalists, the tree became known as Luna (Hill 2000).

The Forest Calls to Julia

A month after Luna was discovered by Earth First!, a 23-year old woman arrived at the Earth First! basecamp in the Headwaters Forest on a “journey of spiritual transformation” (Watters 2001, 3). Julia Hill grew up traveling with her family as her Evangelist father preached across the country in a camper. Her parents instilled in her a “rebellious and stubborn character...and taught [her] to question authority...to stick by [her] truths and never back down unless...proven wrong” (Hill 2000, 84). In a car accident in 1996, at the age of 22, Julia sustained brain damage when her head collided with her steering wheel. After physical and cognitive therapy, she took a second look at her life and began searching for a purpose (Angelo 1999). On a road trip through California following her accident, Julia saw the old-growth redwood forests for the first time and learned of the threats confronting them. In her words, the forest called to her, “reaching inside of [her]...” to tell her, “Julia, you must act” (Simons 2010, 69). In November of 1997, Julia Hill left her home

in Fayetteville, Arkansas to join the protest for the protection of California's old-growth redwood trees (Angelo 1999).

Unlike Earth First!ers protesting in the area, when Julia arrived at the Earth First! basecamp, she arrived without any experience in political activism or an environmental consciousness born from a "disillusionment with the mainstream environmental movement" (Watters 2001, 3). Further, she was not formally introduced to Earth First! as an organization or their mission (Hill 2000). Instead of activist work, Julia took up cleaning duties and general housekeeping tasks (Angelo 1999). However, she remained committed to her belief that she would realize her true purpose and kept at it. She quickly took up her forest name, Butterfly, as part of her deeply spiritual rebranding (Hill 2000). Forest activists often took up forest names, or pseudonyms, to keep their identities anonymous while practicing acts of civil disobedience that could lead to prosecution (Kenoyer 2017).

After Julia had been working at basecamp for a few weeks, an Earth First! activist sent out a call for someone to sit in Luna in late November. Julia volunteered immediately (Hill 2000). The "ragtag" protest for Luna's protection had been difficult, underfunded and under-supported, and winter was approaching (Hill 2000). When no other experienced activists volunteered, Julia was selected to go up. Although she had no previous tree-sitting (or even tree-climbing) experience, Julia felt that "this was not a calling [she] could sit and chew on and decide upon. It was something that ripped [her] gut out" (Simons 2010, 69). On December 10, she went up into Luna, and did not come down for 738 days (Angelo 1999).

Julia's home, the small platform erected by Earth First! out of salvaged materials, hung in the branches of Luna over 18 stories above the forest floor (McClure 2000). Julia endured subzero temperatures, violent El Niño winds, freezing rains, and sickness, facing death several times (Hill 2000). Aside from physical dangers imposed by her environment, Julia also had a difficult time processing her protest experience. After the initial excitement of climbing up into the tree, a negativity set in that Julia struggled to overcome. Realizing at the time of her protest that 97 percent of California's old-growth redwoods had been clear-cut and the forest cover of the entire planet had been reduced by 11 percent, Julia saw herself participating in a protest of last resort (Simons 2010; Shabecoff 2000). "When you see someone in a tree trying to protect it," she wrote, "you know that every level of our society has failed. The consumers, the companies, the government... Everything has failed" (Hill 2000, 23). Additionally, in almost every tree-sit ever attempted, the tree has ultimately been lost (Hill 2000). This sense of inevitable failure was compounded regularly as Julia watched Pacific Lumber continue to log the area around her, including trees growing from Luna's base, an experience that Julia likened to having her family murdered in front of her (Hill 2000).

After a seriously life-threatening storm during her first winter, Julia established a new perspective on her life and her goals for her protest, steeped in deep spirituality, her "unconditional love" for all (including loggers and Charles Hurwitz, the CEO of the corporation ordering the destruction of Luna), and rejection of violence (Watters 2001, 3). She developed three purposes for her sit: to protect Luna and surrounding trees, to slow logging while environmental legislation was being processed, and to raise broad public awareness on destructive logging practices in the old-growth forests (Hill 2000). The last goal, she realized, required access to technology and engaging American media. Opening that mainstream connection, however, initiated the close of her relationship with Earth First! (Watters 2001).

