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A Century of National Park Conflict: Class, Geography, and the Changing Values of Conservation Discourse in Maine

Adam R. Auerbach

Bates College, aauerbac@bates.edu

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**A Century of National Park Conflict:
Class, Geography, and the Changing Values of
Conservation Discourse in Maine**

An Honors Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Program in Environmental Studies
Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By

Adam Auerbach
Lewiston, Maine
March 28, 2016

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Abstract

Conservation interests have been promoting national park creation in Maine ever since the early 1900s. The only successful push for a national park in the state culminated one hundred years ago in the creation of today's Acadia National Park in 1916. In the last century, Maine's North Woods have been the site of four distinct national park debates. Mt. Katahdin was the subject of a hotly contested park proposal in the 1930s, as was the Allagash River in the 1950s and 60s. In 1994 a group called RESTORE: The North Woods began promoting a widely opposed 3.2 million acre national park in the North Woods region. Today, fervent debate surrounds a proposal by Elliotsville Plantation Inc. for a much smaller national park in the area. This thesis will demonstrate that today's public park debate is unique in that both park supporters and opponents appeal primarily to economic development arguments to justify their positions. Why is this and what are the repercussions of this particular public framing of the debate? This thesis will answer these questions through a combination of historical archival research into past park debates and contemporary interviews concerning today's debate, allowing me to trace the various value systems that have been a part of each of Maine's historical and contemporary park debates. As it turns out, the particular class and geographic dynamics of conservation in Maine are critical to understanding the focus on economic development in today's debate, and this framing has serious negative consequences.

Key Words: Maine; national parks; values; conservation; discourse; class

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Introduction

In 2001 Millinocket, Maine Town Council Chairwoman Gail Fanjoy unveiled the contents of a 1937 time capsule originally buried in the town post office. Inside the capsule was a statement from the Millinocket Chamber of Commerce supporting the creation of a national park at Mt. Katahdin.¹ In 1937, Millinocket was in the midst of the first in a series of national park proposals to confront the region. That the Millinocket Chamber of Commerce supported a national park in 1937 is ironic, given that local resistance to national park creation has been a staple of all of the park debates in Maine's North Woods that have transpired since then. National park controversy would strike the North Woods again in the 1950s and 60s pertaining the Allagash River, in the 1990s to present concerning a 3.2 million acre park proposal from a group called RESTORE: The North Woods, and in the last roughly five years regarding a much smaller national park proposal stemming from a group called Elliotsville Plantation Inc. (EPI). Despite this sequence of North Woods park proposals, the only national park in the state remains coastal Maine's Acadia National Park, the first form of which was Sieur de Monts National Monument, created in 1916.

I first became exposed to the ongoing national park controversy in northern Maine by reading Billy Baker's November 2013 *Boston Globe* article "A Feud as Big as the Great Outdoors."² Through Baker, I learned of EPI's plan to create a 150,000 acre national park and national recreation area, called Katahdin Woods and Waters, on donated land east of Maine's Baxter State Park. Northern Mainers, I read, vehemently opposed the proposed park, which was promoted by Roxanne Quimby, the co-founder of the personal care products company Burt's

¹ Mary Anne Lagasse, "Millinocket Time Capsule Yields Glimpse of Past," *Bangor Daily News*, July 30 2001.

² Billy Baker, "A Feud as Big as the Great Outdoors," *The Boston Globe*, November 17, 2013 2013.

Bees, and her son Lucas St. Clair.³ As a lifelong traveler to America's national parks, I was immediately drawn to the issue. However, as I read on, I was shocked by how little Baker's coverage of the park issue addressed the things I associate with national parks: hiking, wildlife, scenery, history, mountains, rivers, and lakes. Baker's article presented the park debate principally as an economic issue. Would creating a national park in northern Maine help or hurt economic development in the region?

As I did further research on the issue, I found that Baker was not alone in framing the park debate in this way. Newspaper articles, editorials, and promotional materials from both park supporters and opponents primarily focused on the economic impacts of the park proposal. Park supporters argued most vocally that a national park was needed to grow the economy through increased tourism and investment in the region. Park opponents countered that the job-creation projections park supporters used were inflated, and held that the park would hurt the forestry economy. I was perplexed and somewhat dismayed by how the question of national park creation, an issue that to me suggests many different types of values, could be reduced to only one value: economic development. Where were the appeals to the hiking and canoe trips the park would foster, the wildlife habitat that would be protected, the scenic views and memorable experiences park visitors would cherish, and the historical stories the park would tell? As I continued my research, I soon learned that these types of justifications were afforded little space in the public forum. However, I felt that park supporters cared about the national park issue for reasons beyond the expected economic benefits. Likewise, park opponents, it seemed, opposed the park for more diverse reasons than a belief that a park would hinder economic development.

