

DARK, SCARY, AWE-INSPIRING, AND COMMUNITY BUILDING: ESSAYS ON THE
ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT BLACK SWAMP

Madison Stump-Smith

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate College of Bowling Green
State University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2023

Committee:

Amílcar Challú, Committee Chair

Cheryl Dong

© 2023

Madison Stump-Smith

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Amílcar Challú, Committee Chair

Environmental history is an interdisciplinary field that seeks to understand how human-environment relationships and ecosystems have changed over time. Even with a focus on natural spaces, environmental history often examines land via socio-political barriers. This thesis aims to reconstruct that narrative by examining history through an ecosystem boundary. This collection of Great Black Swamp environmental history essays examines the use of place within a swampland ecosystem. It demonstrates the paradox of environmental history that humans can create affective connections to place and make decisions that harm those landscapes by examining the environment through a narrow and utilitarian perspective, ignoring interconnections. Chapters examine the erasure of environmental change at Fort Meigs Historic Site, Representative Delbert Latta “seeing like the state” in making 1970-80s environmental policy decisions, and the performative tradition of Earth Day at Bowling Green State University. While communities have an affective connection to the swampland, those relationships are changing and shifting in meaning. They must be critically analyzed and adapted, especially in an environment rapidly shifting from anthropocentric climate change.

To all the human-environment relationships that have come before me. May your stories continue to guide how we live and proceed. May the legacies of activists inspire a new ecological ethic of care.

And to my love. This labor of love is for you and our future exploring, protecting, celebrating, and connecting with the more-than-human world.

I received multiple travel grants to present these individual papers at academic conferences. I am thankful for the funding requests approved by the BGSU History Department, Graduate Student Senate, and American Society for Environmental History. I am thankful for the opportunities I was given to present at the following conferences: an early version of the Wintergarden paper was presented with Dr. Challú at the spring 2022 American Society for Environmental History conference in Oregon, Earth Day project was presented at the spring 2022 Ohio Academy of History conference, Earth Day abstract won second place in the Graduate Student Senate Shanklin awards competition in spring 2022, and the Latta paper was a finalist in the Shanklin abstract competition in spring 2023.

Adam Smith, my love. I would not have been able to do any of this without your support and encouragement. Thank you for the endless conversations about Earth Day and heterotopias, and for sitting through my frustration of archival research. I appreciate you.

BGSU Earth Day 1990s	63
BGSU Earth Day 2000-2010s.....	68
BGSU Earth Day 2020.....	70
Conclusion.....	71
CONCLUSION. AN INCOMPLETE REFLECTION ON BOUNDARIES, FLUIDITY, AND SEMANTIC ECOTONES	
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	
APPENDIX A. ORAL HISTORY WITH CINDA STUTZMAN.....	92
APPENDIX B. ORAL HISTORY WITH CHRIS GAJEWICZ	99
APPENDIX C. COPYRIGHT PERMISSION: FAIR USE.....	115

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	Aerial Photograph of Fort Meigs Historic Site, 2022	20
1.2	Second Aerial Photograph of Fort Meigs Historic Site, 2022	20

they collectively donated over one hundred thousand dollars to expand the park by twenty acres in the last year.

Long before Chris started restoring the Great Black Swamp ecosystems, a glacier covered northwest Ohio. When it retreated over 20,000 years ago, it left glacial moraines and sandy ridges in a patchwork stretching from Sandusky, Ohio to Fort Wayne, Indiana. It created Lake Erie, which became the drainage basin for much of northwest Ohio. Low areas between the moraines and ridges were consistently under water. Through time as the water levels decreased, moraines transformed into the forested swamplands known today as the Great Black Swamp. The Great Black Swamp at its largest size covered almost 1,500 square miles in northwest Ohio and northeastern Indiana.⁴ It is the ancestral homeland of the Wyandot, Kickapoo, Miami, Potawatomi, Odawa, and other indigenous peoples. While those peoples lived near, cultivated, engaged with, and traveled around the swamp since time immemorial, the swamplands were not densely settled by sedentary cultures until European exploration and expansion in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵ Many European travelers documented how difficult and scary it was to cross through the swamp. The swamp quickly gained a reputation of fear and danger, fueling the motivations to drain and settle these fertile soils. Despite this, communities began to form along the high, sandy ridges in the mid-nineteenth century. The swampland created a unique community identity of resilience as European settlers learned how to listen to the land for their utilitarian benefit.⁶

⁴ *The Story of the Great Black Swamp*, directed by Paul G. Lopez (2010; Bowling Green, OH: WBGU-PBS), digital documentary, <https://www.pbs.org/video/wbgu-documentaries-the-story-of-the-great-black-swamp/>.

⁵ Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792* (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Martin R. Kaatz, "The Black Swamp: A Study in Historical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 45 no. 1 (March 1955): 1-35.

⁶ *The Story of the Great Black Swamp*.

systems. Human-nature connections are often rooted in one aspect (temporal, geographic, special, etc.) of the environment.

Human historical perceptions of space are limited, especially as the environment so rapidly changes in the twenty first century. Fort Meigs Historic Site cannot be frozen in time. It will be impacted by anthropogenic climate change and the decisions of site managers. Representative Delbert Latta's state-dominated perception of his land in relation to his constituents' desires prevented him from seeing holistically, but that cannot keep happening if public policy is to protect against exponential environmental destruction. The ritual of Earth Day celebrates a disembodied, symbolic Earth, disconnected from any specific land or place. The trajectories of environmental history are primed to address the complex history of human-nature-space relationships and how they have been and continue to be destabilized.

This thesis also questions the previously used frameworks to examine environmental history and human-nature connections. Historians, humanities scholars, and activists typically can be categorized into five frameworks of examining the land. These categories are not mutually exclusive. Some scholars' work may fall into more than one category. Scholars such as environmental historian William Cronon, and geographers, have framed environmental history as a history of space.¹⁰ Space is the abstract, geometrical/location modeling of the land. It is commonly used to construct maps or create models that are not necessarily tied to one piece of land. Cronon has also used the territory model of environmental history when examining the control of land through management of a location.¹¹ In this framework, the land is diminished to

¹⁰ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, NY: W.W. North & Company, 2009).

¹¹ Cronon discusses how the New England region had such a drastic ecosystem shift when European colonists arrived in the seventeenth century. Changes in tree cover, plant species, and animal presence were due to the cultural property rights of colonists. Land was to be owned, settled, and managed by one individual, rather than the communal culture of indigenous peoples. Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.

the Great Black Swamp has been altered by human activity and cultural productions of environmental history over time.

The history of the Great Black Swamp is both a regional history and an examination of landscape. The former Great Black Swamp is a patchwork of landscapes impacted by the sedentary colonialist culture of European settlers. It was impacted by cultures of war, the rise of agriculture, city park preservation movements, and national activism. It is also an interconnected landscape. Trophic cascades are common in connected landscapes, as can be seen with such anthropocentric actions as clearing forests for level ground, poisoning crows, limiting air particulate matter, or cleaning up a stream. However, using these frameworks alone erases the history of territory. What these frameworks all lack in the conceptualization of a swampland is the instability and fragility of a swamp space. Swamps are liminal spaces, constantly shifting by humans' attempts to control it. Humans cannot use a space that is half land-half water; they desire one type of land for one utilitarian purpose. Thus, while this thesis draws upon the frameworks historians and humanists have used for decades, it also proposes a new swampland framework for environmental history.

The first chapter examines the multiple meanings encoded in Fort Meigs and Fort Meigs Historic Site in Perrysburg, Ohio. Nineteenth-century Fort Meigs was a military site with entrance allowed only for American soldiers. Fort Meigs Historic Site is a recreated, reconstructed fort with paid entrance. The chapter asks what it means to have an ecological perspective in public history. The reconstructed historical site demonstrates the separation of the fortified block from its surroundings, thus removing the necessary understandings of environmental placement so crucial to history. Including aspects of the environment in the

history of Fort Meigs enriches the history of space and increases the ecological awareness of public visitors.

