



Fig. 1. Edward Burtynsky, *Oxford Tire Pile #8*, 1999.

THE MIRROR OF OUR NATURE: EDWARD BURTYNSKY'S IMAGES OF THE ANTHROPOCENE

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*I've looked at clouds from both sides now
From up and down and still somehow
It's cloud's illusions I recall
I really don't know clouds at all.*

—Joni Mitchell, *Both Sides Now*, 1969

Do *you* know the clouds? Do you see those masses on the horizon threatening to overshadow our lives? Of course you do. No need to gaze skyward—look down: you're wearing shorts, yet it's almost Halloween, and you're in New York City. And lower: while sipping a cappuccino on holiday in Piazza San Marco, water kisses your toes. Or you gaze out the kitchen window and groan, as the ice rink you so carefully crafted for your kids is becoming a wading pool, but it's February, just outside Toronto. And you check your cell phone—everywhere—and social media's relentless reports of the debasement of our biosphere tell you that this year will again be the warmest on record, and—Yikes!—another glacier shelf broke off and is melting. We're not at that home on that range any more where cowboys warbled “the skies are not cloudy all day.”

So you probably also know that these clouds of wacky weather are just the most immediately perceptible disruption of that aspect of the world formerly differentiated as “nature.” The scientific shorthand term explaining the source of these changes, “Anthropocene,” designates the geological epoch in which we are living. Succeeding the Holocene, it is conceived as being the period when humans became agents of ecological destabilization. Our disproportionate impact on atmospheric, biological, geological and marine systems have skewed their harmonic convergences. As Duke University law professor Jedediah Purdy flatly stated, “Ideas about natural ecological equilibrium are gone. So are older fantasies, also rooted in

ideas of nature, to the effect that the world was made to foster economic wealth and development.”¹ Did our interventions start 5,000 years ago with rising levels of methane concomitant with agricultural cultivation? Or during the Renaissance's development of international trade? Or with the British Industrial Revolution? Or following as a consequence of the worldwide economic acceleration following the recovery from the Second World War? Take your pick—among those who are concerned, the nineteenth-century onset of factory mechanization is the most frequently named culprit, but the dangerous surge of the ‘greenhouse gases’ (chiefly carbon dioxide and methane) in the atmosphere began in the late 1950s.

Well, then, why do we need artists to respond to this incipient apocalypse? Because for most of us, it's cloud's illusions that we recall: “things aren't really that bad;” geoengineering or some yet to be discovered technological feat will fix this wicked problem; scientists will be the saviours—or if you are really delusional, politicians will take care of it—and these clouds too will pass by like yesterday's hurricane. Because as the seas rise, it's all hands on deck. Because artists remind us that the new normal is not natural, and their art works in ways that go deeper than the cognitive—to the affective. Art's productive ambiguity—operating even in photography's ostensible ‘realism’—draws us in, to engage and visually and imaginatively look below the surface to its latent evocations.

Edward Burtynsky's tour of the unnatural wonders of the Anthropocene entice us to his documentations by a pictorial camouflage of gorgeous hues and painting-like abstracted forms. His intrepid traversing of the world, augmented by technical virtuosity, is directed by an adroit imagination that stimulates our own. As art theorist György Kepes wrote in 1972, “Without an ecological conscience, we have very little hope for change. But our imaginative powers, as well as our moral intelligence, can help us find this consciousness.”²

The Environmental Protection Agency formally declared on Monday that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases constitute a threat to human health and welfare...The declaration—known as an “endangerment finding”—is a necessary precondition under the Clean Air Act to regulatory action.

—The New York Times, Editorial, December 7, 2009

It was about time. Well before the United States government acknowledged the deleterious effects of fossil fuel use, deforestation, intensive livestock farming, synthetic fertilizers and the acidification and warming of oceans, and prior to atmospheric chemist and Nobel Prize laureate Paul Crutzen’s influential proposal in 2000 to designate the modern era as the Anthropocene, artists with cameras had been finding environmental endangerments consequent to humans’ dominance. By that time the peripatetic Canadian had been photographing disturbed landscapes for more than a decade; one of Burtynsky’s most stark images was shot in 1999 in California’s central valley at a massive hoard of busted automobile tires (*Oxford Tire Pile #8, Westley, California*, 1999). [Fig. 1] Close up, two mountains of jumbled black/gray arcs of rubber, evoking excessive consumption and the burden of garbage, are separated as if Moses parted the sea. The narrow chasm between them ends at a constricted patch of countryside, a distant, verdant, paradise gone.