³ After selling Burt's Bees, Quimby began devoting her attention to using her newfound wealth to purchase land in northern Maine with the goal of donating it to the federal government as a national park.

These feelings materialized in a summer trip to Millinocket with my family in which I had several informal conversations with people about the park issue. The divisiveness of the issue was tangible and expressed on the majority of lawns and storefronts in the form of posters supporting or opposing the national park idea. People were fiercely passionate about the park issue, and it did not seem possible that economic development could be the only thing spurring such intense feelings. Simply, the public focus on economic development did not appear true to the issue at hand, representative of all the types of values that inform peoples' positions on an idea as contentious as a national park.



Figure 1. Photographs of Elliottsville Plantation Inc.'s proposed park lands (Both by Adam Auerbach)

These feelings of confusion and disappointment with the public discourse crystallized when I visited the lands of the proposed park later in the summer of 2015. I was determined that my thesis project would not be as simplistic as arguing whether a national park should or should not be created. Therefore, I made a personal resolution not to allow myself to take a side on the matter. However, touring the proposed park land left me feeling unsure whether the land in question really merited a national park. Given this uncertainty, I was frustrated that the matter of

national park worthiness was hardly addressed in the public discussion of the park. EPI's land may merit a national park, but the matter is at least worthy of consideration and debate. This made me start asking myself questions like "why is economic development the only thing widely discussed in the public debate?" and "what other things worth discussing are not receiving any public attention?"

In considering this second question, I had an "aha!" moment. Maine already has a national park in the form of Acadia; perhaps the types of arguments used for Acadia's creation could be illustrative of the sorts of things left out of the modern park debate. I soon realized Acadia was not the only proposed national park throughout Maine's history. As outlined above, Mt. Katahdin was the site of a vigorous national park debate in the 1930s, the National Park Service produced multiple proposals for an Allagash park in the 1950s and 60s, and a group called RESTORE: the North Woods has been advocating for a massive national park in the North Woods since the early 1990s. Surely, I thought, the park debates of Maine's past could reveal some inspiration into the peculiar dynamics of the modern park debate.

Research Questions

How have the values people use to support and oppose conservation on the national park model changed and stayed the same throughout Maine's past and into the present? Why is economic development the dominant value in today's park debate? What are the repercussions of today's economically focused discourse? I expected to find that appeals to the economic development argument became more prominent slowly over time and that the heightened focus on the economy in the present is simply a product of the growing importance of the discourse of

the economy in American (and global) society at large. However, the real answers have proven to be much more complicated and interesting.

As it turns out, changing dynamics of class and geographic conflict are essential to understanding the rise of today's focus on economic development in the park debate. I learned that park supporters have been aware of and appealing to the economic benefits of national parks, albeit less prominently, ever since the first proposal of Acadia in the early 1900s. The reason for today's focus on these benefits, to the exclusion of others, is not because of heightened national interest in the discourse of the economy. Instead, it has more to do with the particular class and geographic dynamics of conservation in Maine.

Methods

While it may be tempting to categorize this thesis as a work of environmental history, in reality it is a discourse analysis of both past and present. The focus is contemporary, on the framing of today's ongoing park debate. However, I have used history, as evidenced by park discourse in the past, extensively to inform my understanding of today's park discourse. Why take a historical approach to understanding today's debate? Maine's historical park debates make clear the class and geographic dynamics that have been a feature of conservation debates throughout Maine's history and remain crucial to today's park debate. Moreover, the historical debates illustrate the types of values conservationists and opponents have brought to environmental conflict in the past that in today's public debate go unstated under a framing that is primarily limited to appeals to economic development. A historical approach sheds light on the way different values have figured into park debates in the past and provides a framework for

analyzing why values beyond economic development do not feature in the present. Put simply, understanding the framing of today's park debate requires an understanding of the past.

In attempting to reconstruct park debate discourse in the past, I utilized a variety of primary sources. In the primary source collections described below, I looked particularly for sources that were not merely descriptive of a national park proposal, but took a side. Within these sources, I examined the types of justifications people used for and against national park creation. For the Acadia debate, I chose to focus on *Bar Harbor Times* articles from the period available online through the Mount Desert Island Historical Society, as that was the major newspaper of the proposed park area at the time. I also examined the *Sieur de Monts* publications, a set of 23 documents George Dorr, the principal promoter of the park, compiled, many of which he authored himself, to celebrate the new national monument, encourage its upgrade to national park status, and promote further conservation of the Island. Lastly, I consulted a House of Representatives hearing concerning the proposed park and *National Geographic* articles authored by Dorr and other park supporters.

For the proposed Mt. Katahdin national park, I used the Baxter and Avery archival collections in the Maine State Library. Percival Baxter was one of the primary national park opponents, while Myron Avery was one of the most prominent supporters. Their collections include newspaper and magazine articles, editorials, speeches, and government documents about the proposed national park and a competing state park proposal Baxter championed.