Chapter 2 is an analysis of how community input influenced the environmental policy decisions of northwest Ohio representative Delbert Latta. The 1970 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) was the first U.S. comprehensive environmental policy; a statement of national environmental values and a process for enacting them. Latta was one representative supportive of the initial NEPA bills. Using the Latta Papers archival collection in the BGSU Center for Archival Collections, this chapter explores why Latta did not have a consistent environmental ethic, despite his near precedent-setting vote in support of NEPA.¹⁶ This chapter also briefly discusses the benefits and challenges of using placement as a method of policy history. Placement includes an analysis of a public figure's private history (i.e., personal values, interests, and experiences) and public history (i.e., voting history, public statements, correspondence) to understand why they made a decision or took a course of action.¹⁷ It argues that Latta struggled to balance pro- and anti-environmental votes because of the competing interests of environmental and industry/agricultural constituency groups. He tended to vote with the group that contacted him the most frequently or, when balanced, the group with the most power as voters, typically agricultural interests. This case study demonstrates the government lens of simplifying complex systems into manageable, easy to understand components. Latta acted with an affective connection to his constituents and their values. However, this was done at the destruction of complex natural systems that require policy makers and voters to consider

¹⁶ The term "environmental ethic" in this context refers to the set of environmental perspectives emerging from Latta's decision making and correspondence. It is not a value statement of Latta's environmental opinions.

¹⁷ Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1986).

multiple angles, impacts, perspectives, and courses of action to preserve the integrity of the ecosystem.

Chapter 3 is an examination of the changing Earth Day practices at Bowling Green State University. Since 1970, Earth Day activities across university campuses have shifted away from university-wide teach-ins and the original goal of environmental education toward celebration and appreciation of nature, increasingly fostering a virtualized sense of community anchored in social media, not place. BGSU has been no exception to these changes. The final chapter asks how BGSU changed its celebration of Earth Day from 1970 through the present. Examining the evolution of Earth Day celebrations at the university and in the city of Bowling Green, this chapter broadens the existing literature in time and space.¹⁸ It reveals the significant role of technology in fostering a culture of easily accessible information, changing Earth Day to social media campaigns and surface-level celebrations of nature. It also argues for a reframing of twenty-first century Earth Day to mimic the intentionality of the first Earth Day as the environment is in another state of rapidly changing conditions.

While this thesis draws upon the methodological approaches of several subfields of history, it is primarily an environmental history. Environmental history as a field began in academia in the mid-twentieth century. In 1977, a group of prominent scholars in the rapidly growing study of environmental history launched the American Society for Environmental History. Such scholars, heralded as the founders of environmental history, were Donald Worster, Roderick Nash, Carolyn Merchant, and more. These historians recognized that academic

¹⁸ Personal conversation with Dr. Adam Rome, March 25, 2022. Dr. Rome shared with me that not a lot is known about Earth Day between 1971 and the rise of technology and social media. I strive to connect BGSU's way of celebrating Earth Day to other universities, but there is not a lot of evidence of national trends in Earth Day. Part of that comes from the lack of national organization of Earth Day. There was no national curriculum of teach-ins, so each community celebrated according to the cultural norms or values existing in that space.

historians examined nature purely as an effect of human activity. They raised scholarly awareness and analysis that “the natural world is not merely the backdrop to human events but evolves in its own right.”¹⁹ The early group of environmental historians began a field that would evolve from rural environmental history with a focus on indigenous peoples to a social history of the environment, urban history, colonization, and beyond.²⁰

Methodological approaches in the late twentieth century contributed to the growing popularity of small-scale environmental histories. As urban history was growing in popularity, local and regional history became common approaches in environmental history.²¹ This thesis borrows methodological and archival processes from local history as it examines small-scale communities and the voices of everyday people in Bowling Green. While grassroots environmental activists raised public alarm in the mid-twentieth century, environmental history publications kept focusing on the national, largescale level. Local histories are becoming more common in the twenty-first century. This research reframes that trend to examine a local environmental history at an ecosystem level, rather than a city or county level. The Great Black Swamp covered many socio-political boundaries, thus reclaiming some of the agency of nature to define functional boundaries.

¹⁹ J.R. McNeill, “The State of the Field of Environmental History,” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 35 (2010): 346.

²⁰ Roderick Nash published what is commonly referred to as the first U.S. environmental history by examining changing cultural mindsets and values of wilderness, and how that contributed to the growing sense of American identity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5th edition (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014). Beginning with seventeenth century indigenous communities and New England region colonists, William Cronon uses ecological data and written primary sources to show how settlement patterns influenced many of the environmental changes; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*. Carolyn Merchant added layers of nuance to her studies of women and nature, cultural stereotypes of femininity, and the history of ecology: Carolyn Merchant, *Earthcare: Women and the Environment* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996); Carolyn Merchant, *Science and Nature: Past, Present, and Future*, 1st edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018); Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*, 40th Anniversary Edition (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2020). Nancy Unger also examined the role of women in environmental activism in a later wave of ecofeminism: Nancy C. Unger, *Beyond Nature’s Housekeepers: American Women in Environmental History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²¹ McNeill, “The State of the Field.”

learn about nature, humanity's relationship to and the condition of the natural world rests in people's individual and collective responses to environmental change.

My hope is that readers take away a curiosity and critical analysis of the ways their own communities have portrayed these historic relationships so we can reframe our histories and unite ahead to create more place-based, nuanced, holistic, and intentional systems of resilience.

immerse themselves in the War of 1812 public history site.²⁸ The Ohio History Connection completed a major restoration project in 2003, though efforts to renovate and improve structures are ongoing. The reconstructed fort remains a space dedicated to the role of Ohioans and the frontier in the War of 1812. The fort and museum require an entrance fee. There is a small museum, gift shop, and educational spaces on site. While the fort is closed during winter months, the museum is open year-round. The museum features an interactive War of 1812 exhibit, including material culture and archived documents.

This chapter questions what it means from an ecological point of view that historic sites present the illusion of a space that has not changed over time. Historic sites, like the Fort Meigs reconstruction, aim to tell narrative history of a specific point in time. They reconstruct history via an immersive experience. However, they often do not address how the landscape has changed over time. The Fort Meigs Historic Site land does not look the same as it did for nineteenth-century Fort Meigs occupants.²⁹ The retelling of War of 1812 history ignores those changes. The removal of indigenous people, traditional ecological knowledge, and Great Black Swamp ecosystems are not present in the site’s education. Overlooking ecological change prevents historic sites from becoming part of the movement to prevent further climatological harm through environmental education.³⁰ Including environmental history will increase present-day knowledge of the processes and human-driven change that created the environments people live in today.

²⁸ Fort Meigs Historic Site, “Reconstructing the Past,” accessed Oct 1, 2022, <https://fortmeigs.org/reconstructing-the-past/>.

²⁹ For clarification and simplification, “Fort Meigs” in this paper refers to the contemporary War of 1812 fort and military encampment, and “historic site” or “Fort Meigs Historic Site” refers to the reconstructed fort comprising the twenty-first century public history space.

³⁰ Debra A. Reid and David D. Vail, *Interpreting the Environment at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2019).

The most important primary source in this chapter is the space itself. The space is interpreted through surveys, map and aerial photography. Military journals also provide insight into weather and human movement around the fort. Videos and aerial photography are also used to understand some of the recent, twenty-first century heterotopic characteristics of the historic site. With these symbolic and pictorial representations, the analysis reads space by examining change over time. Locations of trees, grass, and fort walls point to how humans altered the landscape. This chapter engages with some of the most well-known works in the field of environmental history. Environmental history as a discipline, and its theoretical applications, nuance the understanding of space. This chapter only brushes the surface of scholarship on the War of 1812 since the focus is the space and environment of Fort Meigs. It is not an environmental history of Fort Meigs Historic Site, though it is the start of a deeper understanding of environmental conditions and change.

This chapter expands place-based studies and examines them through an environmental lens. It specifically examines how public history sites conceptualize and publicize changes in physical space. It is a first step in an environmental history of Fort Meigs and offers a few suggestions to improve the environmental dimensions of Fort Meigs Historic Site. The conclusions presented about Fort Meigs may also be reproduced with other public history sites. All physical locations, whether in a natural state of preservation or a built environment, have an environmental history. The analyses in this chapter are replicable for any location and can help bring a deeper sense of community, understanding, and activism.

A Brief History of Fort Meigs

While the motivations of the War of 1812 are unclear, most historians agree that the U.S. was fighting Great Britain over maritime laws and the British practice of forcing American

river was flat with sparse ash trees, typical features of a bottom floodplain. Moving south up the hill where Fort Meigs was to be located the landscape transitioned to oak savanna/prairie with white oak, red oak, and hickory trees.³⁸ This combination of scattered trees and open space denotes an intervened landscape. Oak and hickory trees are largely fire resistant; other trees native to northwest Ohio at this time would have died from any controlled burn. The average size of the hickory trees (about 12 inches in diameter) and oak trees (14-24 inches in diameter) are common for trees anywhere from 40-60 years old. This ecological context suggests that an indigenous-led or natural burn occurred between 1750 and 1805.

