

Nature Sport and Environmental History: Adulation or Alteration of Nature?

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In a current historical moment of climate change, decarbonization, and overpopulation in the early twenty-first century, what will nature sport bring to our world and a global awakening, if anything? Today, skiers search for snow, runners inhale forest fire smoke, and children play outside fraught by unusual weather, but nature sport continues to be a means of knowing ourselves and our world as being alive and living nature. We are sentient beings. Could nature sport be a lever of change toward a better way of living on the land in ethical relations with the environment? Globalization garners attention but so does the local, especially since Gro Harlem Brundtland's United Nations Commission Report *Our Common Future* in 1987 called out a “global agenda for change” and asked the world—including citizen groups and nongovernment organizations—to think globally and act locally in efforts for environmental protection, economic growth, and social equality.¹ Historically, various actors in nature sport and play were already doing so as embodiment outdoors, or “en plein air,” was acting locally to respect nature and awaken stewardship, activating environmental advocacy as part of a movement toward sustainability around the world.

The turn toward nature sport and play for human health and well-being, especially in times of strife, urban pollution, and environmental crisis, has been a common historical trajectory in many cultures worldwide in recent centuries, as the articles in this issue reveal. For Indigenous cultures, close relationships with the earth are a central axis of life. A current focus on changing environmental ethics suggests the need to expand our understanding of physical culture and sport history through nature sport. In this special issue, we use the term nature to mean cultural and material essence at the historical intersection of worldviews, biophysical features, and ecological relations. We are more a part of nature than we realize.

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Navigating air, water, and land for sport has required a knowledge of nature and the environment, as people in many cultures around the world have explored movement and the outdoors. Deep-sea divers plunged, ski jumpers soared, sailors crested waves, and alpinists climbed peaks. The beauty and wonder of nature infused many of these rare experiences but also more quotidian moments such as children ice skating. Outdoor activities have been intrinsically linked to particular spaces engaged by sporting subjects, and call for negotiation in and with nature as well as respect for its enormous and subtle power.

People's adulation has exalted nature, yet their sport has altered it. Sporting spaces have often been conceived of as "natural" yet they have also formed cultural landscapes as sites of nature sport that can reveal diverse social and historical constructs embedded within ideas of nature and ways of being outdoors. These tensions are further complicated by diverse and sometimes conflicting ideas about our relationships with the natural elements and sporting landscapes, or between the country and the city, in both past and present times. Myths of a pure nature untouched by humans, however, overlook that people have always lived on the land. Cultures have been shaped in relationship with the natural world; this special issue invites us to reflect on how nature sport is and has been a contested terrain, both materially and ideologically, in this historical interaction.

The theme of our special issue, "Nature Sport and Environmental History: Adulation or Alteration of Nature?" draws into question the tensions implicit in outdoor activity. Nature sport enthusiasts have been among nature's greatest admirers. They wanted to get to know nature, adore it, and in it find their own personal fulfillment or antidote to modern industrial times. Participants saw protecting nature as being important so as not to lose its use and benefits for sport, yet they altered environments where nature sport was played. Did they feel as though they themselves were part of nature? Beyond western worldviews that dichotomized culture and nature, Indigenous ways of knowing situated people and other-than-human nature as whole and inseparable, which was, and is, reflected in the existence of nature play and traditional games in many Indigenous cultures throughout the world.

This special issue aims to provide a contribution to bring together sport history and environmental history through nature sport. It is premised on our responsibilities as scholars to take part in societal debates. In doing so, it introduces an important theme in the field of sport history to provide an understanding of the phenomenon over time. We wish to encourage future work along original and productive avenues of inquiry. Combining sport history and environmental history has the potential to illuminate the past whether presenting or challenging declension narratives and environmental relations seen through outdoor contact points, such as nature sport. It provides the opportunity to see across the borders of specific sports, localities, regions, and nations toward a broader human experience of nature in the outdoor spaces of physical culture and movement. For example, traditional *koku* divers of the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific, cross-country skiers in the Swedish countryside, and sailors on the Atlantic coast of France each were closely attuned to where they lived and breathed, embodied in play and nature sport. Nature sport participants learned the environment as part of who they were and how they moved in the open air in specific times and places.