For the Allagash controversy, I focused on the Edmund S. Muskie Papers in the Muskie archives at Bates College. During the Allagash debate, Muskie was the governor of Maine (1955-1959) and a U.S. senator (1959-1980). While he was not a primary national park supporter or opponent, Muskie, as a prominent politician from the state, was an integral part of the

Allagash discussion.⁴ His papers contain bountiful newspaper articles, speeches, promotional publications, and government documents surrounding the controversy. A pair of National Park Service publications regarding Allagash park proposals is also available through the Bates College Library.⁵ My last body of source material on the Allagash was a vertical file of newspaper articles on the river available upon request in the Maine State Library.

Jym St. Pierre, the Maine Director of RESTORE has maintained an archive in RESTORE's Hallowell office of almost everything written about the proposed RESTORE park, both positive and negative, since the early 1990s into the present. In addition to these articles, editorials, and other publications, I utilized the *Bangor Daily News* and *Portland Press Herald* archives available online through the Bates College Library.

While my insight into the historical park debates was mostly limited to archival research, my methods were varied for the modern park debate. Articles concerning today's EPI proposal are widely available online, particularly through the *Bangor Daily News*. I also consulted hard copies of promotional materials from park supporters and opponents gathered during trips to the Millinocket area. The primary methodological difference, however, between my treatment of the historical park debates and the contemporary EPI and RESTORE debates is that for the modern park debates I conducted extensive interviews with park supporters and opponents.⁶

⁴ Muskie did support public conservation of the Allagash, but he was open to either a state or federal model. Edmund S. Muskie to State of Maine Forestry Commissioner Austin H. Wilkins, November 18, 1964, U.S. Senate 1935-1981 Series, Washington Office 1959-1980 Subseries, Box 190, Folder 1, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

⁵ "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area," ed. Department of the Interior (National Park Service, 1961); "A Report on the Proposed Allagash National Riverway," (United States Department of Interior Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, 1963).

⁶ The RESTORE debate is in some ways both an historical and contemporary debate. The RESTORE debate began in the early 1990s, but its supporters are still vocal in pushing for their

In selecting my interviews, I was most interested in hearing from the most vocal, publicly visible park supporters and opponents, as these are the people most active in shaping the public discourse surrounding the park issue. I wanted to speak with the people who are responsible for creating the public framing of the park debate, including those who write editorials and produce publicity materials for either side. On the supporters' side I interviewed Lucas St. Clair of EPI as well as Eliza Donoghue, the North Woods Policy Advocate and Outreach Coordinator at the Natural Resources Council of Maine, an environmental organization that has, in recent years, come out in support of EPI's national park proposal. I also interviewed Matt Polstein, a vocal park supporter and the owner of the New England Outdoor Center, to have a voice from the tourism business in the area. I also spoke with Kirk Francis, the Chief of the Penobscot Nation, because the Penobscot have come out in favor of the park proposal. Finally, I spoke with RESTORE's Maine Director, Jym St. Pierre.

On the opponents' side, I interviewed Anne Mitchell, the President of the Maine Woods Coalition, a group that formed to fight national park creation in northern Maine. Likewise, I interviewed Pat Strauch, Executive Director of the Maine Forest Products Council, so I would have a voice from the forest products industry. My last interviewee was Bob Meyers, Executive Director of the Maine Snowmobile Association, a group that opposes the park. Interviewing Meyers allowed me to hear from a representative of a group that promotes "traditional use" of the Maine Woods, like snowmobiling.

Each interviewee signed, or was recorded verbally agreeing to, an informed consent form, available in Appendix A, allowing me to record the interview and use their quotations in this thesis. I asked each person a similar set of questions, available in Appendix B. The questions

park plan today. However, public discussion around EPI's smaller and more widely supported park has overshadowed the RESTORE debate in recent years.

were organized around three subjects: general questions about the park debate, the role of economics in the park debate, and values. My overall goal in the interviews was to understand why the park debate is framed around economic development and to ascertain the values that motivate each person's position on the proposed park. The combination of historical archival work and interviews allowed me to address the ways people have supported and opposed national park creation in Maine's past and gain insight into the framing of today's park debate and the underlying values at play.

A Road Map

My first chapter will explain the link between national parks and values, provide context as to why Maine is an appropriate case study for this analysis, and articulate the timeliness of this work. Further, I will provide a brief history of proposed parks throughout Maine's history and discuss previous scholarship on values that is relevant to proposed parks in Maine. I will offer six different value systems that have recurred in public materials throughout Maine's park debates: wilderness escape, wilderness ecocentrism, social wilderness, national interest, anti-federal localism, and regional economic development. Finally, at the end of chapter 1, I will offer my core propositions, summarized here: 1) the six value systems are associated with particular class and geographic positions, 2) park debates that were class and geographic conflicts were also value conflicts, 3) park supporters have willfully framed today's debate primarily around the regional economic development value system, obscuring the other values at play, and 4) this framing has serious negative consequences.

