

puppeteers into Jefferson, there will always be those who dream of cutting them. Written in a wonderfully approachable, reportorial, and reflexive fashion, Laufer's *A Journey Through the 51<sup>st</sup> State* acts as a personable and knowledgeable guide on a shared journey to explore the depth inherent to dreams.

Connor Mullinix  
cmj96@humboldt.edu

***Trouble in the Forest: California's Redwood Timber Wars.* By Richard Widick. 2009. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 353 pp. Paperback \$25.00. ISBN 978-0-8166-5324-9**

Richard Widick's *Trouble in the Forest: California's Redwood Timber Wars* is an in-depth content analysis and empirical research project aimed at understanding the cultivation of the redwood social imaginary. He focuses on public perception, land use, property rights, and the culmination of such forest practices in Humboldt County, located in the northwest corner of California, where giant redwoods thrive. This far western frontier was one of the latest sites of development and exploitation in the US. The relatively short history of Euro-American colonization began in 1850 when explorers and settlers first landed in Humboldt Bay.

Widick begins *Trouble in the Forest* with an overview of the historical makings of outside migrants landing in Humboldt Bay, providing deep detail on who was part of the initial settlements and how rapid the extrapolation of natural resources occurred. Logging was not the only form of investment in the land—farming and mining also turned into landholding stakes. In the Introduction, Widick mines archival print media as he runs through many of what he identifies as the most important events in this story. He labels the Indian Island massacre of 1869, the Great Lumber Strike of 1935, the foundation of the company town of Scotia, the death of David “Gypsy” Chain, and the Luna tree sit as sites for developing the forest social imaginary in Humboldt.

*Trouble in the Forest* is structured around each of these events and their surrounding epochs in Humboldt (for example, the Great Lumber Strike of 1935 is included in a chapter discussing all of the preceding and subsequent labor struggles—what organizations were involved, who took part, and what they participated in are discussed in detail). Much effort was taken to grasp how these events came to be and their outcomes. Public perceptions as they were archived in various print media or through interviews were analyzed to provide comprehension of the social imaginary created in Humboldt.

Widick spent two years in Humboldt County researching what the redwood struggle transmitted. Some of his questions include the following: how and why did the timber wars originate and sustain themselves, where are they leading, and what do they tell us about globalization and our 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” (p. 37), he declares. By analyzing mass media representations and primary historical sources, Widick provides insight into the foundational and challenging social imaginary (shared

symbols, values, laws, and meanings performed and embodied in the institutional repertoires of a group) to theorize the local formation of the redwood imaginary (p. 34).

Widick draws on social theory to make sense of the historical struggle for control of forest resources. Primitive accumulation, as rendered by Karl Marx, is colonization and accumulation by force, making capitalism through cultural occupation and expansion (p. 132). Widick also makes sense of the emerging and changing culture around forest practices through understanding the social imaginary. Other theorists in *Trouble in the Forest* include Charles Taylor, Benedict Anderson, Etienne Balibar, and Max Weber.

The common judgment of the timber wars, and what we are taught in current academic discourse, is that they took place during the 1980s and 1990s in northern California and Oregon. A key point of Widick's work, though not mentioned directly, is that the timber wars are not solely netted in one political genre or timeframe, but rather have existed ever since exploitive capitalistic forces began cutting away at the landscape. In this contention, war has raged against the forests in Humboldt since 1850, when land moguls first stepped foot off of the area's namesake bay. War raged against the indigenous Wiyot people, culminating in the 1869 Indian Island massacre. War raged in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when timber and mill workers fought for labor rights. War again raged in the 1980s and 1990s in the environmentalist fight to reserve the last 1% of unprotected old-growth redwoods. In each of these epochs, those who wanted to maintain order and control physically killed members of the struggling forces over forest rights. The timber wars are fought through primitive capital accumulation with the guiding framework of property rights and the through the control of mass-media representations.

As Widwick writes,

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 text institutionalized private property, the press, and democratic polity in the New World and drove the American market revolution to its Western frontier. (p. 8)

The real battle being fought was over the control of public perception and sentiment, for this is what is channeled through the political process, therefore determining the regulatory environment for logging and the direction of accumulating values (p. 244).

*Trouble in the Forest* is well crafted with pointedly detailed accounts. It is clear that during Widick's two years spent in Humboldt, he was entrenched in all of the historical public documents and newsprint he could get his hands on. Though a bias against the dominating and exploiting capitalistic forces present in the forest economics of Humboldt is palpable in his book, Widick manages to articulate the different sides' arguments and causes. His research, though in-depth, is limited in the scope to what has been reported in public documents.

Though Widick focuses strictly and deeply on the social values of forests, he avoids delving into mining, farming, the cannabis industry, and the institution of Humboldt State University, all of which have affected the social perceptions on forest use. Additionally, he only speaks in detail of relations with the Wiyot tribe, those who historically located around Humboldt Bay. There were many other tribes (as listed on p. 132) in Humboldt County who were not fully addressed, especially those who were located on current timber company land.

Widick clarifies his intentions by declaring that the Wiyot were the first and hardest hit by white settlers. It can be assumed that not much was reported in the public media during this time on the other tribes.

*Trouble in the Forest* recommends itself to any academic audiences desiring to research the social relationships within the Humboldt region. This book clearly lays out the historical making of the region's social imaginary, vital in making sense of the current social environment. Pieces and chapters of *Trouble in the Forest* can be used in classroom formats to describe tensions over private property, land rights, and social movements. The book is also recommended to local environmental activists who seek a fuller understanding of the key events, people, and work of the timber wars.

Kindra Aschenbrenner  
kja51@humboldt.edu

***Planning Paradise: Politics and Visioning of Land Use in Oregon.* By Peter Walker and Patrick Hurley.** 2011. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. 312 pp. Paperback \$26. ISBN 978-0-8165-2883-7

*Planning Paradise* explores the post-2000 transformation of Oregon's land-use planning system, a movement characterized by voter-approved ballot initiatives designed to undermine the landmark 1973 Land Conservation and Development Act. The act, which required municipalities to develop plans protecting agricultural land and natural resources while simultaneously containing sprawl, was among the first to introduce land-use planning at the state level. Oregon remains one of only a few states with such a system, making recent attacks on the 1973 mandate a serious departure from nearly four decades of progressive land-use planning. Through the novelesque narrative of *Planning Paradise*, authors Peter Walker (professor of Geography at the University of Oregon) and Patrick Hurley (associate professor of Environmental Studies at Ursinus College) expand upon what could otherwise be a simple sequence of legislation through emphasis on character development and in-depth case studies based on of primary research and interviews.

Walker and Hurley begin by characterizing the social and political climate of the early 1970s and offer four factors behind passage of the 1973 legislation: the national environmental movement, economic concerns of commercial farmers (and, to a lesser extent, resource extraction industries), the ability of political personalities to inspire nonpartisan and grassroots cooperation, and sustained efforts to engage the public with the legislative process. They then introduce two post-2000 ballot initiatives that successfully challenged the act, beginning with Measure 7 (2000), which sought to reimburse landowners for any loss in property value due to regulation. Although overturned, Measure 37 (2004) passed and allowed for regulations to be waived in lieu of financial compensation. Measure 49 (2007) was then passed to reduce the number of claims filed subsequent to Measure 37 by eliminating retroactive claims, enacting more stringent standards for proving devaluation, and excluding claims for commercial and industrial uses.

The majority of the book is dedicated to understanding what has occurred in recent decades to shake the foundation of land-use planning in Oregon because all pre-2000