Once the top of the hill at the rapids of the Maumee River was identified as the site of Fort Meigs, this landscape underwent a human-created transition from oak savanna to an open field where the fort was constructed. Soldiers had to clear out the trees and level the land in order to lift fort walls and place tents. This was a significant ecological shift from savanna with scattered trees to flat land with a semi-permanent human settlement. This is not recognized at the Historic Site.³⁹ Ignoring this action removes a vital part of Fort Meigs history. Removing the trees upon the hill removed all ecological evidence of an indigenous mitigated and inhabited environment. Not acknowledging this impact perpetuates the erasure of indigenous histories. The shift to empty land with a military fort demonstrated the new ability of the U.S. government to control the land and dominate other peoples.⁴⁰ This is a vital part of northwest Ohio history and should be told at Fort Meigs Historic Site.

³⁸ Ibid., 1-2.

³⁹ The Historic Site website has an education guide for Fort Meigs history, that will be analyzed later in the paper. One of the lesson teacher prep notes contain some of these changes, though the actual lesson does not include any activity related to ecological change.

⁴⁰ Control of wilderness in the nineteenth century was a cultural product of a largely Eurocentric, Judeo-Christian interpretation of human's purpose of dominating land; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

The slope can be seen on the left side of the site, to the right of the small trail on the banks.
Source: Snapshot taken of Google Maps, Oct 23, 2022.

In the early twentieth century, Fort Meigs became an Ohio state park and its environmental character changed again. John B. Wilson and his ancestors had owned the property for nearly a century, using it only for pastureland. They established a memorial marker on the site. In 1907, the family sold the land of current Fort Meigs Historic Site to the state of Ohio.⁴¹ The site was officially dedicated as a state monument the following year.⁴² The Ohio History Council and local partners began working together at this time to reconstruct a public history site. The Historic Site is currently surrounded by the Maumee River, forests, and a neighborhood (Figure 1.1 & 1.2). The aerial photography of the site also shows how manicured and intentionally differentiated the site is from its surroundings. The grass is mowed inside and around the fort. This ensures that the fort can be seen from the road. The nineteenth-century fort was likely hidden by the thick swamp environment and contained no roads. There are few trees inside the fort, which is different from how the banks across the Maumee River look (Figure 1.2). This is an intentional decision to distinguish the fort from its surroundings. It also allows visitors to explore the inside of the fort upon entrance. When events are happening or with the living history aspect of Fort Meigs' public education, guests are free to wander through the yards off the gravel paths. This would be impossible if the grounds team did not mow the grass to an appropriate, accessible level.

⁴¹ “Deed for Ft. Meigs Has Been Executed and Property now Belongs to State,” *Perrysburg Journal* no. 7 (June 1907): 1, accessed Oct 25, 2022, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87076843/1907-06-28/ed-1/seq-1/>.

⁴² C. W. Evers, *Dedication of Fort Meigs monument, September 1, 1908 Together with brief description of the two sieges of Fort Meigs in 1813* (Bowling Green, OH: Democrat print, 1908), accessed Oct 25, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/36012568/>.

were uncovered and molded. The environmental conditions of these four eras are likely markedly different, but they are not explored at Fort Meigs Historic Site or in the news coverage of the story. The environment is simply a backdrop for Fort Meigs history, the agency of nature an unresolved plot twist in the War of 1812 narrative. The ring tells multiple stories of these eras. It also brings in temporal and situational tension with the potential of the ring being intentionally discarded. People leave trash and often lose personal items while visiting the museum. These modern artifacts tie the site to its twenty-first century context as the reconstructed landscape attempts to pull visitors back in time, creating a tension and challenge for public history education.

The Fort Meigs Museum complicates the idea that a museum is a crystal ball through which to view the past. The clarity of a crystal ball ignores the complicated history of museums as sites of appropriation, mediated or selected history, and colonization.⁴⁹ Colonization of the land brought intense ecological change that decreased diversity and increased habitat loss.⁵⁰ Fort Meigs as it stands does not address these land-based colonizing practices. They address the ancestral homelands of the peoples who lived on the Fort Meigs land before the War of 1812, but that is only one part of acknowledging and reckoning with the destructive practices that happened there.

Conclusion

Environmental historian William Cronon has called for a revisioning of history through the analysis of layers. He compared environmental history to a practice of reading palimpsests.⁵¹ Unveiling narratives in the land layer by layer is no easy task. It requires an interdisciplinary

⁴⁹ Christine DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections in New England Indian Country: Indigenous Material Culture and Early American History Making at Ezra Stiles's Yale Museum," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75: 1 (2018): 109-150.

⁵⁰ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.

⁵¹ Cronon, "Reading the Palimpsest."

team and analyses in archaeology, environmental sciences, geography, climatology, and more to read those land-based records. The power in bringing a palimpsest back to life, Cronon states, comes from “our ability to see them in our mind’s eye.”⁵² Fort Meigs Historic Site creates the embodied experience to bring the 1813 fort back to life. Environmental history calls for an examination of Fort Meigs history before and beyond the nineteenth century layer. Studies of environmental history, when examining one geographic location, tend to utilize deep history methodologies.⁵³ This study did not have access to a deep history of Fort Meigs, because the staff do not have the resources to do pollen cores, climatology, and other extensive scientific studies. They also have limited understanding of indigenous peoples’ use of the land before Fort Meigs was constructed, though they are actively collaborating with the Great Black Swamp InterTribal Foundation to bring indigenous knowledge and voices to the historical site.

There is a tendency to see historic sites as an unmediated past, but they are not unaltered. Fort Meigs Historic Site renders visible a landscape that is constructed. It is not the same as the landscape nineteenth century soldiers lived in. The Great Black Swamp environment is different. Twenty-first century visitors will not experience the dense, fear-ridden swamplands surrounding the fort. They experience a manicured landscape with minimal obstructions. Humans can control the landscape to recreate a feeling of an era passed. However, they have a limited ability to control natural spaces. When historic sites present the illusion of an unaltered natural space, they ignore the anthropogenic and natural environmental changes. They also limit the location from one major goal of public history: to educate the public about history and change over time.

⁵² Ibid., 357.

⁵³ For an example of environmental history of bison and the use of long-term (deep) environmental history methodology, see: Geoff Cunfer and Bill Waiser, eds, *Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2016).

not a major factor in the legislative history” of NEPA. Congress recognized growing environmental problems without the urging of constituents. In addition to the activist roots of NEPA, Lindstrom and Smith credit the rise of ecological sciences for creating the holistic, systems thinking required for a comprehensive environmental policy.⁶⁸ While the previous 1960 Clean Water Act, 1964 Wilderness Act, and others were focused on one area of the environment, NEPA was different in that it is comprehensive, not a problem-based policy. Its foundation is the need for systems thinking in environmental actions.

This revolutionary environmental policy raised new hurdles in defining and measuring environmental impacts, and in determining responsible parties for those tasks. Much of the conflict in this part of NEPA stemmed from the creation of the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The Senate and House did not agree on the early details of the Council and its reporting duties.⁶⁹ Latta spoke on September 23, 1969, on behalf of the House Committee on Rules, about the CEQ debates. He recalled agency feedback that the CEQ was unnecessary because “President [Nixon], on May 29, by Executive Order 11472, established an Environmental Quality Council and a Citizens Advisory Committee” on the environment.⁷⁰ No section of NEPA was as contested as the eventual creation of the CEQ. Latta’s comments in Congress will be analyzed in more detail later in the chapter.

⁶⁸ Matthew J. Lindstrom and Zachary A. Smith, *The National Environmental Policy Act: Judicial Misconstruction, Legislative Indifference, & Executive Neglect* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001): 17.

⁶⁹ Senator Jackson on October 8, 1969, stated “There are a number of differences between title III of the Senate version, establishing a Board of Environmental Quality Advisors and calling for an annual environmental quality report to the Congress, and the similar House provisions.” This same date the Senate approved a vote to send the bill to joint committee to work out the details that had been in conflict for several months already. For more about the early CEQ section of NEPA, see U.S. Congress, Senate, *Establishment of a Board of Environmental Quality Advisers*, S 1075, 91st Cong., 1st sess., Oct 8, 1969, vol. 115, pt. 21: 29087. For more about the continuing debates about CEQ responsibilities and functioning over time, see: John Hart, “The National Environmental Policy Act and the Battle for Control of Environmental Policy,” *Journal of Policy History* 31, no. 4 (2019): 464-487.

⁷⁰ U.S. Congress, House, *Council on Environmental Quality, HR 544*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., Sept 23, 1969, vol. 115, pt. 20: 26570.

