

**No Compromise Behind the Redwood  
Curtain: Earth First! and the  
Timber Wars in the  
California Redwoods**

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Many know the children's story of Tarzan and Jane- the feral boy raised by apes in Africa who falls in love with his future wife Jane- but few know of the real life Tarzan and Jane, the Earth First! environmental activists of Humboldt County, California. During the 1980s Greg "Tarzan" King and Jane Cope could often be found sitting, days at a time, 150 feet up an old-growth redwood tree flying massive banners with slogans such as: "Save the Old Growth- Earth First!" and "Pacific Lumber Stop the Plunder."<sup>1</sup> At this time Earth First! was considered "the most extreme, unorthodox, and unpredictable organization" of the environmental movement.<sup>2</sup> It was not just their actions; which included spiking trees with possibly deadly nails, laying their bodies in front of oncoming bulldozers, and rallying while dressed as zombified corporate timber owners, that were radical, but also their philosophy of deep ecology and ideas on population control.<sup>3</sup>

The Earth First! movement experienced a dramatic shift in its tactics and ideology at the end of the 1980s.<sup>4</sup> The shift at the end of the 80s was marked by a few factors: the creation of a partnership between the International Workers of the World (IWW) and timber works, the season long series of demonstrations known as Redwood Summer, and,

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<sup>1</sup> "Hanging Around," *Times Standard* (September 30, 1987). Marie Gravelle, "PL Protests Reject 'Deal': DA Offered Probation for Guilty Pleas," *Times Standard* (September 9, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> Fred Setterberg, "The Wild Bunch: Part Pranksters, Part Eco-guerrillas, Earth First! is putting bite back into the environmental movement," *San Francisco Examiner* (November 9, 1986), 22.

<sup>3</sup> Co-founder Dave Foreman describes Deep Ecology (or biocentrism, Foreman uses these terms interchangeably) as: "this philosophy states simply and essentially that all living creatures and communities possess intrinsic value, inherent worth." In relation to Earth First!, Foreman states, "[Earth First!ers] are in direct opposition to [anthropocentrism]... Ours is an ecological perspective that views Earth as a community and recognizes such apparent enemies as 'disease' (e.g., malaria) and 'pests' (e.g., mosquitos) not as manifestations of evil to be overcome but rather as vital and necessary components of a complex and vibrant biosphere"; see: Dave Foreman, *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* (New York: Harmony Books, 1991), 26-27. On human population, Foreman describes humans as "a pox upon the planet... a diseased organism," while treating the AIDS epidemic and famine in Ethiopia as "welcome developments"; see: Jonathan Littman, "Peace Love... and TNT," *California* (December, 1990), 85.

<sup>4</sup> Earth First! could not be referred to as an organization during the 1980s because "everything remotely suggesting rank or title violates the anarchist principles of the 'non-organization.' Earth First! operates without officers or annual dues, without a board of directors or tax-exempt status." See: Setterberg, "The Wild Bunch," 21.

most notably, the entrance of Judi Bari into the group. As Bari stated, this period was the “Feminization of Earth First!,” turning the group’s strategy from short-sighted “individual act of daring,” to one that engages in “longterm community based organizing... [that] can bring about the massive social change necessary to save the planet.”<sup>5</sup>

Although there were local Earth First! groups in many states and their newsletter published in Tucson, Arizona, had over ten thousand subscribers nationwide, it was California’s North coast chapter, based in Garberville, Humboldt County, and their participation in what has become loosely known as the Timber Wars which solidified the movement’s infamous history within the national environmental movement. A closer look at Earth First’s actions on the North coast of California reveals a dynamic change in the late 1980s and early 90s that led to an eventual disconnection between the Humboldt County based group and all other Earth First! groups. This change was most notably marked by a shift in key members, tactics, and leading ideologies that occurred in the late 1980s and was met with an increase in oppositional response.

Earth First! is often presented as a unified and cohesive movement that serves as the leading and pioneering example of radical environmentalism in histories which cover the environmental movement from its beginning, but these tend to focus on its extreme ideals and militant tactics while ignoring the complex changes within the group.<sup>6</sup> There are

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<sup>5</sup> Judi Bari, “The Feminization of Earth First!,” *Ms Magazine* 2, no. 6 (May, 1992), 82.