In chapter 2, I will cover each of Maine's historical park debates, Acadia, Katahdin, and the Allagash. I will give a more detailed account of each park proposal and then use my primary

sources to uncover how people appealed to the six value systems in these three debates and demonstrate the class and geographic associations of each value system. The Acadia and Katahdin proposals were publicly discussed principally by elites who shared similar values. Only once working class local people and forestry industry interests entered the public debate during the Allagash controversy did a clash of values ensue.

In the third chapter, I will address both of the park debates that are ongoing today, the RESTORE debate and the more recent EPI debate. I will again trace the role of the six value systems in each debate with attention to the class and geographic associations of each value system. During the early years of the RESTORE debate, the park issue was a class and geographic conflict manifested as a value conflict. However, while today's EPI park debate remains a class and geographic conflict, over time park supporters and opponents have largely stopped appealing to value systems other than regional economic development. Instead of a clash of values, today park supporters and opponents primarily appeal to the same value system.

My final chapter will investigate the reasons behind the dominance of economic development arguments in today's public park debate and offer several repercussions of this framing. I will argue that park supporters have framed the park debate as an economic development issue in order to downplay value conflict with working class locals. This framing prevents meaningful discussion and compromise between park supporters and opponents and also has several other serious negative consequences. Lastly, the conclusion will explore a theoretical framework for envisioning what meaningful compromise might look like in conservation issues in northern Maine.

Chapter 1: Maine, National Parks, and Values

National Parks and Values

“... *the concept of a national park reflects some of the central values and experiences in American culture.*”⁷

As the above quote from Roderick Nash suggests, national parks occupy a unique place in the public environmental mind and in American culture. For better or worse, the Yellowstone and Yosemite of the world hold a central place in popular understanding of nature, preservation, and our national landscape. Nash’s quote also suggests the reality that national parks reflect values. National parks are intended to be areas of land that hold national significance, and the criteria for what determines national significance is a value choice. The Congressional Research Service explains that the National Park Service is mandated to consider land to be nationally significant “if it is an outstanding example of a resource; exceptionally illustrates or interprets natural or cultural themes of our country’s heritage; provides extraordinary opportunities for public enjoyment or scientific study; and contains a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled resource.”⁸

To designate certain features nationally significant and others not is a value judgment. As R.B. Smith writes,

“parks are also one of the most honest reflections of our culture...of what each generation of Americans has considered important. As sites are added to the system, as chaotic and unpredictable as the process may seem, they are reflections of the people’s will, an

⁷ Roderick Nash, "The American Invention of National Parks," *American Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1970): 726.

⁸ Carol Hardy Vincent, "National Park System: Establishing New Units," (Congressional Research Service, 2014), 5.

indication of what the majority considers significant at the moment of the park's establishment."⁹

Smith's analysis can be extended further. Yes, national parks are representations of what societies valued at the time of their formation. However, the parks themselves are not the only indication of societal values at play. Values can also be gleaned from public discourse surrounding *proposed parks*. Park debates are value conflicts, and we can learn as much about societal values from failed national park attempts as we can from successful examples. This thesis will uncover the values used to support and oppose park creation in historical and contemporary national park debates that have transpired or are currently transpiring in Maine.

Given the importance of values to this work, it is essential to define what I mean by "value." Value is the framework through which people assign significance and positive or negative worth to things. As Harvie and Milburn have stated, at its core, "The idea of values refers to that which people hold dear, esteem or cherish."¹⁰ From an anthropological standpoint, as David Graeber has articulated, value theory is a "part of larger systems of meaning, one containing conceptions of what the cosmos is ultimately about and what is worth pursuing in it."¹¹ Park debates inherently concern values, because the way people support and oppose parks is intertwined with how they conceptualize, evaluate, and assign meaning and worth to the world around them.

⁹ Richard B. Smith, "Saving All the Parts," in *National Parks and Rural Development: Practice and Policy in the United States*, ed. Gary E. Machlis and Donald R. Field (Washington, DC: Island Press), 233.

¹⁰ David Harvie and Keir Milburn, "Speaking Out: How Organizations Value and How Value Organizes," *Organization* 17, no. 5 (2010): 632.

¹¹ David Graeber, "Value: Anthropological Theories of Value," in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, ed. James G. Carrier (Cheltenham, U.K. and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2005), 443.