Latta's 1969 support for the creation of the CEQ, as discussed above, was the first evidence of him supporting an environmental measure, and one of the few policies he supported *without* the correspondence of constituents. Around this time the League of Women Voters in Bowling Green, Ohio asked Latta to vote for various environmental policies. He wrote back advocating for increased clean water funding, "investigating water resource development," and the creation of the CEQ.⁷⁷ Latta also took his vote public in a local newspaper, further declaring his endorsement of increasing clean water funding, despite federal budget problems.⁷⁸ While he was public about proposing new clean water funding before constituents wrote requesting his vote, it is apparent that Latta was in favor of this environmental policy because it would benefit his constituents.

The second pro-environmental decision, federal funding for lakeshore assistance, was the most corresponded about issue in his archival collection. Fluctuating Lake Erie water level in the early 1970s caused intense lakeshore erosion. Residents living on the lake were losing several feet of their property each year. Public beaches were also eroding into the lake. Dozens of constituents along the southern shore of Lake Erie requested that Latta do something to help their plights. They requested a decrease in Lake Erie water levels; some requested a decrease in water levels in all the Great Lakes. Several also requested financial assistance, declaring this a state of natural disaster warranting the release of federal funds. Latta authored the January 1973 House Resolution (HR) 2437 for federal lakeshore assistance in response to this correspondence. In later letters he shared details about the resolution with constituents. He was in constant

⁷⁷ Delbert L. Latta, Letter to Bowling Green League of Women Voters, September 26, 1969, MS 139 – League of Women Voters, Bowling Green, Ohio, Box 5, Folder 8, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University.

⁷⁸ Frank Kane, "Latta Supports Full Water Fund," *Toledo Blade* article, September 8, 1969, MS 139, Box 5, Folder 8, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University; *Fremont News Messenger*, September 9, 1969, MS 139, Box 5, Folder 8, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University.

Non-committal environmental positions

Frequently Latta avoided environmental positions, sending constituent complaints to various agencies, or providing veiled statements of his environmental ethic. Even when speaking in Congress, Latta avoided a strong environmental statement. In the September 23, 1969, meeting of the House of Representatives, when Latta was given 30 minutes to speak, his comments revolved around procedural matters. While he started his statement saying “I agree with all the statements just made” about adopting HR 544 and HR 12549, two precursory resolutions to NEPA, the rest of his statement is without personal values. He raised a jurisdictional issue between House committees to justify the delay in debate. He then declared a few rather dry comments about agency concerns regarding only the CEQ section, as discussed above. Latta’s comments are followed by Representative Madden from Indiana who spoke at length about his previous resolutions and votes. Representative Collier from Illinois spoke after Madden and similarly included his personal and political perspectives.⁹⁰

Latta also circumvented issues and opinions in constituent correspondence. Latta supported the 1971 proposals to dredge the Maumee River, arguably not a pro-environmental decision as dredging can alter the native landscape. The dredging was likely performed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to maintain navigable channels and clear the silt that raises riverbeds. It also helps lower flood risk along the banks, already a high risk in many areas along the Maumee. Several constituents expressed concern about the dredging. Rather than send back a response stating his position on dredging, Latta forwarded concerns to the Army Corps of

⁹⁰ Analysis of these comments is based primarily on the use of the “I” pronoun, but also through examining the relationship between comments, the CEQ proposed resolution, and the other representatives. For example, Collier states, “I would suggest to my good friend [Madden] so that he might straighten out his own thinking on this issue” of funding and taxation. This is a vibrant statement about other people. It is relevant, yet also personal. Latta has no such comments. U.S. Congress, House, *Council on Environmental Quality, HR 544*.

combined to create a surface-level understanding of Latta's private history about the environment. He grew up with a very utilitarian-Boy Scout-esque mindset that he shared with Bob; nature was for recreation and training productive boys and men. Latta instilled a love of the outdoors to his family. His love of place would inform his family experiences and the upbringing of his children. Unfortunately, no other private history was located. That Latta did not have a strong public position on environmental issues complicates placement. In addition, placement is difficult before 1970 because there were few environmental policies on which he could have had a position. NEPA was the launching point for federal environmental policies. Placement became easier in the mid-1970s with the rising environmental policy era. It is a limited methodology for understanding his role in environmental politics if misinterpretation or overstatement is to be avoided.

The benefits of placement are twofold: providing deeper context to understand why a decision was made and in understanding potential future decisions. Latta's consistently inconsistent environmental ethic is confusing. At first glance, it appears he cannot make up his mind on which environmental measures to support and which to sweep away. Placing Latta in the larger context of Republican party values (public history) and his childhood in outdoor recreation and hunting (private history) offers some explanations. He supported many environmental regulations because they were local, and his constituents mattered to him. He voted against other regulations because they would upset his agriculture and industry constituents. Placement gives deeper clarity to Latta's desired balances. Rather than assuming he was uneducated about environmental issues or was against environmental regulation all together, uncovering Latta's personal and public histories reveal his constant struggle to balance constituent interests. The newness of ecology in mainstream environmentalism brings further

explanation and context to his lack of systems thinking; it was not as common of a process or value as it would become later in the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Based on the correspondence and voting history of Latta and his office, his consistently inconsistent environmental votes were a continuity of his legacy of listening to constituents. He often struggled to balance constituent values and his political promises to business and agriculture. Sometimes the most frequent constituents in communication with his D.C. office were agricultural interests, as was the case during the grain elevator managers and the 1977 Air Pollution Control regulations. At other times residents or students were the most frequent writers, such as with the HR 2437 federal flood assistance bill. While not always the case, Latta's votes largely aligned with that which he was asked to support by his correspondence. When there were no constituents writing, he seemed to have voted in accordance with what would benefit his district, which was often in the context of agriculture and industry. Latta did not vocally support any environmental policy when no constituents asked him to propose or support a policy. He did not take the initiative when constituents did not write to him. However, in voting in accordance with one constituent group only, Latta demonstrated the limited field of vision of the state. Externalities and long-term impacts were not considered in his votes. Rather, he focused on the "productionist goal" of pleasing constituents and protecting their interests.⁹⁵ He took on pieces of constituent information and acted on it as if it was the entire system.

This chapter begs for a new framework when thinking about the land and environmental policies. The government wants systems, people, and processes to be manageable. Political officials make decisions on a wide variety of issues, so the simplification that is part of "seeing

⁹⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 264.

like the state” is somewhat necessary. However, nature is a management paradox. It is difficult to manage, so its complex characteristics require it to be simplified in order to begin managing it. Latta simplified nature in his decision making, listening to only one constituent group at a time. This simplification cannot continue. To have effective environmental policies, policymakers and voters need to understand and appreciate the complexities of nature.⁹⁶ The environment continues to experience rapid and unpredictable changes due to anthropocentric climate change. Simplifying the land through the eyes of the state is harmful for ecology. NEPA’s original framework to examine whole natural systems should be recentered as the goal of all environmental policies. Holistic thinking could consider multiple impacts to prevent environmentally harmful projects; increase awareness of long-term environmental impacts; and inspire appreciation for natural processes and the complexities necessary to preserve in the environment.

⁹⁶ Madison Stump, “Redefining Policy Through Fiction,” filmed April 2018 in Bowling Green, Ohio, TEDx video, 10:54, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4D6FCkIQQB4>.

CHAPTER 3. PART OF THE SOLUTION OR CAUSING POLLUTION?: CHANGES IN
 EARTH DAY PRACTICES AT BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY IN THE LATE
 TWENTIETH CENTURY

Bob Stein woke up on the morning of April 1, 1970, in his dorm room at Bowling Green State University in Bowling Green, Ohio. Getting ready for class, Bob walked his shower caddy down the hallway to the shared men’s shower room. He was rudely awoken by a freezing cold shower. Though his peers would aggressively turn the shower noobs hoping for a speck of warm water, Bob knew it was no use trying. As the student chair of the BGSU Environmental Teach-in Committee he was well aware of the kick-off event to the first Earth Day at the university. The Committee had worked with the heating plant to shut off hot water, heat, and any way to warm up food. It was an aggressive awakening for students, meant to highlight the “drastic changes that can be caused by tampering with the living environment.”⁹⁷ This was the start of a 22-day teach-in on the environment, organized by the Environmental Teach-in Committee and co-hosted by BGSU students, professors, and Bowling Green High School students. Throughout the month of April 1970, and particularly on April 22, people across the United States staged the largest environmental gathering in history. The first Earth Day was celebrated in many different ways across the country. Universities were sites of teach-ins, workshops, and marches. Earth Day 1970 was arguably the start of the modern environmental movement.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Lee Stephenson, “A cold shower is part of ecological teach-in,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 1, 1970.