The issue of balance in ecologies, a branch of biological research that studies interactions between organisms and environment, had entered cultural consciousness in the 1960s, sparked by the biologist/journalist Rachel Carson’s indictment of the dangers of synthetic pesticides in her mournfully titled *Silent Spring* (1962). Her exposé of toxins released into water and air and found in soil and living things galvanized the transformation of the nineteenth-century practice of genteel conservation of wilderness parcels into protectionist and politicized environmentalism. That transition propelled the trajectory of photography of environments from a yearning for “mother earth” and fearing “forces of nature” to an unmasking skepticism questioning our proper relation to other agents in biodiverse ecosystems.

That change in the representation of nature in photography is exemplified in two pictorial publications by the heritage preservationist organization Sierra Club. Just a few months after *Silent Spring* appeared, the conservation group’s support of a new approach to fine art photography of nature also contributed to the heightening of public consciousness. The album merged the traditional maneuver engendering affiliation, the reverential, with the then-unusual use in fine art photographic prints of chromatic vibrancy. Eliot Porter, an early adopter of colour, paired close-ups of delicate details of nature—groundcover, streams, rock veins—in saturated hues with quotations by Henry David Thoreau. With a title arguing *In Wildness is the Preservation of the World*, the Sierra Club publication applied the purity of Ansel

Adams’ twentieth-century panoramic vistas to intimate glimpses of radiant natural vignettes and added topical sentiments. Coinciding with the ascendancy of Pop Art, *In Wildness*’s sensual richness merged that style’s appeal to populist taste with nascent ecological advocacy. The accessibly modest size volume was a sensation.

The brilliancy of Porter’s naturephilia is an antecedent of Burtynsky’s own richly hued landscapes. But a previous Sierra Club album, which consistent with traditional fine art photography featured black-and-white sobriety, is a significant precedent to his subject matter of built environments. *This is the American Earth*, by Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall and published in 1960, illustrated pictures from about forty photographers accompanied by poetic texts by Newhall. Its inclusion of Adams’ icons such as the deep space and textual detail of *Winter Storm, Yosemite* (1944) set the tone for most of the ennobling landscapes and animal studies, but these were tempered by a full-page reproduction of Adams’ atypical focus on a TV antenna.

Further, the chapter “The Mathematics of Survival” juxtaposed the line “Hell we are building here on earth” to William Garnett’s aerial shot of an expanse of city smothered in smog, and on the opposite and following page more of his *Housing Developments, Los Angeles*. Retrospectively analysed by Trent University’s scholar of images that marketed environmentalism Finis Dunaway as “a kind of secular sermon... borrowing from the jeremiad tradition to judge and condemn American culture,” the book followed an exhibition that had opened at the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco in 1955.³ Effectively, it was a prescient west coast, science supported, ‘land ethic’ counterpart to the fears of the atomic bomb, prompting the ‘feel-good’ social healing of the massive photographic exhibition, *The Family of Man*, curated by Edward Steichen at New York’s Museum of Modern Art the same year, 1955. *This is American Earth*’s proto-environmentalism acted as an early warning, displaying pictorial art evidencing the Anthropocene *avant la lettre*.

A few other predecessors and peers situate Burtynsky within photographic practices exposing us to what we’re building and what we’re losing. Another prescient photographic exhibition tacitly emphasizing humans’ omnipresence, organized by the George Eastman House in Rochester, New York, 1975, was *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape*. The ‘topographical’ designation accentuated structural schemas in the mid-to late-twentieth century landscape of urban and suburban industrial and residential construction developments—the generic geometries of a diluted modernism. The stripped-down boxy architecture rendered with a documentary-esque detachment was interpreted by curator William Jenkins as “The problem at the center of this exhibition is one of style... [the viewpoints are] anthropological rather than critical, scientific rather than artistic.”⁴ Indeed, the reductive compositions by Robert Adams [Fig. 2], Lewis



Fig. 2. Robert Adams, *Mobile Homes, Jefferson County, Colorado*, 1975. © Robert Adams. Courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco, California.