100 Years of National Park Proposals and Controversy

2016 marks a momentous year for the United States National Park Service. Nationwide, the Park Service is celebrating its centennial. The year 2016 holds further significance for the Park Service and for EPI park supporters in Maine. Roxanne Quimby and other EPI park supporters have long hoped that the Park Service would further celebrate its 2016 centennial by designating the new park unit in the Maine North Woods.¹² 2016 is a politically expedient deadline for park supporters, because Obama has been a tremendously friendly President towards creating new national park units, and it remains unclear whether the next President will embrace a similar platform. Further, given that full national park creation in 2016 seems unlikely at this late date, park supporters recently have shifted focus towards attempting to convince Obama to designate the land as a national monument before leaving office as an intermediate step to eventual national park creation.¹³ Given all these factors, 2016 marks a timely moment for conducting work on proposed national parks in Maine.

Nearly every period of Maine's history throughout the 20th century and into the present has been marked by the presence of a public debate surrounding a national park proposal. Not only does the Park Service as a whole turn 100 in 2016, its oldest park unit east of the Mississippi, Acadia National Park, will also celebrate its centennial. Acadia, founded as Sieur de Monts National Monument in 1916, marks the beginning of a long legacy of proposed national parks in Maine.¹⁴ In the hundred years since Acadia was founded, Maine has seen four other

¹² "Proposal for a Maine Woods National Park Remains an Uphill Battle," *Portland Press Herald*, October 11, 2015.

¹³ See chapter 3 for more information on the current push for national monument designation. Nick Sambides Jr., "St. Clair: National Monument Could Be Step toward Park," *Bangor Daily News*, November 16, 2015.

¹⁴ Robert W. McIntosh, Rolf Diamant, and Nora J. Mitchell, "Federal Land Conservation in New England: Crisis Response, and Adaptation," in *Twentieth-Century New England Land*

serious yet highly controversial national park proposals. To this day, Acadia remains the only proposal that has resulted in the creation of a national park.

Five Proposed National Parks Throughout Maine's History

George Dorr, viewed as the father of Acadia National Park, began pushing for national protection of land on Mount Desert Island in the early 1900s. Shortly after the debate around Acadia ended with the successful creation of a national monument in 1916 [Figure 2] and then a national park in 1919, a new park controversy began heating up.¹⁵ The area of northern Maine near Millinocket that today comprises Baxter State Park was the location of Maine's first failed national park proposal. In 1913, Frank Guernsey, a republican congressman from Dover-Foxcroft, Maine, introduced legislation about creating a national park in the Katahdin region.¹⁶ This legislation, and similar legislation Guernsey again introduced in 1916, did not make it out of committee.¹⁷ The park debate truly took shape beginning in 1933 when then Maine Governor Brann proposed a million acre Roosevelt National Park in the Katahdin region.¹⁸ Brann was soon joined by Myron Avery, the chair of the Appalachian Trail Conference, as well as prior Maine governor, at the time house delegate, and eventual senator, Owen Brewster, in pushing

Conservation: A Heritage of Civic Engagement, ed. Charles H.W. Foster (Petersham, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 47.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶ The Katahdin region refers to Mount Katahdin, the tallest mountain in Maine, which is near Millinocket in today's Baxter State Park. Mount Katahdin is also the northern terminus of the Appalachian Trail.

¹⁷ Neil Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands* (Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House, 2001), 27.

¹⁸ John W. Hakola, *Legacy of a Lifetime: The Story of Baxter State Park* (Woolwich, Maine: TBW Books, 1981), 141.

aggressively for a national park.¹⁹ Brann, Avery, and Brewster met spirited opposition in the form of Brewster's predecessor to the Maine governorship, Percival Baxter. Fierce political rivals, Brewster and Baxter, as well as the Maine public, contested the Katahdin national park issue throughout the 1930s.²⁰ Brann's national park dream was never realized. Instead, starting in the 1930s, Baxter began using his personal fortune to buy the land in question, which he then donated to the state of Maine as a state park. Baxter continued buying land to contribute to the park until 1962 when he made his final purchase.²¹

The year before Baxter purchased his final piece of Baxter State Park, a new national park proposal confronted the people of Maine. In 1961 the National Park Service published a report proposing a nearly 300,000 acre Allagash National Recreation Area comprising of 50,000 acres of the water surface of the Allagash River and 246,500 acres of surrounding forest.²² Two years later in 1963 the Park Service suggested an alternate plan for an Allagash National Riverway [Figure 3].²³ While neither of the proposals for the Allagash was for a national park outright, the Allagash controversy is still relevant to this thesis as the proposed national recreation area and national riverway would both have been federal parks managed by the National Park Service.²⁴ As we will see, these proposals too did not result in the creation of a

¹⁹ I was unable to find a map of the proposed Mt. Katahdin national park area. For some geographic reference, see the outline of Baxter State Park in Figure 4. The proposed national park would have been in a similar location.