⁹⁸ Other scholars situate the start of the movement with the earlier publication of Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* and the rise of urban housewives being concerned about air quality. Particularly Richard Sellars discusses the origins of the environmental movement in suburbia in *Crabgrass Crucible*. Chad Montrie recognizes the cultural memory of Earth Day and/or *Silent Spring* as the origin of environmental activism, but he challenges that notion by situating working class people in early 20th century environmental activism, *A People’s History of Environmentalism in the United States*. For more about modern environmentalism, see: Armiero and Sedrez, *A History of Environmentalism*; Kline, *First Along the River*.

environmental education, as the first Earth Day did. Earth Day must adapt to the changing ecological circumstances rather than remain a performance and tradition without a purpose.

Many of the previous studies of Earth Day are surface-level analyses of the event, crediting it as the launching point of the modern environmental movement. When Earth Day is discussed in a work of environmental history, it is often in passing or without regard to the long-term implications or changes in Earth Day celebrations over time. Historians such as Richard Sellars and Adam Rome briefly describe how Earth Day was the start of modern environmentalism.¹⁰¹ Andrew Kirk adds a bit more depth by explaining how Earth Day increased membership in environmental organizations and lobbying.¹⁰² However, the history of Earth Day and education-based activism is slim. Rome is the leading scholar and his monograph *The Genius of Earth Day* is the only publication solely focused on the history of Earth Day.¹⁰³ Because it is such an influential moment in institutional and personal environmental change, understanding Earth Day scholarship is necessary to navigate its changing role over time.

Research in university and local archives seeks to accomplish two main tasks in this chapter: reconstruct the first Earth Day at BGSU and examine the changes in Earth Day practices over time. Drawing upon these sources, the narrative that follows uses cultural and social theories to depict who organized, spoke, and participated in BGSU's Earth Day events. It also draws upon performance theory to describe how continuing Earth Day remains a tradition with no strong environmental values. This research is heavily based on local archival research due to the limited secondary sources of Earth Day history. The chapter seeks to address the following

¹⁰¹ Sellars, *Crabgrass Crucible*; Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰² Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007): 100-101.

¹⁰³ Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*; Adam Rome, "The Genius of Earth Day," *Environmental History* 15 (2010): 194-205.

schools, and communities follow in declaring their support for environmental activism. It secondarily argues that the technology to practice Earth Day has shifted from teach-ins to social media/digital technologies. The university had multiple evolutions in how it celebrated Earth Day. Shifts often occurred even within a few years, suggesting that leadership in student organizations may also have played a role in changing priorities. However, the major changes occurred with the inclusion of technology in classrooms and daily life. Once communications technology became a widespread educational tool, Earth Day was no longer necessary to create informed citizens. The internet, social media, and virtual activities replaced the need for teach-ins and live speakers to keep students updated on relevant scholarship. Even before the inclusion of technology into higher education spaces, the practice of Earth Day continued because of the initial positive impact from the first teach-ins. Subsequent Earth Days did not create long-term change, but it remains part of university and environmentalism cultures because of its use as performance tradition. Earth Day is used as an individual’s or institution’s public declaration that they care about nature.

BGSU Earth Day 1970s

Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson had always been politically engaged in environmental issues, but the late-1960s environmentalism and Vietnam War teach-ins inspired him to launch a campaign for a nationwide day of environmental education.¹⁰⁷ Nelson organized Environmental Teach-In, Inc. when he could not do all the work himself. He hired several young people to staff

¹⁰⁷ Many scholars agree that the environmental movement started before Earth Day, though Nelson’s vision, manifesting as Earth Day, may have been the start of environmentalism at the national scale. Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* and Paul Ehrlich’s *The Population Bomb* were two of the most influential texts in starting large-scale concern for nature: Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968). For more about modern environmentalism, see: Sellars, *Crabgrass Crucible*; Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*; J.E. de Steiguer, *The Origins of Modern Environmental Thought* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); Keith Makato Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

the office in DC, which was intended as a communication hub for all things Earth Day. It was not intended to be the sole party responsible for Earth Day. The teach-ins were organized by people living in the communities hosting the events. Earth Day was as successful as it was because of Nelson's vision of grassroots organizing around the theme of hope for the future health of the environment.¹⁰⁸

BGSU celebrated Earth Day in ways similar to many of the hundreds of participating universities. The University of Michigan held a multi-day teach-in in March of 1970, featuring Michigan Governor William Milliken, environmentalist Barry Commoner, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and more.¹⁰⁹ The University of Alaska at Fairbanks hosted a federal geologist, US Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, and a Stanford University environmentalist to share a panel on the contemporary pipeline debate. Pennsylvania State University held weekly seminars in early 1970 in addition to a music festival, films, exhibits, speakers, games, panels, and more.¹¹⁰ While each community had its unique set of activities, all centered around educating the public on environmental problems.

The BGSU Environmental Teach-in Committee was instrumental in organizing 22 days of educational, recreational, and leisurely activities for the university community. This committee was composed of BGSU undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, and staff. They contributed to creating spaces for environmentally conscious people to gather, hosting speakers, concerts, interdisciplinary panels, documentary screenings, waste treatment facility tours, and debates.¹¹¹ Speakers represented nearly every area of society, including

¹⁰⁸ Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 58.

¹⁰⁹ ENACT, "Teach-In on the Environment" Advertisement, *Michigan Daily* (Ann Arbor, Michigan), March 10, 1970.

¹¹⁰ Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 135-140, 156.

¹¹¹ "Teach-in schedule" bulletin in *BG News*; April 3, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17, & 22, 1970.

may have been due to the change in student staff. As staff changed, priorities of reporting may have also changed, particularly if there were more pressing campus or national concerns. The newspaper frequently contained sections on national news, international events, and student athletics. These likely reflected the interests of the audience, mainly BGSU students. Thus, it can be implied that BGSU students had less of an interest in Earth Day as time went on, particularly in years when there was no major national environmental disaster. However, a lack of Earth Day events after 1970 would not be an anomaly; as Earth Day lost its excitement and the original infrastructure was not designed to host an annual event.

BGSU Earth Day 1980s

The decade following the first Earth Day demonstrates the legacy of the first environmental teach-ins in the creation of “eco-infrastructure” to continue environmental conversations on college campuses, though not limited to Earth Day.¹²³ One key eco-infrastructure at BGSU was the creation of the Environmental Interest Group (EIG), a student organization created to spread knowledge of environmental problems and foster engaged students. Sometime between 1989 and 1993 the Environmental Interest Group would be renamed the Environmental Action Group (EAG) because students wanted a more action-oriented environmental movement on campus.¹²⁴ Because of the eco-infrastructure as a legacy of the first Earth Day, the key characteristic of 1980s Earth Day was student-sponsored activities centered on contemporarily relevant environmental issues. Unfortunately, this meant that the university no

¹²³ In describing the legacies of the first Earth Day Rome states that “the post-Earth Day eco-infrastructure gave the environmental movement staying power,” *The Genius of Earth Day*, 210.

¹²⁴ EIG appears in the 1989 version of *The Ecophile* magazine and EAG first appears in the 1993 publication. There are no archived publications between those years, so it is unclear exactly when students changed the name. “The Ecophile,” Oct 1989, pUA 1736, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University; “The Ecophile,” Oct 1993, pUA 1736, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University.

scientific concerns. It featured several local speakers: Steve Pollick, outdoor editor of *The Toledo Blade* newspaper; Rex Lower, BGSU biology professor; and Jane Forsythe, BGSU geology professor.¹²⁹ These speakers localized environmental problems, making Earth Day relevant for BGSU students and their education. They also highlight how student interest fostered support for political activism by equipping peers with science to support their activism.

While not directly connected, it is likely that the political education at BGSU's 1980s Earth Day was inspired by national environmental politics early in the decade. The decade started with a series of U.S. Supreme Court cases in 1980: protecting Alaska federally owned lands from development, the passing of the Superfund Act to clean up contaminated zones, and the height of the Love Canal disaster.¹³⁰ With the inclusion of biology and geology faculty, BGSU's Earth Day might reflect changes in national environmental politics. The Superfund Act was a stark change in environmentalism from conservation and resource preservation to toxic and hazardous waste disposal. Superfund changed the public's perceptions of polluting industries and their responsibility to mitigation and clean up. However BGSU had a stronger focus on environmental science broadly than pollution specifically.