Fig. 3. Unattributed Southern Netherlands, *Anthropomorphic Landscape, Portrait of a Woman*, 16th century. Courtesy the Royal Museum of Fine Art of Belgium, Antwerp, Belgium.

Baltz, Frank W. Gohlke and seven others resembled the uninflected arrays of cubic structures of Minimalist sculpture of the mid-to-late 1960s.⁵ But Jenkins’s topical focus on the supposed scientific neutrality of his artists’ perspectives as the current trend in style overlooked the social significance of their consistent subject matter. Their exterior suburban environments implicitly countered traditional terrestrial landscapes, that genre of painting by a city-dweller yearning for nature as a place of refuge and sensory abundance of an ameliorative kind. There, a person could become one with verdant luxuriant primal forces as literalized in a 16th-century Southern Netherlandish painting, *Anthropomorphic landscape, Portrait of Woman*. [Fig. 3] The contrast between the charm of that old topography and the severity of the new topographers’ emphasizes the latter’s lack of felicitous of respite—compensatory signs of life either botanical or artistic—signalling barrenness. New Topographics photographers were implicitly making social commentary, but their reticence presented it as a political unconscious.

Three years later, Robert Adams more directly displayed landscape as a locus of loss. In the significant 1978 exhibition curated by John Szarkowski at the Museum of Modern Art, *Mirrors and Windows: American Photography since 1960*, Adams’ images contained arrays of a different sort than Minimalist boxes and even more about absence. His two *Burned and Clearcut, West of Arc Cape, Oregon*, 1976, showing fields of tree trunk stumps like tombstones of a forest across grassy volumes, were the only images among the exhibition’s almost 200 images that provided a ‘window’ onto environmental degradation by the hand of humankind.

Presently, the numerous photographers who could be loosely assoed as addressing the Anthropocene display the artistic climate change seen across artistic media: an affiliation not with modernism’s preoccupation with formal and material experimentation but with public and social issues, propelled by a strong sense of ethics. Emmet Gowin’s aerial photographs from the late 1980s depicted human depredations of the earth’s surface such as exploratory mining incisions,

tracks made by off-road vehicles, missile silos and military test sites. Stylistically, Gowin is a transitional figure. His distant viewpoint onto *Mining Exploration Near Carson City, Nevada*, 1988, [Fig. 4] shifts between evoking scars on the earth's skin and modulating the ravages into taut abstractions in lustrous grays.

Early in the twentieth-first century, David Maisel also spanned these modes, making the black-and-white format newly striking while picturing the architectural invasion of the Los Angeles basin. Countering the (by then) current customary practice of shooting in colour, he twisted the black-and-white format into a high contrast negative reversal, offering a spectral oscillation between the realism of cartography and a fiction of the urban density as radiated. Maisel poetically titled



Fig. 4. Emmet Gowin. *Mining Exploration, Near Carson City, Nevada*, 1988. © Emmet and Edith Gowin. Courtesy Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York, New York.

Fig. 5. David Maisel, *Oblivion, 16n*, 2004. © David Maisel. Courtesy the artist, Yancey Richardson Gallery, New York, New York; Haines Gallery, San Francisco, California; and Ivorypress Gallery, Madrid, Spain.

the 2004 series *Oblivion*, [Fig. 5] suggesting the lack of consciousness of slumber and of forgetfulness and the foreboding of being oblivious to the environment we created.

Among current environmentalist photographers, most continue the New Topographics focus on our relentlessly reconfigured world. Humans' imprint on environments—local or global, terrestrial or constructed—predominate as obvious marks of change. Fewer address the obverse—the changed environment's impact on beings' wellbeing: species and biodiversity loss, resource wars, climate change's impact on vulnerable peoples and associated issues of economic and social justice. Notably, American-Indian photographer and activist Subhankar Banerjee has



Fig. 6. Camille Seaman, *Breaching Iceberg*, 2008. © Camille Seaman. Courtesy of Susan Spiritus Gallery, Newport Beach, California.

Fig. 7. Richard Misrach, *Shopping Cart, Tanger Factory Outlet Center, Interstate 1-10, Gonzales, Louisiana*, 2010. © Richard Misrach. Courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco, California; Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York, New York; and Marc Selwyn Fine Arts, Los Angeles, California.



pictured the impact of Arctic development and oil extraction on caribou migration and conflicts in species rights, as the native Gwich'in Nation seeks to preserve the calving ground of the caribou, which they also hunt for food.