<sup>6</sup> This is usually broken up between sources that start at European contact or the early conservationist movement in America and sources that begin post World War II with the rise of modern environmentalism. For the former see: Philip Shabecoff, *A Fierce Green Fire: The American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003); Benjamin Kline, *First Along the River: A Brief History of the U.S. Environmental Movement* (San Francisco: Acada Books, 1997); For the latter see: Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993); Hal K. Rothman, *The Greening of a Nation? Environmentalism in the United States Since 1945* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1998); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993). For Earth First! in the context of the rise

works that place an emphasis on Earth First! as a national movement or its role in the Timber Wars, but again these either do not go in depth enough about the group's proceedings in Humboldt County or do not cover its important changes when addressing the Timber Wars specifically.<sup>7</sup> Only by focusing on both the North Coast Earth First! and paying attention to the changes which took place at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s is the group's true role in the Timber Wars revealed.

Earth First! started in 1980 heavily influenced by the Edward Abbey novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang* which came out five years prior. Earth First! was a new movement in the environmental scene for "rednecks and cowboys," as co-founder Mike Roselle described.<sup>8</sup> Roselle, along with three other disenchanted veterans of mainstream environmental organizations (namely Dave Foreman, Howie Wolke, and Bart Koehler), portrayed themselves outlaws fighting giant corporations attempting to plunder their western landscapes. The group rejected the "tired" mainstream environmental movement and, as Forman noted in 1981, "set out to be radical in style, positions, philosophy, and organization."<sup>9</sup> Early on these founders promoted an image of rough masculine individualism, or as Roselle describes the four, "big, bearded beer drinkers."<sup>10</sup>

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of the anti-environmental movement see: R. Gregg Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas); James Morton Turner, "The Specter of Environmentalism: Wilderness, Environmental Politics, and the Evolution of the New Right," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 1 (June, 2009): 123-148, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27694734>.

<sup>7</sup> Martha Lee, *Earth First!: Environmental Apocalypse* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Derek Wall, *Earth First! And the Anti-Roads Movement: Radical Environmentalism and Comparative Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 1999). For Earth First!'s role in California's North Coast Timber Wars see: Richard Widick, *Trouble in the Forest: California's Redwood Timber Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Joan Dunning, *From the Redwood Forest: Ancient Trees and the Bottom Line: A Headwaters Journey* (Chelsea, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 1998), Judi Bari, *Timber Wars* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> Fred Setterberg, "The Wild Bunch," *San Francisco Examiner* (November 9, 1986)

<sup>9</sup> "1981," *The Progressive* 73, no. 4 (October, 1981): 94, EBSCOhost (40073751). The "mainstream" environmental movement consisted of the top national environmental organizations known as the "Group of Ten." These groups were characterized by their disconnection with local concerns and commitment to

The North Coast Earth First! rose at a time when the long and deep-seeded historical relationship between the timber industry and corporate interested California Department of Forestry (CDF) was being challenged.<sup>11</sup> Another Humboldt-based environmental group was bringing this challenge; the litigation oriented Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC), on the grounds that the CDF must subject all Timber Harvest Plans (THPs) to the standards of the 1970 California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). Although EPIC was successful in establishing this precedent in 1983, the process of litigating THPs was long and laborious.<sup>12</sup> Soon the early members of Earth First! grew tired of watching timber companies continue to harvest redwoods while they waited for the slow court process. Earth First! saw direct action and stopping contested timber harvests at their source for immediate results as the best means for saving forests. What developed was a “campaign of EPIC lawsuits and Earth First! blockades,” where Earth First! acted as the on-the-ground force to immediately halt timber harvests and cultivate public attention until EPIC could permanently strike down the THP in court.<sup>13</sup>

During the 1980s, Earth First! tactics on California’s North Coast resembled the deliberately unorganized practice of “monkeywrenching,” a term influenced by Abbey’s book and championed by Foreman in 1987 with the publication of *Ecodefense: A Field Guide*

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working in Washington within the federal system which led to compromises or, as Forman states, “the national groups-Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, National Audubon Society, Natural Resource Defense Council, and the rest- took almost identical middle-of-the-road positions on most issues,” see: Dave Foreman, *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* (New York: Harmony Books, 1991), 15.

<sup>10</sup> Setterberg, “The Wild Bunch,” 22.