Tensions between the use and protection of environments for nature sport are longstanding. Some voices suggest that nature sport educates or improves humans to become better stewards of the environment; others suggest that nature sport must end to preserve nature. Still others see sporting landscapes as nurturing tophophilia, the integral bond that joins people and place as parts of a living world.² This special issue aims to build on scholarship to identify past outlooks, tensions, and trends in the representations and practices of nature sport. Contributors to this issue reveal the cultural practices and debates of earlier eras to provide lessons to understand past and present environmental conundrums in nature sport, and in broader societies. How nature sport participants have reacted to issues calling for the conservation of nature—recast as environmental protection in the 1960s—has shifted over time. Overall, embodied knowledge and management strategies have been part of their responses whether as individual or institutional efforts, and often environmental concerns were interconnected or transnational.

This special issue intends to stimulate inquiry into the history of nature sport and provide an in-depth understanding of both embodied experience and institutional involvement in nature sport as well as their connections to ideas of nature and environmental conservation in earlier times. Nature sport or “sports de nature” is a concept that we engage widely to mean sports and play based on nature. Closely connected to the environment, it included games, adventure, recreation, outdoor education, and outdoor environmental education. Nowadays, it is difficult for sports historians who are nature sport enthusiasts to be neutral in discussions about sustainability. We ponder how and whether nature sport might be sustainable. Nature sport often faced contradictions between encouraging use and conserving the natural environments on which they depend. Any single model is imperfect and unlikely to fit all situations, but recognizing interdependence and various world-views invites critical reflection. History is ongoing, as are human relations with the potential for sport and play as part of nature. Our introduction begins by reframing human beings within nature, the environment within human values, and nature sport across time and cultures.

Nature Sport Reimagined

Nature sport provides us with a way to reimagine human relationships in and of nature and to make us more aware of tensions, contradictions, imagination, and hope for our planet. Human movement out of doors connects people and environments, teaching us about our place in the world, as it has been conceived over time and in many different cultural contexts of physical cultures and societies. Likewise, human presence can also be conceived as part of nature. Environmental history scholars identified the dichotomous framing of nature and culture in post-Enlightenment European thought and called on us to rethink and reframe them as being more integrated and fluid than separate and fixed. Similarly, sport historians have called attention to nature and the spaces of sport as cultural landscapes. As we begin to see the historical pathways that formed a dichotomous frame around nature and culture, we can reflect and reframe our thinking about an epistemology and ontology of nature sport that inextricably unites them as one.

Important questions emerge from this rethinking. For example, what was it like to practice nature sport? What was it to be both in and of nature? Was it a sense of blurred boundaries between human and other-than-human worlds? To merge the air we breathe coexisting with trees that breathe our air. Like swimmers who jumped into the water in Paris or San Paulo and met bacteria and viruses, and, ultimately, hosted living microorganisms. Like folks no longer able to go fishing in Hamilton's harbor due to toxins in the water.³ Like mountaineers who awoke to the detritus of their sport polluting their much adored mountains, and someone else's home whether in the Alps, Himalayas, or elsewhere. Like Olympic ski jumpers high on a concrete tower who flew over an engineered sport park of machine-made snow. The imaginary spaces of pristine and untouched nature were always someone's home. They were also part of political economies that were far from sustainable or just in modern times. How and why it changed, or did not, in specific times and places is what historians can offer to explain the relationships between various societies and environmental ethics.

Where environmental rupture exists, it is common to see other forms of injustice based on class, ancestry, sex, and age to name a few areas of concern. Looking back to earlier times, can we discern historical patterns and reinterpret evidence in new ways to better understand ethics and relations on the land intrinsic to nature sport? What of earlier centuries when health advocates attempted to remediate urban environments through movement and play in nature, calling on a return to nature in many countries, which also marked and revealed modernism? Can skiers "save snow" is a similar question arising a century later. This special issue draws out such questions and connects across historical periods to deepen our understanding and knowledge.

Many modern nature sports are fundamentally about exploration framed by romanticism and symbolic conquest. Every place is unique, and sporting performance is sometimes, even often, secondary to the place where it happens. A culture of hotspots for each sport results in particular harm emerging from international mobility and high concentrations of visitor numbers. Surfers the world over dream of Hawaii, mountaineers want to reach the roof of the Alps on Mont Blanc, the north on Denali, or the world on Everest, climbers swear by Yosemite and kayakers must paddle down the Yukon or Colorado rivers.⁴ These sites have symbolism and heritage sport allure that attract large numbers of people yet exclude and marginalize others. Arenas of nature sport also feature built structures as a facsimile of natural environments—indoor ski slopes, climbing structures, canyoning parks, and flat flight in wind tunnels—that engineer idealized forms of challenge to offer commercial leisure activities within affluent markets and urban centers.