In the last few years of the 1980s, BGSU connected activism to relevant national environmental problems. The inclusion of marine animal exhibits in the 1987 Earth Day educational fair was one way for EIG and the marine biology lab to reach beyond local

¹²⁹ Owen Fleming, "Environmental group seeks awareness," *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 25, 1984.

¹³⁰ Love Canal, New York is a suburb of the Niagara Falls area. It was the site of a devastating environmental disaster in the 1970s and 1980s. Toxics and chemical companies were using the area for industrial waste disposal. Community members raised concerns to the EPA in the late 1970s after children were getting sick and toxic waste drums were surfacing at parks and schools. After years of fighting with the state, birth defects, childhood health problems, and expensive lawsuits, the Superfund Act was passed, and the federal government demolished the neighborhood and cleaned the area. The clean-up ended in 2004, almost 35 years after concerns were first raised. For a comprehensive history of the Love Canal disaster and its role in environmental and environmental justice activism, see: Richard S. Newman, *Love Canal: A Toxic History from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

National Park, to speak about the preservation of ANWR wildlife.¹³⁵ This connected BGSU students to the national movement to protect ANWR from oil and gas development, an environmental issue that would circle back in 21st century BGSU environmental studies courses as the Trump administration tried to reopen ANWR to energy development.

BGSU Earth Day 1990s

The 1990s were a particularly busy decade for Earth Day at BGSU. Besides hosting a total of 21 speakers, students organized a large variety of activities for their peers and community members. This decade had the largest number of years with concerts and outdoor educational. There was also at least one speaker every year of the decade, something that did not happen any other decade. Though EIG remained the primary organizing group, there were new organizing groups and departments involved. Like in 1970, speakers represented all categories of academia, politics, industry, and more.

The depth and breadth of BGSU Earth Day matched the national environmentalism trends as the 1990s were a busy time for environmental decision making. The decade started with the United Nations first report on global climate change, recommending a reduction in global CO₂ emissions. The Earth Summit in Brazil was held in 1992, increasing awareness and global collaboration in environmental technology, forest preservation, climate change, and biological diversity. In 1994, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) published its first report on the dangerously increasing greenhouse gas concentrations.¹³⁶ In 1995, after an extended period of scientific study, native wolves were reintroduced to

¹³⁵ “Earth Day 1988, ‘Celebrate Your Earth,’ *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 20, 1988.

¹³⁶ J.T. Houghton, et al., eds, “Climate Change 1994,” published for the International Panel on Climate Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

educational fair, but it also does not appear to have had a lasting impact or connection to contemporary environmental events as other years did.

The momentum of Earth Day snowballed as the decade pushed onward, though it looked and felt slightly different from the 1970 teach-ins. In 1992 the university shifted in its Earth Day practices, both in scope and focus. The University Activities Organization sponsored activist Bob Reiss of the Rainforest Alliance to speak on campus.¹⁴² This was the first and last time a non-environmental group was involved in organizing Earth Day. That same year EAG hosted a residence hall trash clean-up. Several environmental studies faculty members credited technology for this shift in the intention and impact of Earth Day.¹⁴³ Technology made information more accessible than ever before. While students and the public may have been concerned about environmental issues, technology made mass education unnecessary and redundant. Time was apparently best spent together cleaning or celebrating unique environments rather than learning about a variety of topics from a diverse array of speakers.

Despite technology making mass teach-ins redundant, the remaining years of the 1990s were active on campus. The first speaker series of the decade in 1991 was “a global warming teleconference with the Mendeleev School of Technology in Moscow.”¹⁴⁴ This workshop featured several speakers and was a collaborative effort. It also demonstrates the power of technology in connecting people across space for environmental conversations. With technology as the “bad actors” in so many environmental discussions, BGSU utilized technology in a meaningful and productive manner to show students the power and potential of international climate work. In 1993, EAG hosted the first ever student activist when Kim Maxwell, student

¹⁴² “If you are not part of the solution,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 20, 1992.

¹⁴³ Christy Vargo, “Faculty comment on activists,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 21, 1992.

¹⁴⁴ Greg Watson, “Activities planned for BG Earth Day,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 17, 1991.

one of the “Office of Sustainability interns did most of the [Earth Day eco-fair’s] planning.”¹⁵⁴ While EAG was still involved in Earth Day, their role was mostly to be present at the eco-fair events as an information booth, not as the main organizing party. They no longer planned speakers or activities beyond their regular weekly meetings. Perhaps this explains why students and the university newspaper expressed less interest in Earth Day: the student role and buy-in was minimal.

As Earth Day began to lose its institutional value, there were a few active years in the early twenty first century. Students organized a documentary screening, a panel, and a recycling clean-up in 2008, but the topics were limited. Mike Tamor, fuel cell researcher at Ford Motor Company, was the featured speaker.¹⁵⁵ He was the only speaker that year, demonstrating that BGSU was still not committed to hosting diverse interests and perspectives on Earth Day. There were two weeks of events in 2012, including a restore event of used clothing and items, a live tree giveaway, music, artwork, tree plantings, campus service events, and documentary showings. The campus Outdoor Programs co-sponsored a park clean-up event with the city naturalists to remove invasive species.¹⁵⁶ Similar events happened in 2017, though the advertising and campus newspaper coverage decreased.

National environmental events may again have influenced the sporadic rise in Earth Day interest, though the relevant environmental problems did not feature in BGSU Earth Day rhetoric or planning. The rise of fracking may have influenced 2012 activities, but no campus event was focused on energy or natural gas. In the fall of 2016, there were campus-wide peace protests opposing the development of a natural gas pipeline just north of the city, but these were not

¹⁵⁴ Keefe Watson, “Eco-Fair attracts organizations from NW OH,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 19, 2018.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ BG News Staff, “Earth Week,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 23, 2012.

directly connected to Earth Day.¹⁵⁷ The rise of activities in 2017 may have coincided with contemporary environmental politics, particularly the rollback of environmental policies and EPA power by the Trump administration. If this were the case, however, students would have demonstrated their interest in environmental politics by hosting events and presentations about policies and public lands. While it is possible that contemporary environmental events influenced BGSU student participation and planning of Earth Day in the early twenty first century, there was not as much of an intense relationship between Earth Day activities and relevant environmental problems as there was in previous decades. Earth Day still happened because of its legacy and public position as a time to declare support for the environment.

BGSU Earth Day 2020

Earth Day in April 2020 was a particularly unique case demonstrating the benefits of technology to environmental activism. In mid-March, BGSU locked its physical doors and transitioned to virtual learning for the next year and a half. The COVID-19 global pandemic shut down many universities after March spring breaks. Due to the pandemic, Earth Day in 2020 was largely a virtual event across the United States.

The BGSU Office of Campus Sustainability hosted several virtual Earth Day activities in April. The activities were created, organized, and managed by Dr. Nick Hennessy, director of Campus Sustainability; undergraduate interns Adam Smith and Jacob Kern; and graduate intern Christina Deehr. They created a virtual bingo card that students could complete on their path to living a more sustainable lifestyle. Such activities included creatively reusing a piece of trash, nature journaling, going electricity free, and biking for transportation. They encouraged

¹⁵⁷ David Dupont, "BGSU students urge Mazey and trustees to oppose Nexus pipeline," *BG Independent* (Bowling Green, OH), Nov 14, 2016.

participation via a social media campaign and the hashtag #BGSUsustainability.¹⁵⁸ Campus Sustainability also hosted a social media competition to encourage green behaviors. Intended to raise awareness of how easy it is to live sustainably, unfortunately the Campus Sustainability social media campaigns had low participation.¹⁵⁹ The explanation for low participation can only be speculated, but it was possible that the new societal changes at the beginning of a stressful pandemic distracted BGSU from environmental activism. This low engagement also shows the lack of inherent value people scribe to Earth Day.

While Earth Day 2020 was not the most successful or well-visited day of environmental activism at BGSU, it would not have been possible without growing technology and social media. The activities at the very least kept students engaged with Campus Sustainability, even if it did not engage *more* students or attract *new* students to the sustainability movement. It is also another example of the university not valuing Earth Day beyond performing its public-facing environmental values.

Conclusion

The BGSU Environmental Teach-in Committee organized a robust set of activities in 1970 for community education. They invited speakers from around the nation, starting the 22-day teach-in with a speech from Ralph Nader and culminating with a standing-room-only presentation by Dr. Paul Ehrlich, one of the inspirations for environmental teach-ins. They engaged in direct activism by shutting off hot water and heat to campus dormitories. They featured the teach-in logo proposed, but never utilized nationally, by three students. The 1970s activities were novel, exciting ways to inspire a generation of environmental activists.