<sup>11</sup> For a history of corporate interest in state and federal agencies and legislation that failed to regulate California’s North Coast timber industry see: Stephanie S. Pincetl, “The Peculiar Legacy of Progressivism: Claire Dedrick’s Encounter with Forest Practices Regulation in California,” *Forest and Conservation History* 34, no. 1 (January, 1990), 26-34.

<sup>12</sup> For a history of EPIC’s success at forcing the removal of corporate interest from the CDF through litigation see: Darren Speece, “From Corporatism to Citizen Oversight: the Legal Fight Over California Redwoods, 1970-1996,” *Environmental History* 14, no. 4 (October, 2009), ProQuest (11327372)

<sup>13</sup> “Logging Deadline Looms... Headwaters Rally Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>,” *Earth First!: Redwood Nation*, (September, 1996).

to *Monkeywrenching*. Monkeywrenching, according to *Ecodefense*, was meant to be non-violent, unorganized, and “done by individuals or very small groups of people.”<sup>14</sup> The group’s presence in Humboldt County became apparent in 1985 when Charles Hurwitz and MAXXAM Corporation hostilely took over the Scotia based and family owned Pacific Lumber Company. Pacific Lumber had a long history of sustainable forest policies, as Darren Speece notes: “The Murphy [Family]- run company had sold and donated twenty thousand acres of their land for parks, avoided clear-cutting since the Great Depression, and left 30 percent to 70 percent of the trees on the land by practicing selective logging in old growth stands.”<sup>15</sup> Once Charles Hurwitz, described as a “well known ‘corporate raider’ that hostilely acquired undervalued companies... and sold off their assets,” acquired Pacific Lumber, “MAXXAM Corporation overnight changed Pacific Lumber’s selective logging policy to one of clear-cutting, and more than doubled the acreage to be logged- a timber practice that has and continues to wipe out pristine old-growth forest life.”<sup>16</sup>

Starting in 1985 coverage of Earth First! protests could be found all over the Eureka based *Times Standard*. “In just four short years the Humboldt/Mendocino Earth First! groups have conducted over 150 direct actions and demonstrations. That’s one every two weeks!” reported a pamphlet distributed by Earth First!.<sup>17</sup> The tactics the group utilized during the 1980s, ranged from serious to comical, but it was the more militant acts such as trespassing tree sits, human blockades, and tree spiking that gained the widespread attention and immediate results the group was seeking. Furthermore, the opposition

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<sup>14</sup> Foreman, *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior*, 113-114.

<sup>15</sup> Speece, “From Corporatism to Citizen Oversight,” 720.

<sup>16</sup> “MAXXAM: State Supported Terrorists,” *North Coast California Earth First!* (Spring, 1987); Speece, “From Corporatism to Citizen Oversight,” 720.

<sup>17</sup> “Earth First! Means Direct Action!”

against loggers, as well as timber companies, held by Earth First! often led to confrontational protests, an approach which drastically changed in the early 1990s.<sup>18</sup>

On April 13, 1988, anyone driving on Highway 101 near the Honeydew exit in Southern Humboldt County would have seen a banner hanging 250 feet above the highway reading "Save the Old Growth- Earth First!." Just below that, about fifty feet above the highway, was Greg King, one of Earth First's go-to people for tree climbing stunts, suspended by ropes while Caltrans workers dwelled below on how best to get all of it down. Caltrans billed King \$1,150.31 for the incident which took two California Highway Patrolmen and several Caltrans workers to resolve. The charges were excessive, according to King, "a quick estimate puts each employee's wage at over \$100 and hour, far above the normal rate for such work... and \$201 for a few orange cones is a bit much."<sup>19</sup> To the Earth Firsters, the excessive charges was a political maneuver to discourage "free advertising" and further protests. King never paid any charges and although Caltrans brought a suite against him, something that became commonplace for King in the 1980s, Earth Firsters "relish strong responses to their actions because it shows they are being noticed."<sup>20</sup>

When asked why risk "life and liberty," Greg King and Jane Cope, King's accomplice in tree sits, responded "it is the greater risk not to imperil ourselves to save old growth redwoods. Humans cannot live without these forests, nor can the animals that depend on

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<sup>18</sup> This position on loggers was voiced by Foreman: "Similarly, we are inconsistent when we castigate Charles Hurwitz for destroying the last wilderness redwood forest yet feel sympathy for the loggers working for him. Industrial workers, by and large, share the blame for the destruction of the natural world," in *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior*, 31.