Faced with dilemmas of use and protection of terrain, various management models exist and have been implemented in different parts of the world and in different nature sports. The management strategies adopted by public and private actors vary and interact: zoning, seasonal restrictions, regulated access, quotas, tickets, lotteries, incentives, bans, mitigation, legislation, regulation, parks and protected areas, management plans, enforcement, fines, fees . . . the list goes on. In most cases, the issue remains fundamentally linked to tensions between managing user impact and protecting the environment.

Prevailing tendencies emphasize sport globalization and performance in terms of top sporting sites, major facilities, and infrastructure such as Olympic venues for

nature sport. But diverse nature sport enthusiasts have deep local roots. Localism and place-based perspectives have pointed to local sites and those near home as significant and sustainable at the community level of sport, recreation, play, and performance as well as belonging in the outdoors.

Writing a History of Nature and Sport

These initial considerations on the environmental problem of nature sport have practically spanned the two centuries of their history, with evolutions and tensions nevertheless crystallizing today in a new societal context. The role of the historian is partly to make sense of these developments, which also give historical depth to the ecological discourse and, more broadly, to environmental protection even before ecologism politicized it.

The rise of “en plein air” pursuits was well known in the nineteenth century in tandem with colonial empire, exploration, science, and urbanization, and it continued to grow with tourism well into the twentieth century. Natural history pursued exploration of mountains and glaciers. Therapeutic and health-giving aspects of nature highlighted fresh air and sunshine, particularly in the snowcapped mountains that were idealized as pure nature. The poor air quality of industrial cities led people to seek fresh mountain air at higher elevations and various therapies—including hydro, helio, and whey cures—offered in the Swiss Alps.⁵ Rehabilitation outside the city became central to the idea of walking “en plein air,” along with sports, camps, and spas.⁶ Bolstered by commercial railways and opulent hotels, from San Pellegrino to Baden Baden, Banff, and Glenwood Springs, thermal hot springs, spas, and sanatoria promoted health tourism and nature. Likewise, forests, seashores, lakes, and beaches drew health-seeking nature enthusiasts, hikers, and visitors from many places and continents. Nature’s beauty was paired with rest and reinvigoration of the body, mind, and spirit. In Scandinavia, *friluftsliv* stood as a philosophy of simple outdoor life. Living in the open air and close to the land involved berry picking, fishing, camping, and skiing, along with everyone’s freedom to roam enabled by *Allemansrätten* or public access rights.⁷ Beyond competitive sport, outdoor play, “naturisme,” hygiene trends, and modern dance stressed the rhythms and sensual experience of the free body and nature in games, play, dance, and sports “en plein air.” Training and disciplining individuals was part of nature regimes of health, physical education, and militarism in service to power relations and diverse agendas, for example, conforming to expectations of class, gender, and nationhood. A shift from pursuits “en plein air” to “nature sport” emerged later in the twentieth century.

The history of nature sport has been extensively studied: publications on activities, regions, and countries, and specific entries on political, social, and cultural issues now constitute a rich and mature historiography. This abundant literature, which draws on countless sources, has largely dealt with the subject of nature, without addressing questions such as those emerging today in education and the social sciences. Notably, nature sport educators played a leading role, as can be seen in the *Journal of Outdoor and Environmental Education*, published since 1995, which grounded education and outdoor activities in praxis. Marginalized at times by mainstream physical education and kinesiology in countries that

emphasized paradigms of competitive and indoor team sports, outdoor education connected many students, teachers, and educators to environmental education. The recent pandemic propelled an enormous return to the outdoors and rediscovery of outdoor learning for health and well-being, especially for children and youth thriving in free play, forest schools, outdoor education, and physical education classes held outdoors, although these opportunities were not equally shared by all children and youth. Indigenous learning on the land is a crucial part of many successful initiatives across Canada and elsewhere.⁸ More needs to be brought into sport history to fully address these topics, making room for diverse approaches as well as Indigenous perspectives that are overlooked in much sport history literature.