Two stylistic antinomies add to the photographic contexts within which to view Burtynsky's pictorial meditations. A popular locale for dramatizing the spectacle of Anthropogenic degradation is the Arctic. Glaciers' austere immensity are an extremity in landscape formations, prompting allusions to the vastness and ferocity of nature associated with the philosophical dichotomy between the humongous experience of the 'sublime' and the harmonious grace associated with 'beauty.' Camille Seaman's *Breaching Iceberg*, 2008, [Fig 6] seen under a stormy sky in the late afternoon conditions that produce turquoise hues, conjures the drama of an isolated hulk, rising out of dark seas as if a primal being, bowed, as it 'breaches,' the global increase in air and water temperatures causing the berg's primal hulk to cleave. Sublimity and loss are entwined.

Trading horror for sorrow, Richard Misrach's landscapes of blighted sites are muted in both colour and mood. As in his revelatory photographs in the late 1980s of a remote Nevada desert's flora and fauna ravaged by the United States' testing of high-explosive bombs, and the shambled properties after Louisiana's Hurricane Katrina, Misrach's photographs of the 150-mile industrial corridor along the Mississippi River east of New Orleans displays the devastations quietly. The miles of oil pipeline have cut a web of canals through pastures and marshlands. With resulting erosions, wetlands are being 'swallowed' into the Gulf of Mexico, the salty tides seeping up into marshlands, withering trees. A mall's gridded parking lot harkens to the anonymous commercial structures emblematic of the New Topographics. Empty except for a forlorn *Shopping Cart, Tanger Factory Outlet Center, Interstate 1-10, Gonzales, Louisiana*, 2010, [Fig. 7] its thick grisaille atmosphere captures the pollution endemic to this 'Cancer Alley' and the colourlessness of grief.

Floating in this temporal river are the remnants of art history, yet the “present” cannot support the cultures of Europe, or even the archaic or primitive civilizations; it must instead explore the pre- and post-historic mind; it must go into the places where remote futures meet remote pasts.

—Robert Smithson⁶

It is in pictures addressing the Anthropocene where remote futures converge with remote pasts most profoundly. The essential subject is change, which implies a trajectory forward, toward a future—not even so remote—of probable environmental privation. But as the common visual manifestation displaying that is the prospect view, the tradition of landscape painting is called up, “an object of nostalgia” observed scholar of visual culture W. J. T. Mitchell, “in a postcolonial and postmodern era, reflecting a time when metropolitan cultures could imagine their destiny in an unbounded ‘prospect’ of endless appropriation and conquest.”⁷ Invocations of impending strictures jostle with earlier evocations of nature as Edenic unbounded refuge.

Burtynsky’s photographs intensify this Janus-like pictorial duality, as underlying his future-oriented images are several strata of the past. His ambition is grand, aiming to show the big picture, not just geographically—panoramic landscapes in remote places—but materially—in huge prints—and informatively, by including substantial explanatory texts. This procedure expands upon the heritage of nineteenth-century photographer adventurers Maxime du Camp (French), Francis Frith (English), and John Thomson (Scottish) who through their images of the ‘exotic’ Middle and Far East brought the world to European newspaper readers and gallery viewers.

Burtynsky and his long-time filmmaker collaborators Jennifer Baichwal and Nicholas de Pencier together extend Canada’s substantial history of environmentalist engagement: the affiliation in 1963 of environmentalists in British Columbia with the Sierra Club (which became its own pan-Canadian organization in 1989); the 1971 formation of Greenpeace in Vancouver; the publication that year of the Last Whole Earth Catalog, the work of ‘eco-warrior’ Jack Vallentyne; public education by Canadian academic scientist and broadcaster David Suzuki; and Harrowsmith magazine’s (1976–96) “spur to the back-to-the-land movement.”⁸ In 1997, an international poll showed that Canada was among the five countries whose populations ‘most strongly favored giving environmental protection priority over economic growth.’⁹

Burtynsky’s early subject was the massive extraction of granite in quarries such as Vermont and Carrara, Italy. The shearing off and hollowing out of the mountains’ irregularities into stone blocks entwines the epic scales of consumer gratification and resource depletion. These, the otherworldly lurid hues of waterborne refuse from

mineral extractions oxidizing in tailing ponds, and the too-real warrens of gleaming pipes in refineries as well as the jumbled cubes of densified cans at scrap metal repositories, gained public attention in his breakthrough 2003 book, exhibition, and film by Baichwal and de Pencier, *Manufactured Landscapes*. Substantial focusses on *Oil and Water* followed.