<sup>19</sup> Marie Gravelle, "Caltrans Bills Local Protestor: Environmentalist Says Traffic-Control Charges are Bogus," *Times Standard* (December 14, 1988)

<sup>20</sup> Marie Gravelle, "Caltrans Bills Local Protestor: Environmentalist Says Traffic-Control Charges are Bogus," *Times Standard* (December 14, 1988)

them for immediate survival.”<sup>21</sup> And the two often did place themselves in danger, both physical and legally. Along with roadblocks, tree sits usually took place in the middle of active harvest sites while trespassing on Pacific Lumber’s property. While tree sitters occupied their perches, other Earth Firsters blocked logging roads, sometimes going as far as laying their bodies in front of oncoming timber trucks.<sup>22</sup> While these tactics racked up trespassing charges, they met some success in slowing the harvesting process.

Often only involving a handful of people and taking place deep in the forests of Humboldt County, tree sits and blockades relied on local newspapers and subscriptions to the local newsletter to publicize their actions and bring attention to their cause. The most controversial tactic, and the one that gained the public’s attention, was tree spiking.<sup>23</sup> The most controversial tactic promoted nationally by Earth First! founders, it became infamous on the North Coast when a Louisiana-Pacific mill worker was seriously injured after his buzz saw hit a hidden spike and shattered. Although it was unlikely that this was a result of any Earth First! spiking, it brought national attention to the group’s advocacy of tree spiking and timber companies used it to smear the groups image as violent militants.<sup>24</sup>

Although these actions put Earth First! in the spotlight of the North Coast environmental scene, they often met criticism of shortsightedness and causing more damage in their attempts to delay logging. Statements such as when Darryl Cherney told 60

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<sup>21</sup> “Earth First! Means Direct Action!”

<sup>22</sup> “Laying it on the Line,” *Times Standard* (September 20, 1988).

<sup>23</sup> Tree spiking is the practice of hammering a foot-long spike into a tree to deter timber sales. The logic behind this is that the cost of fixing a ruined mill blade or the time it takes to remove tree spikes soon outweighs the value of the harvest, see: Dave Foreman, *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey Wrenching* (Tucson, AZ: Ned Ludd Books, 1987).

<sup>24</sup> Roselle stated that, “We haven’t done any spiking in Northern California that I know of. Any of our spikings involve old growth trees in wilderness areas, and we always publicize in advance the stands that have been spiked, so nobody needs to be hurt. The logs that Alexander was working were not from old-growth trees; they were not from a wilderness; and there was no warning.” See: Harold Gilliam, “Violence Begets Violence,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 1, 1987). Newspapers from states around the country, including Texas, Virginia, and Minnesota, gave attention to the injury at Louisiana-Pacific.

*Minutes* “if I knew I had a fatal disease, I would definitely do something like strap dynamite to myself and take out Grand Canyon Dam. Or maybe the MAXXAM Building in Los Angeles,” or his songs promoting tree spiking made approaching or associating with the group difficult.<sup>25</sup> Timber companies were not the only detractors of Earth First!, members within the environmental movement who sought to cultivate more “legitimate” recognition often denounced the extreme tactics.<sup>26</sup> The late 1980s saw a shift away from the more militant, masculine individualist mentality of the founding Earth Firsters. The scope of the North Coast Earth First! expanded past what Foreman claimed to be “a catalyst group that brings attention to an issue so the mainstream groups can come in and negotiate,” to practice mass grassroots organizing and include a socio-political approach to save the redwood forests.<sup>27</sup> Judi Bari, who was introduced to Earth First! by the group’s unofficial spokesperson Darryl Cherney in 1988, began to use her previous experience of grassroots organizing during the Vietnam War to influence a “profound social change.”<sup>28</sup> Bari divided from Earth First! lines when she began leading abortion clinic defenses, introducing a new political aspect that Earth First! had previously intentionally left out. Furthermore, this shift marked the rejection of many Earth First! ideologies such as Foreman’s extreme misanthropic views, tree spiking, and anti-labor approach to loggers. In response to mass organized events of Redwood Summer and the “feminization” of the group, Earth First! was

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<sup>25</sup> Jonathan Littman, “Peace, Love... and TNT,” *California* (December, 1990), 88.