The educational perspective within nature sport has also been addressed in historical studies of diverse alpine clubs, such as the Club Alpin Français and the Alpine Club of Canada. In the former, the Club's Caravanes scolaires offered a holistic approach to education in response to the intellectual overwork that was the order of the day in nineteenth-century France.⁹ The latter club taught many urban middle-class beginners to climb and appreciate mountain heritage in twentieth-century Canada.¹⁰ In both cases, the publication of alpine journals provided works of literature, art, science, and education shared internationally. These journals imparted knowledge about nature and mountain environments far and wide; knowledge largely produced by the climbers themselves, as many explorations pursued scientific objectives, particularly in the nineteenth century and later for specific climbing disciplines such as caving undertaken for speleology. Observations and cartography, supported by photographs, developed knowledge that was widely reused. Melting ice and glaciers were often documented by the first photos taken by mountaineers on many continents in the late 1800s and serve research in current repeat photography studies worldwide.¹¹ Early botanists explored natural history as they roamed and climbed in the mountains to study plant communities, and built the basis of many extant museum collections. Alpine journals offer a rich primary source for historical investigation of nature sport and society.

Knowledge and education stood as the pillars of environmental protection, but the perception of what is at stake has varied enormously from one period to the next. Historians have shown this scenario with the Touring Club de France evoking the defense of the tree shortly before the First World War, or the creation of the first mountain nature park in France by mountaineers motivated to eradicate sheep from high-altitude pastures because overgrazing was destroying the vegetation and leading to overflow and erosion of gullies during rainy periods.¹²

Climbers who knew remote and fragile locations from their sport and travels have played a leading role as whistle-blowers on environmental violations. For example, renowned French speleologist Edouard-Alfred Martel denounced the practices of livestock farmers who contributed to the contamination of water, including the supply of drinking water to nearby towns in France; his actions led to a new law specifically to stop these practices in 1902.¹³ In the case of the Sierra Club, Scottish-born American geologist John Muir opposed damming the Hetch Hetchy Valley to supply water to San Francisco and argued for the protection of Yosemite National Park. The conservation battle was lost yet it raised public awareness about preserving nature and justified the 1916 creation of the National Park Service in the United States. Knowing that campaign, Irish-born Canadian

surveyor Arthur Wheeler and mountaineers in the Alpine Club of Canada, organized and led a coalition in the 1920s that opposed the construction of massive dams for hydro-electric power within national parks in the Canadian Rockies, which led toward enshrining the principle of inviolability in the new National Parks Act in 1930.¹⁴ In many such cases, nature sport enthusiasts were among the vocal advocates for conservation and political activism for changes to govern land use. Moreover, historians have examined how wilderness ideals in various countries connect parks and protected areas with cultural imperialism, dispossession, and contemporary debates.¹⁵

Many nature sports are commercial and market leisure for sport tourism. In addition to the outdoor equipment market, which calls for more study, businesses related to nature sport sites have to reconcile day-to-day commercial objectives with the sustainability of the places that maintain and profit their operations. For example, canyoneers and guides groom trees out of rivers for safer sport in the Vercors Mountains of France, but thousands of users also degrade the environment.¹⁶ In Britain, Australia, and the United States, canyoneers have tried to regulate their activities to contain environmental impacts in recent times.¹⁷ Nature sport users have been responsible for the degradation of nature sites as well as protecting them. Reconciling business and sport development with the environmental survival of sporting sites has been a long-standing concern. It has been argued that the relationship between sport and the environment cannot lead to harmony, as sport is joined with the capitalist logic of the modern world, and in this context is also responsible for climate change and environmental degradation. Somehow, preserving nature also means abandoning sport, which may be a provocative yet significant idea to open an international dialogue even if it displeases many sport lovers. On the other hand, past cases of success and failure can teach lessons for management and remediation as well as enjoyment. This debate also underscores differences and shifts in underlying approaches to nature and the environment when it comes to sport.

Retrospective reading can offer insights and awareness. It also puts current discourse, decisions, and their potential effects into a longer term perspective. As historian Michael Bess has shown the ecological challenge has been a social issue since the 1960s. In France, awareness has grown, and progress has been made, but these advances are far from complete. They reflect a pragmatic vision that reconciles the effort accepted by the population and the maintenance of acceptable living conditions, human, and environmental issues within an economic context. The “light green” society of contemporary France that Bess presents can be applied to the world of sport and put into perspective by its synchrony or discrepancy with more general trends and other social practices.¹⁸

Economist Mark Carney has argued, we must see the modern economy embedded in nature and recognize that the value of the environment goes far beyond price value alone to fundamental human values that include our health, biodiversity, and fairness while solving the world’s most pressing issues from poverty to climate change amid a fourth industrial revolution and intergenerational shifts in a disruptive age.¹⁹ “The purpose of society can be human flourishing, to have a good life, and to build the common good. The common good should not be confused with the good of the greatest number, but it is rather the good from which no one is excluded,” writes Carney.²⁰ Can nature sport fit such a paradigm, and did it ever?