¹⁵⁸ BGSU Sustainability, “Happy Earth Day!” Facebook, April 22, 2020, <https://m.facebook.com/GreenBGSU/>.

¹⁵⁹ Personal communication, Adam Smith.

Participation in organizing Earth Day 1970 had a lasting impact on some of the student's lives. Lee Stephenson, managing editor of the *BG News* in 1970 and a member of the original teach-in committee, continued to work in environmental activism for much of his career. He has been an editor of *Environmental Action* magazine, a communication manager for park preservation organizations, a consultant at an international resource management and marketing firm, and more.¹⁶⁰ Greg Thatch, 1970 undergraduate student body president, continued his career in activism by starting a California-based law office in 1977, specializing in “land use, real estate, and environmental and public agency matters.”¹⁶¹ He is recognized nationally for his involvement in major federal environmental policies including the Clean Air Act, National Environmental Policy Act, and state and federal endangered species acts. He also served on the Bowling Green State University Foundation Board in the early 2010s.

The general trend from 1970-2020 in BGSU's Earth Day practices is one of increased student organization responsibility, fewer funded events, fewer speakers, and less of a focus on environmental education. While Earth Day still featured speakers to teach about their area of expertise, attendees in the twenty first century were often already knowledgeable or attended for extra credit. Few came away with more passion or a drive for activism. As environmental studies professor Dr. Holly Myers stated in 2008, “Earth Day seems as if it is a part of the [university and environmentalism] culture, but [is no longer] a day for learning.”¹⁶² This declaration remains true through to 2020 Earth Day; Earth Day is a performance tradition, removed from its original context and intent, yet continued because of its cultural tradition.

¹⁶⁰ “Lee D. Stephenson CV,” Moongate Associates, <https://www.moongateassociates.com/Home.html>, accessed Apr 13, 2023.

¹⁶¹ Law Offices of Gregory D. Thatch, <http://www.thatchlaw.com/Thatch.html>, accessed Apr 13, 2023.

¹⁶² Brittany Roderick, “Highlighting the history of Earth Day,” *BG News* (Bowling Green, OH), April 22, 2008.

Digital technologies were an important driving force in this shift. The internet made grassroots activism much more national, and Earth Day has been no exception. The internet also removed the need for an entire day dedicated to environmental education, as people have access to more information at the tips of their fingers every day. The purpose of Earth Day, to create informed and environmentally minded citizens, was no longer necessary because of technology. While the intention of twenty first century Earth Day organizers is not apparent, changes in how Earth Day was practiced at BGSU suggest that technology rapidly changed the mindset of using education to create informed citizens. This digital technology was a different type of tool than the 1970s teach-ins for performing the ritual of Earth Day.

Earth Day has become a ritualistic practice, continually observed because it once created a vibrant community culture of environmental education. The natural world in the 1970s was tumultuous. The Cuyahoga River was on fire, smog blanketed city skylines, water was unclean, and major lakes were polluted. Earth Day filled the need to educate the public about environmental stewardship. As more people became environmentally educated, the need for a day (or week or month) of ecological teach-ins became obsolete. However, Earth Day remained a ritual every April, though without the same intentionality and purpose. The twenty-first century is an environmentally tumultuous time once again as anthropogenic climate change brings rapid change and uncertainty. Earth Day has the potential to mimic the power of its 1970 origin, but it must be adapted to twenty-first century environmental contexts. Maintaining the same performance as contexts change is a disservice to Earth Day founders and the environment at large. Ritual without questioning its potential for change, especially in the case of Earth Day and its change-making abilities from 1970, prevents forward movement and environmental change.

Human-nature relationships are changing and so must the tools to foster environmentally minded citizens.

CONCLUSION. AN INCOMPLETE REFLECTION ON BOUNDARIES, FLUIDITY, AND SEMANTIC ECOTONES

As much as the utilitarian use of resources contributed to Bowling Green and Great Black Swamp history, so did the deep affection of the people for this place. This affection that translates into actions to conserve and then restore this piece of swampy forest and prairies. Affection and love of place are hard to document. There is little that is explicit in the historical documents, and certainly this reading is subject to the risks of romanticization. The long resistance of the Ottawa and Wyandot to their removal, and their deep mourning to the loss of their ancestral territory in the Black Swamp, speak of their love for the land. This love was nurtured by a deep understanding of the uses of the gifts of nature, and an ethical commitment to honor the gift. Fort Meigs soldiers created a home in a terrifying and challenging landscape. Twentieth century northwest Ohio residents wrote representatives to protect their land-based ways of life through lakeshore, forestry, and agricultural policies. The BGSU community continues to celebrate Earth Day as a legacy to 1970 and environmental stewardship. People continue to find solace and healing in places such as Wintergarden Park. Some residents use the natural spaces to remember passed loved ones or reconnect with their deeper selves.

The value of the swamplands in the Bowling Green community did not just start with the creation of the preserve. Since the reporting of the “big crow rookery” in 1905, people have been inspired by the woods to listen and learn from the land and its inhabitants. Birding has been a particularly favorite activity of many Wintergarden visitors over the last several decades.¹⁶³ Community support for the land became reaffirmed with the creation of Wintergarden Park, the hiring of permanent staff, and generations of volunteers who have substantially cut down on

¹⁶³ Stutzman, oral history interview with author.

invasive species, executed prescribed burns, and seeded and planted the meadows. The space is also commonly used for hiking, walking dogs, running, or experiencing the storybook trails the park staff create to engage young visitors.

It is a fitting finale to this narrative that the community also came back to the park in spring/summer 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic. A public history project by a group of BGSU graduate students shared the history of Wintergarden Park, with a focus on St. John's Woods and the conversion of swampland to agriculture. The project ultimately acquired a different meaning in the context of an isolating global pandemic: it reminded the community that the former swamplands are a site for healing and care for each other, and love for the space that has brought so many people together in the long history of Bowling Green.

In his 2020 oral history interview, Chris Gajewicz recalls a recent Facebook post asking "What is it that makes Bowling Green special to you?" And Wintergarden Park was reeled off I can't even tell you how many times... Now, it's a random survey... but the ultimate end point for me is that this is an incredibly important place because we've managed it in a way to make it accessible and available so that people can all come here and feel that they're a part of it." Wintergarden Park, a culminating, celebrated space of Great Black Swamp nostalgia, is a place where all community members are welcome. Young students and volunteers venture the park to see the lupine plants growing from the seeds they sprinkled, or the garlic mustard they removed. Those young people "feel a sense of pride and ownership in the environment." To sustain the swamp identity and pride, Chris believes people living in the former swamplands have to understand that they "can't live without this;" the restored wetlands and wildflower prairies contribute to environmental and community protection.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Gajewicz, oral history interview with author, February 2020.

Additional visitors to Wintergarden have found solace and purpose in their interactions with the natural world. Gajewicz also recalls experiences watching visitors outside his office window.

I came across a man who had severe PTSD because his daughter had been killed in a car accident. It was about a year prior to that, and he was just laying down with his head like face down on the trail with his hands over the back of his head, like just kind of cowering. I went out and sat and talked with him and it turned out that [inaudible] flight helicopter flew over going to the hospital, and that's the last thing he saw when his daughter was taken away from the crash scene. And so, people come here for lots of reasons. And my job isn't just to be the nature guy, but also, 'Hey, I'm here to help you. If you need help with something, let's sit down and talk.' And I sat with him until he calmed down, and I said, 'I need to let you know the police are on their way, but they're just here to check. That's all they're coming for.' He's like, 'I'm feeling a lot better. Thank you so much for just listening.' If that's all it takes, and that guy will always come to this park. He loves it here. I'm sure he's been here since, and he'll continue to come here as long as he can. It's the same with kids. I mean, this is their park. This is their place. It's the same with young adults. It's one of the reasons why people want to move to Bowling Green. I know a woman that her husband was relocated to BGSU, and he had a couple of offers from different universities. And she came here, and he really wanted to come here. She goes, 'Let me check it out.' She goes, 'The only reason I'm saying yes is because Wintergarden Park is right around from her house.'¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Gajewicz, oral history interview with author, February 2020.

These moving narratives of finding a sense of comfort and home in the restored wetlands environments are not unique to Bowling Green or Wintergarden Park visitors. Contemporary visitors to Fort Meigs feel the comfort of the environment within the fort walls. Northwest Ohio farmers took pride in their agricultural identity, and the base of that being from the draining of the Great Black Swamp, by contacting Representative Latta to advocate on their behalf. BGSU students felt the comfort of an environmentally active community when they participated in Earth Day activities.