<sup>26</sup> While most legitimate environmental groups denounced Earth First’s actions, some members have more affection because the militancy makes their groups seem much more reasonable. See: Setterberg, “The Wild Bunch,” 23.

<sup>27</sup> Judi Bari, “Dave Foreman Comes to Ecotopia,” in *Timber Wars* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994), 89.

<sup>28</sup> Littman, “Peace, Love... and TNT,” 85. Quote from Bari, *Timber Wars*, 57.

met with an escalation in response by anti-environmentalists that was sometimes violent and often misogynistic.<sup>29</sup>

Bari moved immediately after her introduction to Earth First! to establish a connection with Northwestern loggers. At an Earth First! gathering in 1988 Bari set up a workshop advertising the history of the IWW where “She pointed out that Earth First! had borrowed heavily from the [IWW] tradition- including its slogan, ‘No compromise,’- and... [the] union’s history of music, protest and direct action.”<sup>30</sup> This connection eventually came in the form of Local 1- a IWW-Earth First! union comprised of environmentalists and loggers.<sup>31</sup> By reaching out to loggers the two previously opposing groups found a common ground in initiating sustainable forest policies. Local 1 found sympathy from timber workers who recognized that their jobs depended on sustainable logging practices. To them, the increase in clear cutting by the three main timber companies on the North Coast (Georgia-Pacific, Louisiana-Pacific, and Hurwitz’s Pacific Lumber) was a threat to the longevity of their employment: “They came to understand that at the present rate of cutting, their jobs would vanish along with the trees in a few years.”<sup>32</sup>

Earth First’s new stance- that they were “opposed to indiscriminate clearcutting- not all logging,”- was a departure from former views to cease all cutting.<sup>33</sup> Along with views on cutting, North Coast Earth First! began to denounce many of the more radical ideologies that were published nationally under the group’s name. An article about the North Coast movement printed in *The Nation* said the differences between local groups and the national

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<sup>29</sup> Bari, “The Feminization of Earth First!,” 82.

<sup>30</sup> Littman, “Peace, Love,” 87.

<sup>31</sup> Bari, “Timber Wars,” in *Timber Wars*, 17.

<sup>32</sup> Eva Uran and Jay Bonestell, “Redwood Summer, A Personal Memoir,” *Earth News* 1, no. 1 (November, 1990), 5.

<sup>33</sup> Uran and Bonstell, “Redwood Summer,” 5.

Earth First! image was a problem where “its grass-roots activists constantly have to account for some appalling statements by one of the Earth First! founders, Dave Foreman, and its inspirer, the late Edward Abbey.”<sup>34</sup> Original Earth First! co-founder Mike Roselle, who out of the founders was the most involved in the North Coast movement, followed the group away from Foreman’s views to embrace Earth First’s new role in the Timber Wars:

Such statements... are recognized as being racist, extremely ignorant and insensitive... So the rest of us are left hanging, and we have to deal with this dirty laundry that Foreman has left all over the place and to defend ourselves on positions we don’t even have... You’ll find our groups are part of this more progressive movement toward social justice and economic justice as well as environmental sanity.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, the North Coast Earth First began publicly denouncing tree spiking, the act which gained the whole Earth First! movement national attention, though key members such as Bari refused to condemn other groups from utilizing the practice and promised to continue non-violent sabotage.<sup>36</sup>

If the 1980s Earth First! gained notoriety through radical acts such as tree spiking, North Coast Earth First! grabbed national attention through radical organization. 1990 saw Redwood Summer- a summer-long series of mass protests and civil disobedience influenced by the 1960s civil rights movements in Mississippi Summer. Fliers began appearing on Humboldt State University’s campus around March (which prompted the Fortuna City Manager to request that HSU President Alistair McCrone to report any further fliers), but news of the event soon spread across the nation.<sup>37</sup> Again the *Times Standard* began running stories on Earth First’s activities in Humboldt County, but now they came

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<sup>34</sup> Alexander Cockburn, “Beat the Devil,” *The Nation* (July 16, 1990), 79.

<sup>35</sup> Cockburn, “Beat the Devil,” 79.

<sup>36</sup> David Forster, “Earth First Vows to Continue Sabotage,” *Times Standard* (April 12, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> Ed Lion, “Fortuna Draws mild HSU Rebuke on Protest Issue,” (March 21, 1990).

out almost weekly. The event lasted from June until the end of August. Around 500 protestors from around the country showed up to the first rally with an estimated 3,000 participants total.<sup>38</sup> Despite these numbers, Redwood Summer did not go as intended and was met with confrontational responses.