The identification of ecological problems—even before that precise term emerged in common discourse—among nature sport leaders in the past can also help to explain how issues were perceived, their social or community importance, and what debates and solutions emerged in earlier times. As a corollary, nature sport and environmental education can also be an interesting way to identify shifting representations of nature and environment as well as how they evolved over decades and centuries. Nature sport offers a promising field of study for an environmental history of sport as well as sport tourism. The questions raised need rethinking not in terms of the sports themselves, but in terms of the environments that characterize these activities, and that various sport participants sought to know, navigate, share, and safeguard even in tension with use pressures and exploitation.

This special issue posits that how we think about nature can illuminate our fundamental inquiry and arguments as we research and reinterpret sport history. For instance, the Swedish Ski Federation archives and school records reveal an intersection of pedagogical and scientific trends melded with nature experienced in traditional sporting landscapes. As another example, the crossroads between the Union Internationale des Associations d'Alpinisme (UIAA) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature—and their archives—are rich grounds to rework the understanding of how mountaineers became more critical about their own environmental impacts on the places that they loved best in the Alps and the Himalayas with later consequences worldwide and ripples outward to broader environmental movements and ideas. Historians can revisit sources from earlier times to raise new questions that rethink “nature” and “environment” through outdoor pursuits and their organizations. The agency of communities and civil society via schools, clubs, organizations, and federations as well as interactions with the state and capital also emerge more clearly in studies of nature sport.

Articles in the Special Issue

Articles presented in this special issue concentrate on the latter half of the twentieth century when nature sport grew popular and the environmental movement was advancing—one might ask what came first or how were they mutually reinforcing—in the 1960s and 1970s. Environmentalism gained ground again in the 1980s and rose in tension with neoliberal capitalism and fossil fuels in tandem with the biodiversity crisis and climate change through the 1990s and 2000s. This chronology parallels the rise of environmental concerns and their crystallization in public debates. Articles feature environments such as the mountains, coastline, and countryside that were common for nature sport as they became increasingly subject to pressures including urban development, excessive use, contamination, erosion, and climate change. Sporting landscapes were sites of nature sport examined in these articles.²¹ These articles, theoretically and methodologically rich, move beyond traditional archival approaches to history to include ethnographic interviews, experiential insights, and autoethnographic reflective writing. They use bottom-up and top-down approaches and include both leaders and participants in nature sport.

Our special issue opens with articles exploring the embodied experience of nature sports and sporting landscapes. Among the diverse Indigenous Peoples of

Oceania, playing traditional games connected to environmental stewardship. Tom Fabian, Gary Osmond, and Murray Phillips show that South Pacific peoples have distinctive nature games rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Such knowledge informs how humans belong to the land and sea as an inseparable part of nature. Learning and embodied play from songs to shell games, *koku* diving, coconut tree races, surfing, and paddling outrigger canoes worked to unite human and other-than-human entities in the worldview of the distinct Indigenous Peoples of Pacifica including, for example, Fijians, Tongans, Māori, Torres Strait Islanders, and Aboriginals. Traditional games also served to instill pride, heritage, and environmental stewardship with lessons for sustainability.