²⁰ Hakola, *Legacy of a Lifetime: The Story of Baxter State Park*, 144-59.

²¹ "Brief History of Our Park," Baxter State Park Authority, <http://www.baxterstateparkauthority.com/about/history.htm>.

²² "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area."

²³ McIntosh, Diamant, and Mitchell, "Federal Land Conservation in New England: Crisis Response, and Adaptation," 52.

²⁴ The National Park Service had originally considered a 750,000 acre Allagash National Park in 1957. However, after being reviewed by Maine state agencies, this plan was never released to the public. The first park proposal made public was the 1961 proposal for a national recreation area.

national park unit in Maine. As with Mt. Katahdin, an alternate model of conservation took hold. In 1966 the State of Maine authorized the Allagash Wilderness Waterway, a state-controlled entity that would become a part of the federal National Wild and Scenic Rivers Program. The Allagash Wilderness Waterway was dedicated in 1970, and by 1973 all the land had been acquired.²⁵

A twenty year hiatus from national park controversy in Maine would resoundingly end in the early 1990s when a group called RESTORE: The North Woods began advocating for a 3.2 million acre national park surrounding Baxter State Park [Figure 4]. Public outcry at this proposal was fierce, particularly from locals in northern Maine. Despite minimal concrete progress and making many enemies since its inception, RESTORE supporters still today actively pursue their vision for a massive national park in the north Maine Woods.

Since 2010, Elliotsville Plantation Inc.'s proposal for a smaller 150,000 acre national park and recreation area [Figure 5] has taken the public spotlight from RESTORE's proposal. Roxanne Quimby owns most of the land in question, and she was originally the public figure most heavily associated with the EPI park. In recent years, Quimby has stepped out of the spotlight, and her son Lucas St. Clair has become the public face of the controversial proposal. While recent non-binding votes in the towns of East Millinocket and Medway suggest that local support is lacking, park supporters continue to promote their cause.²⁶

See page 7-8 of "Report on the Allagash to the Natural Resources Council of Maine," (New York: The Conservation Foundation, 1961).

²⁵ "Federal Land Conservation in New England: Crisis Response, and Adaptation," 53.

²⁶ The two votes were both referendums in June 2015. The vote in East Millinocket went 320-191 against the proposed park, while the vote in Medway went 252-102 against the park. For the Medway vote see Nick Sambides Jr., "Medway Rejects National Park Proposal by Wide Margin," *Bangor Daily News*, June 23, 2015. For the East Millinocket vote, see "East Millinocket Voters Reject National Park by Wide Margin," *Bangor Daily News*, June 29, 2015.



Figure 2. The original border of the Sieur de Monts National Monument and Mount Desert Island, 1916²⁷

²⁷ Reproduced from George B. Dorr, "The Sieur De Monts National Monument," ed. Department of the Interior (1916), 2.