Leading up to the season long even Earth Firsters, especially Bari, began receiving a series of death threats associated to a violent wing of the anti-environmental Wise Use movement.<sup>39</sup> Threats aimed at Earth First were not only about their new political positions, but often were heavily misogynistic, with one calling the group “whores, lesbians, and members of N.O.W.”<sup>40</sup> But it was the car bombing of Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, who were on their way to UC Santa Cruz to recruit students for Redwood Summer, by a still unknown perpetrator, which made the event questionable. The bombing led to mixed results for Redwood Summer. On one hand, the bombing brought further attention and created sympathy for the group. On the other, it left Bari, the event’s creator and leader, in the hospital and under charges of possibly escorting the bomb, leaving a gap in organization and logistics of Redwood Summer.<sup>41</sup> What took place in Bari’s absence was the “feminization of Earth First!,” where “before the bombing [Bari] was one of the very few

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<sup>38</sup> Phil Garlington and Bill Israel, “44 Arrests at ‘Redwood Summer’ Protests,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 21, 1990). And: Bari, *Timber Wars*, 79.

<sup>39</sup> Judi Bari, “How to Create a Climate of Violence Close to Home,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* (November 11, 1992).

<sup>40</sup> Following the bombing of Bari and Cherney, further violent and misogynistic reports were produced including the anti-environmentalist Sahara Club’s article “Bomb that Crotch,” and a letter that claimed responsibility for the bombing stating “this was no Godly Woman, no Ruth full of obedience to procreate and multiply the children of Adam throughout the world as is God’s will. See: Bari, *Timber Wars*, 223-224.

<sup>41</sup> Evidence pinning responsibility for knowingly carrying a bomb against Bari and Cherney came out to be completely inconclusive despite a public smear campaign by the FBI to discredit the group and Redwood Summer. See: Elliot Diring and George Snyder, “Humboldt Area Sizzles Over ‘Redwood Summer,’” *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 11, 1990).

women leader of Earth First! But after the bombing it was the woman who rose... with three quarters of [Redwood Summer] leadership made up of women.”<sup>42</sup>

What can be gained by studying the shift in this local group of the nation-wide Earth First! movement is a better idea of the role it played in the Timber Wars. Their most critical effect did not lay in their ability to completely stop clear-cutting and harvesting, but in the way their tactics made ancient forest protection a nationally recognized issue. While litigation groups such as EPIC fought successful courtroom battles to permanently protect redwood and old growth stands, Earth First! was on the frontlines preventing timber companies from continuing cutting before a ruling was made. This was one of the goals of Redwood Summer- to slow down timber harvests until voters could pass the Forest Forever Initiative. Also, their direct action approach to forest protection resulted in the discovery not just of Headwaters Forest, but also found evidence of active habitats of animals listed under the Endangered Species Act, such as the Marbled Murrelet and Northern Spotted Owl, in proposed harvest sites.

Furthermore, during the 1980s North Coast Earth First! never seemed to endorse the extreme misanthropic views that the movement promoted on a national level, notably by Dave Foreman, and violent tactics such as tree spiking. During this time the group was far less organized, only brought together by their shared vision to save the redwoods. As a result of taking no formal stances on the approach to forest protection, the group was cast as subscribing to Foreman’s doctrine by default. It was not until the end of the 1980s and early 1990s that they established a cohesive approach that formally rejected and renounced many aspects that the movement was known for on a national level. As a result

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<sup>42</sup> Bari, “Feminization of Earth First!,” 83.

of adopting a socio-political platform and a more inclusive approach to organization the group was met with an increase of attacks from the anti-environmental Wise Use movement that was developing at the same time.

With the end of Redwood Summer coverage and publicity of the group began to subside and Judi Bari passed away in 1997, but by no means did the North Coast Earth First! disappear. The 1990s saw their active involvement in the intense battle to secure Headwaters Forest, which was successfully purchased from Pacific Lumber in 1999 by a combination of state and federal funds. To this day actions by the North Coast group can be seen high up in the trees just North of Trinidad on the trail to Strawberry Rock and in Richardson Grove State Park fighting Caltrans' proposed bypass through the park.

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