Likewise, the sporting landscapes of cross-country skiing included traditions embodied by youth at elite sport high schools in Sweden since the 1970s. Daniel Svensson reveals the alignment of natural training and physical testing on the land as part of movement heritage contrasted with scientized lab tests. The natural experiential and rationalist scientific approaches to skiing were considered opposites yet local landscapes also measured sport performance as mediated on the land for generations. Local cross-country ski routes served as place-based environments for youth and training, also drawing out environmental sustainability as an axis of critical study related to local skiers and skiing heritage. Next, the embodied experience of an elite Canadian athlete is revealed by Charlotte Mitchell's auto-ethnographic account of ski jumping at Calgary Olympic Park. Ski jump towers built for the 1988 Olympic Winter Games transformed a sporting landscape on the outskirts of a major city, but archives reveal design and site troubles were compounded as athlete and specialist knowledge was all but ignored leading up to the event. The venue was inherited by a new generation of ski jumpers, including women who challenged the gendered status quo of male privilege to fly through the air. The decommissioned ski jump left social and environmental impacts questioned in this article. Swedish alpine skiers also articulated a closely embodied relationship with nature. A traditional vision of mountains and skiing was aligned with nature in the minds of Swedes who began skiing in the 1960s according to Marie Larneby's article. Interviews with these skiers demonstrated an intimate understanding of snow and winter based on a lifetime of professional and private interactions in their sport. Based on their own place-based knowledge of nature sport over decades, they chose to care more for the environment and ski at local sites in environmentally aware choices to travel less and minimize their carbon footprint, opting for more sustainable sport. Nature and sport co-existed for the skiing body and sporting landscapes.

Beyond the embodied experience, institutions played a role in nature sport and environmental activism. The idea of sustainable development and protecting mountain environments was articulated by the UIAA and informed the 1982 Kathmandu Declaration. Philippe Vonnard's article traces the role of the UIAA and adds depth to the history of alpine institutions working in policy collaborations with government and nongovernment bodies. The UIAA is a lens on changing ideas about nature, environment, and conservation of mountain ecosystems as well as the roles of mountaineers. Mountaineering is revealed as a practice invested around the world from the Alps to the Himalayas, and beyond, with an interplay of international actors that highlights the transnational nature and ambiguities of mountaineering. Comparing the Club Alpin Français and the Center Nautique des Glénans in France, Marion Philippe shows how associations effectively mobilized their members to

better understand and actively take steps to conserve the environment as an extension of their respective sports in alpine or coastal settings. Recycled buildings and environmental education were prime means engaged to achieve local environmental outcomes needed to continue the very existence of mountaineering and sailing. Environmental awareness and action were clear outcomes for postwar climbers and sailors who belonged to these sport organizations. Nature sport was institutionally part of civil society and governance in a world both local and global.

In this special issue, we learn from new perspectives how nature sport connected embodied knowledge, diverse landscapes, and structural institutions in historical relationships between the environment and society. These methods and avenues of research suggest that examining nature sport can look across rich studies of specific sports and places toward understanding both local and global actors and agency in a broader phenomenon and the passage of time. Our special issue is a starting point and call to action for more research and discussion.

Readers of sport history can be part of rethinking nature sport and its many historical antecedents known throughout the world by means of the body and movement. Seeing broadly across time and sporting landscapes, nature sport can be a lens on the body and nature as living relationships at home and around the world. A critical literature of nature sport also has room to grow beyond adulation and alteration. Ultimately, many cultures and worlds of sport can be better understood and historicized based on ideas and material experiences of nature and the environment. Learning from nature sport history might support the common good and our common future to flourish more sustainably.

We appreciate and thank the authors and reviewers who have contributed to making this special issue of *Sport History Review*. We also welcome thoughts and feedback from readers. This special issue aims to be a starting point for an international conversation to build the scholarship of nature sport as a means to reframe our understandings of earlier times and peoples active in the outdoors and the historically contingent cultural constructs of nature that shaped them, even as our current historical moment looks to an uncertain future for nature and sport. Looking back and forward through time may help to critically assess the global phenomenon of nature sport and the global health of our planet.

Notes

1. World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), ix.
2. The classic discussion of sporting landscapes is provided in John Bale, *Sports Geography*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 129–160; Yi-Fi Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 113–128.
3. The harbour was a place to fish, swim, paddle, and play in Hamilton, Ontario, until it went toxic with steel making pollutants, see Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, *The People and the Bay: A Social and Environmental History of Hamilton Harbour* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 85, 168, 197–198, 203.
4. Oceanic spaces for post-sport are critically examined in Rebecca Olive and Belinda Wheaton, “Understanding Blue Spaces: Sport, Bodies, Wellbeing, and the Sea,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 45, no. 1 (2021): 3–19.