Julia began by calling local radio stations, a few of which gave her air time to discuss the situation in the redwood forests to the eyes and ears of the American public. Local press became

involved as they considered her story a novelty, an attention-getting device, especially as her protest neared the world record for the longest tree-sit. Further, media sources characterized her protest as a more “positive” one, in direct contrast to criminalized coverage of acts of civil disobedience carried out by Earth First! at the time (Watters 2001, 5). As she gained more popularity, Julia had a pager and a phone sent up with solar-powered chargers. She attracted the attention of celebrities such as Bonnie Raitt, Mickey Hart, and other public figures, many of whom came to visit her in Luna (Hill 2000). Concerts were held in her honor. In August of 1998, *Good Housekeeping* named Julia one of the most admired women in America (Hill 2000). She spent hours on the phone, answering letters, and posing for photos (Hill 2000). She conducted hundreds of interviews (Angelo 1999). In just a few months, she became the human-interest angle for the struggle of the old-growth forests: her “rookie” protest became the most well-known of any demonstration by thousands of environmentalists who had fought for years to preserve the ancient redwoods (Angelo 1999).

Fighting in the Forest: Conflict between Pacific Lumber and Julia

Forest activism in the Pacific Northwest, situated in a time and place of unrest in the heart of an extensive natural resource, was caught between the characteristic progressive culture of West Coast cities and staunch conservatism in rural areas (Mallory 2006). At the time of Julia’s tree-sit, a culture of violence had arisen around forest activists, particularly in their relationships with loggers (Angelo 1999). The conflict between them, described by Oregon Congressman Peter DeFazio as almost a “religious war,” involved loggers and environmentalists seeing the other as a destructor of a way of life (Satterfield 2002, 4).

Many loggers of the Pacific Northwest belong to generations of hard-working families that have built their livelihoods around timber harvesting as a means to provide for their families and fund their schools and communities. Many do not support big timber industries, which they consider unsustainable (Satterfield 2002). Some log in the name of “forest health,” as they understand the removal of dead timber to improve the ecology of the forest (Mallory 2006, 32).

Others belong to the wise-use movement, which represents right-wing radicals, steadfast conservatives, libertarians, and many rural blue-collar Americans whose lives and incomes revolve around the success of extractive industries. With reason, they believe that environmental regulations will negatively impact their properties, livelihoods, and communities (Shabecoff 2000). Financed by resource-extraction industries such as mining, energy, and timber, this anti-environmental movement seeks to reduce or remove restrictions on extraction activities (Shabecoff 2000). Those in this camp tend to believe that environmentalism “shut[s] down the forests” and destroys needed jobs (Satterfield 2002, 91). Many environmentalists have been quick to dismiss the wise-use movement, but despite its association with destructive extraction industries, the movement represents real people who feel personally victimized by environmental regulations (Shabecoff 2000). In the same way that environmental activism grew out of a feeling of abandonment and powerlessness in the face of corporate America’s destruction of the environment, this grassroots opposition by loggers arose in response to the regulation of the environment (Shabecoff 2000, 69).

By the time of Julia’s tree-sit, the clashing of ideals between loggers and environmentalists manifested itself as violence. Pacific Lumber hired and trained men to intercept activists, a choice that escalated the violence to a fatal degree (Hill 2000). During her tree-sit, Pacific Lumber declared Julia a trespassing, law-breaking terrorist, and treated her as such (McClure 2000). Loggers blared horns at her for extended periods of time, trained floodlights on her, threatened

her, and called her names. They blocked Julia's ground support crew from reaching her with food, water, and supplies for ten days. They felled trees near her, almost killing her. They breached aviation safety regulations and buzzed her with a helicopter, an event that the Federal Aviation Administration condemned after Julia caught it on film (Hill 2000). However, loggers were not the only source of conflict Julia faced: Earth First! wanted her down, too.