There were several major changes in the Great Black Swamp over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that contributed to a sense of community. Many of these monumental changes were more rooted in a change in how inhabitants of northwest Ohio utilized the land, though some of the changes were about how they transformed the land. Military battalions traversed the Great Black Swamp and settled on the banks of the Maumee River to defend Fort Meigs. They created a heterotopia of environments, forming their identity as patriotic men protecting their homelands. Twentieth century agriculturalists rallied around their identity as Black Swamp farmers to write Representative Latta to support agricultural legislation. Young people and Lake Erie shoreline residents wrote to Latta asking him to prevent further coastal erosion. They, unknowingly, used their identities as people living in a former swampland as motivation for political activity. College students raised awareness for ecosystem destruction and environmental pollution at more than fifty years of Earth Day events on campus. While from all over the country, these students unified in the protection of the swamplands where they lived and learned.

The affective relationships in the Great Black Swamp are connected to a sense of nostalgia for place. These connections build on each other with affective ties creating a sense of

nostalgia and vice versa. As early as the 1880s, Bowling Green residents felt nostalgic for the swampland.¹⁶⁶ They were nostalgic for the loss of swamp and for what is required to keep the swamp drained: a sort of mourning for the change in labor on the land. Earth Day, less than one hundred years later, incorporated a similar nostalgia, pride, and knowledge that the swampland is a constant maintenance project. Wintergarden Park is a continuing example of the nostalgic love of place as residents come together to discuss and reminisce about the farms and homesteads surrounding the land. Emotions and affective connections like nostalgia may be the connecting thread that influences community place/space-based identity and activism. Humanities fields such as film studies and literary analysis have studied nostalgia and the mind-changing impacts of entertainment.¹⁶⁷ A similar lens brought to environmental history will not only increase the interdisciplinarity of the field, but it may bring greater clarity as to why communities have united to protect damaged landscapes.

The Great Black Swamp ethic of community and care has existed since time immemorial, though it has undergone transformations. Because the landscape has been altered so much over time and the resulting environmental problems of those transformations, the communities in the Great Black Swamp have reclaimed the identity of swamplands. They supported, and continue to support, measures of conservation and preservation of intact swamp ecosystems, even if the patchworks of swampland are small. Reclaiming the otherwise negative connotation of a swampland community, the people of the former Great Black Swamp have rallied around the swamp identity and have been successful in protecting urban parks, historic sites, protective

¹⁶⁶ Charles W. Evers, *Pioneer Scrap-book of Wood County, Ohio and the Maumee Valley* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2002).

¹⁶⁷ Dora Apel, *Calling Memory into Place* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2020); Christina Lee, *Violating Time: History, Memory, and Nostalgia in Cinema* (New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008).

policies, and their unique sense of unity in space and place. They have reframed the swamp to be a positive force of social and environmental change, becoming a model for other small towns across Ohio.

As Gajewicz recalls about the community involvement in Wintergarden Park history: “people really, really love this place, and I'm very humble that I had a hand in it because I'm only one of many, many people that had a hand in this place, without the many community members and university students who I consider community members as well. And kids who have done their Eagle Scout projects or scout groups that have come and pulled out that g*****n garlic mustard and just continue to do so as we move into the future. I'll tell you; I mean, it really is a community effort to make this place what it is.”¹⁶⁸ The Great Black Swamp has always been a place made by and for the people of the swamp.

As Kathleen Dean Moore put it:

“What we need next is a new ethic — call it an ‘ecological ethic of care,’ call it a ‘moral ecology.’ It’s an ethic built on caring for people and caring for places, and on the intricate and beautiful ways that love for places and love for people nurture each other and sustain us all.”¹⁶⁹

This thesis argues that there has always been an ethic of community and the Great Black Swamp region, though one sometimes permeated by utilitarianism. This ethic of care stemmed and still stems from the affection of the community for the Great Black Swamp. Affects build a unique swampland ethos. That ethos emerged, in the early nineteenth century, from a sense of fear, danger, and challenge in the swamp. The space was used as military community, othering the outside wild landscape. By the late nineteenth century a progressivist narrative of conquering the

¹⁶⁸ Gajewicz, oral history interview with author, February 2020.

¹⁶⁹ Moore, *The Pine Island Paradox*, 65.

swamp took hold.¹⁷⁰ Nostalgia dominated the tone in the twentieth century and helped shape a sense of swamp-place that further shaped the views of the emerging urban conservation movements, political activism, and students rallying to improve environmental quality in the Lake Erie basin.¹⁷¹ While the specific type of community identity changed over time, all the moments in time examined in this thesis have the uniting theme of using the environment to create unity and community.

As we face unprecedented challenges due to global climate change, this swamp ethos must adapt to a changing environment. Practicing the same stewardship and policies without examining shifting systems will not do the same good as it did in the past. Understanding the environmental history of the region should inform actions moving forward. If we are to maintain affective connections to natural spaces, we must understand how one action, decision, or belief impacts all aspects of the system. Nature is complex. It takes collaboration, trust, and teamwork to support and restore human-nature relationships amidst the rising uncertainty and anxiety of anthropogenic climate change.

Previous definitions and ways of seeing swamplands (and, by extension, other types of geo-biologically defined landscapes) do not work anymore. A new definition is needed that places humans within the system. Like a swamp ecosystem, this conceptualization is messy and complex. They are liminal and have been altered since time immemorial. Swamplands are their own type of ecotone: a boundary ecosystem between two different types of space. There is no dichotomy between human-intervened and natural landscapes. Nearly every part of the world

¹⁷⁰ For an extended history of the nineteenth century swamp, see: Dana Bogart, "'My Great Terror, the Black Swamp' Northwest Ohio's Environmental Borderland," MA thesis, (Miami University, 2015).

¹⁷¹ Further examples of the swampland nostalgia can be found in publications throughout the twentieth century: Good, *Black Swamp Farm; The Story of the Black Swamp*, documentary; Carolyn V. Platt, "The Great Black Swamp," *Timeline: A Publication of the Ohio Historical Society*, 1987; and historic newspapers.

today has been intervened by humans. The Great Black Swamp is the result of centuries of curation by indigenous people. Wintergarden Park cannot be frozen in time. It was altered before European contact, and it will continue to be altered by human and non-human forces. By considering landscapes worth protecting as those with little to no human intervention distances humans from nature. Demuth, placing humans within the Bering Strait ecosystem, has come the closest to the type of environmental history we need today. We must examine humans as capable of causing large-scale environmental change, yet also as effected by that change. Perhaps the best framework to examine this complexity is by looking at the world as a swampland. Robert Melnick proposed the idea of a semantic ecotone as a framework for examining landscapes. A semantic ecotone is a “set of variable conditions [of nature and culture] rather than a fixed position.”¹⁷² Swamplands are variable landscapes, in ecosystem and human relationship contexts. Environmental history including an aspect of stability and time would add a dimension necessary to understand how we got to our current global environmental condition and equip people with the tools to frame the entirety of the environment and culture’s complex, messy relationship to it.

¹⁷² Robert Z. Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Land Preservation,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, edited by Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, 22-44 (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2000).

- Armiero, Marco and Lise Sedrez. *A History of Environmentalism: Local Struggles, Global Histories*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Baldwin, Pamela, and M. Lynne Corn. "Oil and Gas Leasing in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR): The 2,000-Acre Limit." In *Arctic Natural Resources*, 47-56, Brian D. Raney, ed. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2010.
- Bogart, Dana. "'My Great Terror, the Black Swamp' Northwest Ohio's Environmental Borderland." MA thesis. Miami University, 2015.
- Brady, MJ. "The flexible heterotopia: Indian residential schools and the Canadian Museum of Civilization." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 19, no. 4 (2013): 408-420.
- Caldwell, Lynton Keith. *The National Environmental Policy Act: An Agenda for the Future*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Carpenter, Roger M. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Huron and the Iroquois, 1609-1650*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2004.
- Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York, NY: W.W. North & Company, 2009.
- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. 20th ed. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2003.
- Cronon, William. "Reading the Palimpsest." In *Discovering the Chesapeake: the history of an ecosystem*, edited by Philip D. Curtin, Grace Somers Brush, and George Wescott Fisher, 355-73. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Cunfer, Geoff and Bill Waiser, editors. *Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2016.
- DeLucia, Christine. "Fugitive Collections in New England Indian Country: Indigenous Material Culture and Early American History Making at Ezra Stiles's Yale Museum." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75: 1 (2018): 109-150.
- Demuth, Bathsheba. *The Floating Coast: An Environmental History of the Bering Strait*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2019.
- de Steiguer, J.E. *The Origins of Modern Environmental Thought*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006.