5. For how the Swiss Alps were transformed into an alpine tourism landscape yet a symbol of pure nature, see Laurent Tissot, “Civil Engineering and the Development of Sport and Leisure in Swiss Cities (1900–1950),” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 29, no. 14 (2012): 2067–2083; Jon Mathieu, Norman Backhaus, Katja Hürlimann, Matthias Bürgi, ed., *Histoire du paysage en Suisse: De la période glaciaire à nos jours* (Neuchâtel: Livreo-Alphil, 2018), 241–256.
6. For examples of natural history and landscapes of health, see Simona Boscani Leoni, Sarah Baumgartner, and Meike Knittel, eds. *Connecting Territories: Exploring People and Nature, 1700–1850*. Emergence of Natural History: vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), passim; Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920–1955* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009), 26–62.
7. Outdoor educators in North America and Europe have adopted friluftsliv, for examples see Bob Henderson and Nils Vikander, *Nature First: Outdoor Life the Friluftsliv Way* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books Dundurn, 2007), 2–22; Annette R. Hofmann, Carsten Gade Rolland, Kolbjørn Rafoss, and Herbert Zoglowek, *Norwegian Friluftsliv: A Way of Living and Learning in Nature* (Münster: Waxmann, 2018), 9–20.
8. The outdoors and Indigenous ways of knowing are highlighted for future development of the field in Ann Hall, Bruce Kidd, and Patricia Vertinsky, *Educating the Body: A History of Physical Education in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 219–221, 229–232; Lynn Lavallée and Lucie Lévesque, “Two-Eyed Seeing: Physical Education, Sport, and Recreation Promotion in Indigenous Communities,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 206–228; for a compendium of Indigenous on the land camps and intergenerational learning, see Canadian Parks Council, *Aboriginal Peoples and Canada’s Parks and Protected Areas: Case Studies* (Canadian Parks Council, 2017), 1–32.
9. For elaboration, see Olivier Hoibian, “L’œuvre des « caravanes scolaires » : un programme d’éducation globale à la périphérie de l’école républicaine (1874–1934),” *Revue française de pédagogie*, no. 195 (2016): 25–36.
10. Many ACC climbers were beginners attending the club’s annual camp and taught by Swiss mountain guides provided by the Canadian Pacific Railway from its mountain hotels, see PearlAnn Reichwein, “The Alpine Club of Canada’s ‘Mountain Heritage’: Advocacy and Adventure in the Twentieth Century and Beyond,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34, no. 14 (2017): 1501–1520.
11. Dani Inkpen, *Capturing Glaciers: A History of Repeat Photography and Global Warming* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2024), 53–86.
12. For conservation efforts, see Pierre-Olaf Schut and Matthieu Delalandre, “Un arbre, une forêt, un paysage: La contribution du Touring-Club de France en faveur du reboisement,” *Natures Sciences Sociétés* 24, no. 3 (2016): 230–241.
13. Martel is considered the founder of modern speleology. Edouard-Alfred Martel, *Les Abîmes, les aux souterraines, les cavernes, les sources, la spéléologie* (Paris: Delagrave, 1895), 552–554.
14. Networks of nature sport clubs and coalitions with similar organizations assisted these conservation campaigns. PearlAnn Reichwein, *Climber’s Paradise: Making Canada’s Mountain Parks, 1906–1974* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2014), 119–151.
15. For discussion see Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), xi–xv, 232–240; Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3–8; Ted Binnema and Melanie Niemi, “‘Let the Line Be Drawn Now’: Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada,” *Environmental History* 11 (2006): 724–750;

- Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 243–259.
16. David Huddart, “Gorge Walking, Canyoneering, or Canyoning,” in *Outdoor Recreation Environmental Impacts and Management*, eds. David Huddart and Tim Stott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 111–130.
 17. Clémence Perrin, Jean-Pierre Mounet, “L’organisation de la pratique du canyoning sur un site: le canyon du Furon,” *Movement and Sport Sciences* 57, no. 1 (2006): 79–103.
 18. Michael Bess, *Light Green Society: Ecology and Technological Modernity in France, 1960–2000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3–9; related to climate change, see Michael Bess, *Planet in Peril: Humanity’s Four Greatest Challenges and How We Can Overcome Them* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 27–35, 79–97.
 19. Carney was Governor of the Bank of Canada and Governor of the Bank of England and is currently the UN Special Envoy on Climate Action and Finance, see Mark Carney, *Values: Building a Better World for All* (New York: Signal, Penguin Random House, 2021), 336–338, 395–464.
 20. Carney, *Values: Building a Better World for All*, 338.
 21. For sporting landscapes, see John Bale, *Sports Geography*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 129–160; for diverse sport sites, see Patricia Anne Vertinsky and John Bale, *Sites of Sport: Space, Place, Experience* (London: Routledge, 2004).