Earth First! and Julia: "In Their Minds, it was Their Movement"

With Julia caught in a storm of violence between herself and Pacific Lumber, gaining more publicity through her media campaign, her protest became highly controversial within other radical activist communities (Mallory 2006). When Julia first went up into Luna, Earth First! assumed she was acting as a member of their group—she had spent time at the Earth First! basecamp in the Headwaters Forest, and had friends who were Earth First!ers—ultimately the ones who would lead her to Luna. To Earth First!, the protest in Luna was theirs, and Julia acted as their representative while she lived in Luna. However, Julia herself was not aware of this connection. Throughout her protest, she violated many of Earth First!'s standards for tree-sitting, and it became apparent that she did not hold the same values or perspective as the group.

Some Earth First!ers thought that her protest had developed a kind of tunnel vision, ultimately focusing on saving one tree rather than saving an entire old-growth forest community (Mallory 2006). As a result, resources were diverted away from Luna towards protests that the group thought might have a greater and more meaningful impact (Hill 2000; Watters 2001). Additionally, as Julia's first winter in the tree approached, some Earth First!ers believed that with such little experience, Julia was destined for the kind of injury or death that would make Earth First! protests look dangerous and risky. On some occasions, Earth First!ers climbed up into Luna to advise Julia that without proper nonviolence or backwoods training, she was acting outside of the group's guidelines (Hill 2000). Julia ignored them.

Deeper differences between goals and values existed that drove Julia and Earth First! further apart. Julia did not share the same apocalyptic vision of the planet that Earth First! held at its core. Her belief in working with her enemies for what she saw as positive change by showing them deep and unconditional love, rather than conflict, was a direct contradiction to what Earth First! held as the only way to truly save the environment from complete and total destruction (Hill 2000). "She started talking about respect and love instead of the forests," a veteran Earth First! activist stated. "She preferred feel-good platitudes to thorough analysis of conservation issues" (Heller 2002).

As Julia embraced her loving, spiritual approach and newfound celebrity, she found herself entering into negotiations with Maxxam Corporation over Luna's fate (Curtius 1999). This was perhaps the most direct strike to Earth First!: for the group, a compromise on the environment was a complete and total loss. Holding that the Earth's priorities should always come first, and human needs second, the group viewed negotiation as simply a discussion of how best to lose the fight for the environment, and engagement with media and corporate powers as fraternization with the enemy. Firmly, they believed that real change would come from completely disabling these powers, rather than working with them in the way that Julia did.

After weeks of negotiations via her solar-powered cell phone, Julia and Maxxam reached an agreement: Julia would pay \$50,000 for the protection of Luna and a twenty-foot buffer zone around the tree's base (Watters 2001). Many radical activists, not just those involved directly with Earth First!, felt outraged by the compromise. Some believed that the agreement set a poor precedent for the successes of other tree-sitting protests, making the point that if every tree in the

remaining forests of North America were to cost \$50,000 to protect, saving the old-growth forests would cost roughly \$3 trillion (Watters 2001).

Julia, however, felt that she had succeeded. After securing Luna's safety, Julia descended from the tree for the first time in over two years and immediately ascended into celebrity. She appeared on *Oprah* and *The Today Show* and was featured in *Elle* and *People Magazine*. Meanwhile, Earth First! considered that she had appropriated a "radical tactic, but [silenced] the radical critique" (Watters 2001, 3).

Julia's protest, based on a foundation of deep love, spirituality, and pacifism went against the very organization that had facilitated her place in Luna. Earth First! had worked for years to set the stage for radical environmentalism in the old-growth redwood forests of Northern California, in which the group discovered Luna and established the tree-sit for Luna's protection. Julia performed the tree-sit, but as part of her own spiritual journey, not as part of a grander political stance against the destructive practices of corporate America on the environment. Despite this, her approach undeniably propelled the plight of the old-growth forests into the eye of the American public, and Julia became an "environmental icon" (Watters 2001, 5). At present, Luna still stands.

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