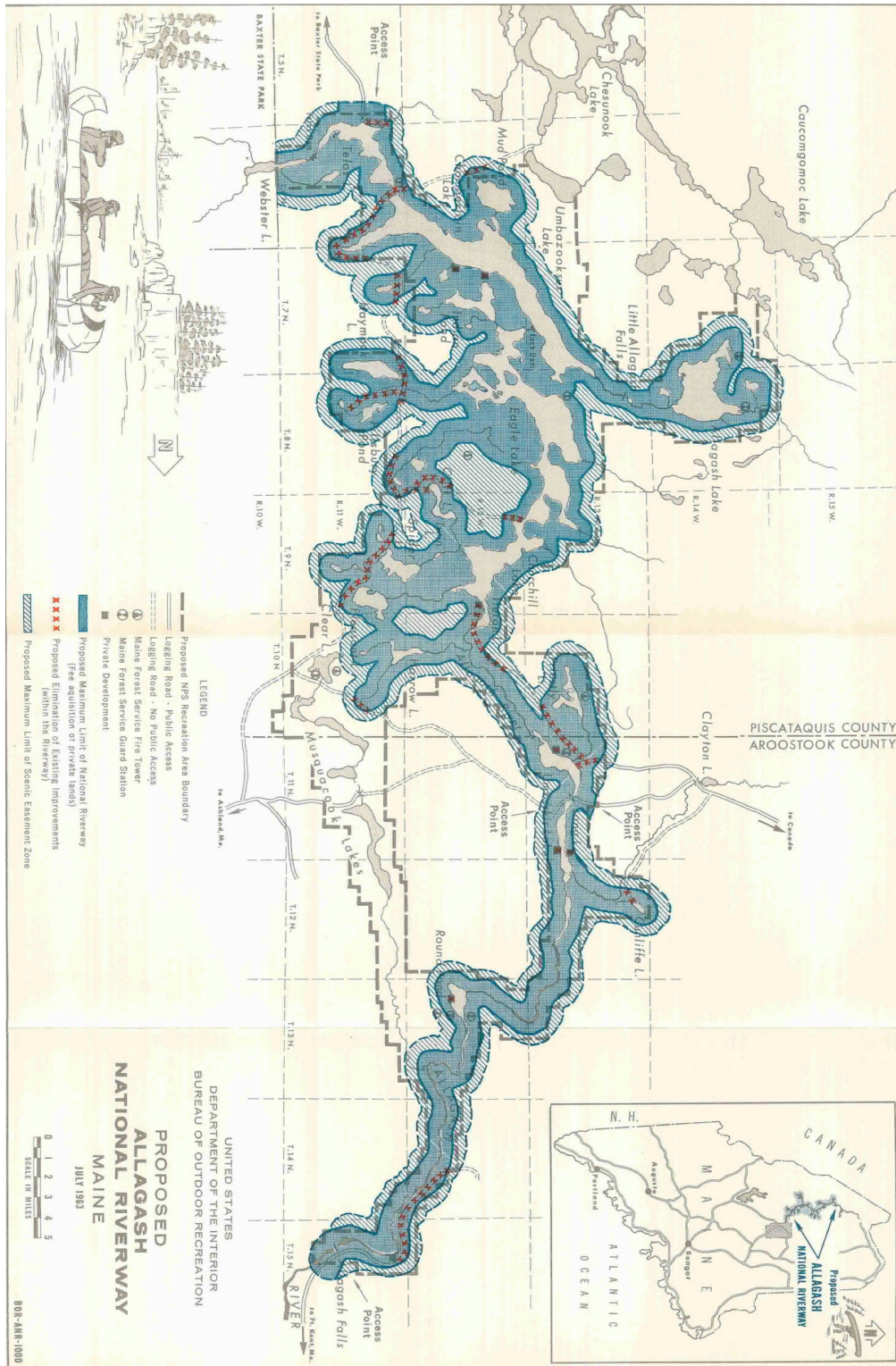


Figure 3. The proposed border of the Allagash National Riverway, 1963²⁸

²⁸ Reproduced from "A Report on the Proposed Allagash National Riverway."



Figure 4. RESTORE's proposed national park and preserve²⁹

²⁹ "Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve," (Hallowell, Maine: RESTORE: The North Woods, 2013). Used by permission of Jym St. Pierre.