His Anthropocene images continue Burtynsky’s signature strategy of provocatively juxtaposing the socially unsavory and the visually spectacular. His jade and deep turquoise composition of dark earth between the confluence of rivers, low buildings scattered at the edges, is particularly mesmerizing. The hues and visually textured surface call up the thick gestural painting of the 1950s, particularly those by Hans Hofmann. The accompanying text informs us that it pictures *Oil Bunkering #4, Niger Delta, Nigeria, 2016* (p. 149), the act of pirating crude oil from pipelines, one element in a network of economic and governmental corruption pushing a domino-toppling of water poisoning, deforestation, dwindling biodiversity and poverty. The commingling reactions of visual pleasure and empathetic nausea that this image so powerfully elicits are destabilizing.



Fig. 8. Edward Burtynsky, *Morenci Mine #1, Clifton, Arizona, USA, 2012*. See also page 142.

Akin to Garrett, Gowin, other present-day contemporaries, and before them, Frederick Sommers’ abstract aerial views of the 1940s, Burtynsky’s aerial perspectives frequently omit a horizon line and with his use of long lenses flatten topography to a plane. In his work that procedure pushes his photographic compositions’ affinities to the look of mid-twentieth century non-representational Abstract Expressionism



Fig. 9. Clyfford Still, *1948, 1948*. © 2018 City & County of Denver. Courtesy Clyfford Still Museum/Artist Rights Society (ARS), New York City, New York.

and Color Field painting. The ragged peninsulas against a lighter hue of *Morenci Mine #1, Clifton, Arizona, USA, 2012* (Fig. 8 and p.142), resemble jagged earthen-hued forms in Clyfford Still’s painting, *1948*. [Fig. 9] Others display a field-like continuity without a focal point, what mid-twentieth-century critic Clement Greenberg described as an ‘all-over’ compositional format. The expanse of rectangles in the *Carrara Marble Quarries* series of 2016 (pp. 113–121), recall the play of white planes across the surface of Willem de Kooning’s relevantly titled painting, *Excavation, 1950*.

As a photographer, Burtynsky clearly has a painter’s eye. It was the first medium he worked with, at the age of seven, perhaps inspired by the model of his father painting landscapes. But beyond some of his images’ affinities to abstractions, Burtynsky’s photographs more generally participate in what art historian Michael Fried has characterized as the emergence of “large-scale, tableau-sized photographs that by virtue of their size demand to be hung on gallery walls in the manner of easel paintings.” They display a “thematics of absorption... while at the same time declaring their artifactual identity as photographs.”¹⁰ Germane to the experience of Burtynsky’s photographs is their large scale in relation to the viewer’s size. Beholding an image from peripheral as well as direct sight, the viewer’s perception is environmental, promoting experiential immersion. The paradox was articulated by colour field painter Mark Rothko, who explained, ‘I paint very large pictures. I realize that historically the function of painting large pictures is painting something very grandiose and pompous. The reason I paint them, however... is precisely because I want to be very intimate and human.’¹¹ The prints’ scale yet visual ambiguity captivates us, bringing us to the exigencies of environmental urgencies.

It is this *Both Sides Now* aspect of Burtynsky’s evidence of the Anthropocene—the pictures’ oscillation between the documentary realism of impoverished environments and the scale and splendour of paintings—that has triggered consternation among reviewers seeking more denunciatory or melancholy pictorial prompts. Burtynsky’s images are often clear and bright, their mood calling up that Joni Mitchell song’s line, “And if you care, don’t let them know/ Don’t give yourself away.” Burtynsky has stated that he doesn’t want to appear to be accusatory, because he also (and everyone else) is culpable. So true! And no one seeking art wants to see agitprop. But that assertion elides the differences in impact between corporate environmental malfeasance and what art historian T. J. Demos has termed “low level consumerist complicity” such as your failure to bring a couple of roll-up shopping bags with you when shopping (adding to our landfills and Great Pacific Garbage gyre of plastic) and idling your car unnecessarily.¹² For his part, Burtynsky purchases carbon offsets toward compensating for his globe-

trotting's airplane fuel emissions. We all need to shrink our carbon footprints and promote restraining regulations.

Intriguingly, there may be another source of Burtynsky's images' emotional containment. His reluctance to point a finger in favour of considering himself part of the picture points us to another layer of the past resonating in his work, the biographical. When he grew up in the industrial port city of St. Catharines on Lake Ontario, it was dense with steel companies' smoke stacks; the presence of manufacturing was foundational. His father, a machinist for General Motors who facilitated his son's childhood study of photography by purchasing the contents of a late amateur photographer's darkroom, died of cancer at 45. Burtynsky, at 15, became the oldest male of the Ukrainian-Canadian family that included his mother, two older sisters and a younger brother. He earned his own living expenses and supported his photographic work by applying his skills to make portraits of classmates and selling them to their families.

Consider that deprivation in relation to the artist's repeated attraction to landscapes of loss: the quarries, oil fields and refineries, tailing ponds, garbage dumps, water abuse and resource depletion, the dismantling of decommissioned ships, and recently, large-scale photographs of six Holocaust sites for large-scale permanent installation at the National Holocaust Monument in Ottawa. These sites' triangulations of his father's engagement with landscape and painting, his support of his son's study of photography, and the general motors of industrial development suggests a latent source of his choices of where to turn his lens.

While in 1978 the Museum of Modern Art divided its exhibition of photographs into "mirrors" and "windows," Burtynsky's Anthropocene photographs function as both. Primarily they are windows onto ravishing—in both senses—landscapes of the Anthropocene. But in mirroring his personal response to loss—making the best of a difficult situation—through his artistic and technical talents, he has reached a bedrock that becomes common. Burtynsky's photographs of the Anthropocene mirror our collective nature to "look at clouds from both sides now/ From up and down and still somehow/ It's cloud's illusions we recall," as seen, for instance, in the insufficient public response to right the imbalances that created this epoch. Going to the edges of the world but suppressing alarm in favor of allure, Burtynsky thrusts the viewer forward, in scrutiny, anxiety, reflection—and maybe to sweep away illusions about the Anthropocene's clouds.

NOTES

1. Jedediah Purdy, *After Nature, A Politics of the Anthropocene* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2015), 17.
2. Gyorgy Kepes, "Art and Ecological Consciousness," in *Arts of the Environment*, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (New York: George Braziller, 1972), 9.
3. Finis Dunaway, *Natural Visions: The Power of Images in American Environmental Reform*. (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 135.
4. William Jenkins, "Introduction," *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-altered Landscape*. (Rochester: International Museum of Photography, George Eastman House International Museum of Photography & Film, 1975), 5, 7.
5. The structural affinity is illustrated in Suzaan Boettger, "Whispers and Cries: Photographic Evocations of the Anthropocene," *Depth of Field*, 7 (December 2015) <http://journal.scherptediepte.eu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=scherpte;sid=0216c2d5b7c4089cb73b54d188137b67;view=text;idno=m0701a02;rgn=main;lang=en> Accessed March 31, 2018.
6. Robert Smithson, "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects," *Artforum* September 1968, reprinted in *Jack Flam, Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996), 100.
7. W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994, 2002), 20.
8. Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada*, (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2012), 248.
9. This poll was conducted by Environics Research (Toronto) and reported in the Washington Post, 22 Nov 1997, A15. The other countries were Australia, New Zealand, The Netherlands and Switzerland. J. R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 340 n. 30.
10. Michael Fried, *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 47, 37.
11. Mark Rothko, statement made from the floor at a symposium at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, as quoted in "How to Combine Architecture, Painting and Sculpture," *Interiors* May 1951, 104.
12. T.J. Demos, *Against the Anthropocene, Visual Culture and Environment Today*. (Berlin: Sternberg, Press, 2017), 55. Because of the Anthropocene period's association with economic and urban growth, Demos advocates instead the use of term "Capitalocene." That's persuasive historically, but governments repressing free market capitalism such as China, Russia and Saudi Arabia are also ranked high among 2017's top ten polluting nations (Canada is on the list at number ten, USA is number two). Accessed April 4, 2018.] As University of Toronto Professor Mark Cheetham observes regarding the nomenclature, "The protocols of modernity are the real culprit here." Mark Cheetham, *Landscape into Eco Art, Articulations of Nature Since the '60s*, (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 211.

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DEEP TIME