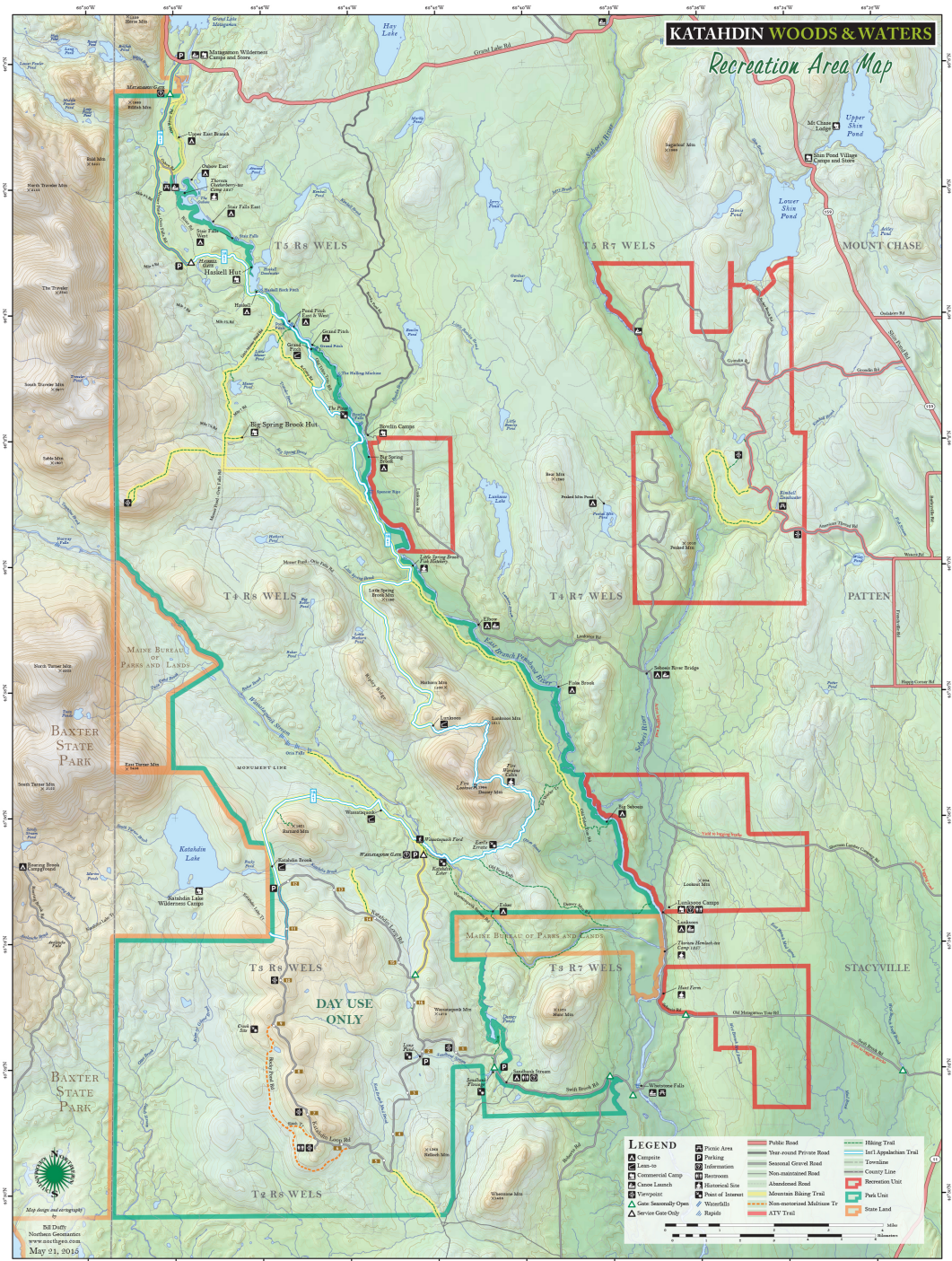


Figure 5. Elliotsville Plantation Inc.'s land east of Baxter State Park, 2015³⁰

Green parcels indicate EPI land intended for the national park. Red parcels indicate EPI land intended for the national recreation area.

³⁰ "Katahdin Woods & Waters Recreation Area Map," (Elliotsville Plantation Inc., 2015). Used by permission of Lucas St. Clair.

Why Maine?

As the brief history outlined above indicates, Maine provides a unique and worthy geographic platform for a historical analysis of values and national park controversies. A proposed national park has been on the public conscience in Maine for the majority of the hundred years since the founding of the Park Service. Moreover, Maine is home to the first national park east of the Mississippi.

Maine also occupies a special place in the national public imagination with regards to wildness and outdoor recreation. According to Judd and Beach, Maine “would make anyone’s list of states illustrating America’s commitment to environmental values.”³¹ They continue that Maine (and Oregon) “offer prime examples of natural landscapes that served as compelling sources of regional identity—eastern and western.”³² As Judd and Beach suggest, Maine is conceptualized by the nation as a uniquely wild and undeveloped landscape, particularly for the eastern part of the country. Relatedly, as park supporters are apt to point out, Maine is one of the only remaining states in the east that remains adequately undeveloped to make large-scale national park creation a feasible goal. Given Maine’s elevated place in the public consciousness concerning environmental and conservation issues, analyses of environmental issues and thought in Maine hold the capacity to speak to national environmental ideas and controversy. As Judd and Beach articulate, the environmental “concerns, attitudes, and strategies that surfaced in [Maine] transcend local circumstances.”³³

Maine is also an interesting platform for an analysis of proposed national parks, because national park creation has proven to be a very different process in the east than in the west. In the

³¹ Richard W. Judd and Christopher S. Beach, *Natural States: The Environmental Imagination in Maine, Oregon, and the Nation* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 2003), xii.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

west, when the national park idea reached prominence, relatively large expanses of land, much of it under federal control, were still either unoccupied or occupied by Native Americans and therefore seen as undeveloped and unsettled by the mainstream public. Therefore, while proposing a national park was often controversial, proposed parks did not compete with pre-existing politically enfranchised people in the proposed park areas or significant pre-existing economic development.³⁴ Meanwhile, most of the east coast was already significantly populated and developed by the advent of the national park idea. Roderick Nash has written about how the pattern and timing of settlement of the United States was conducive to establishing national parks in the west.³⁵

In the east, creating national parks was more challenging. For example, in the case of Shenandoah National Park, one of the few eastern parks beyond Acadia, people were forcibly removed from the proposed park area.³⁶ Beyond the population issue, most land in the east was already privately held by the rise of the Park Service, so national parks had to be donated by philanthropists, purchased from willing sellers, or secured through eminent domain. Given these complications, the east coast has seen the development of vastly fewer large-scale national parks than the west. The very different routes towards national park formation in the east and west mean it is fitting to pursue further scholarship on proposed national parks in the east. Richard

³⁴ I use the term “politically enfranchised people” here in order to reference the unfortunate history of native peoples being forced out of national parks. See for example Mark Dowie’s chapter on Yosemite National Park: Mark Dowie, “Miwok,” in *Conservation Refugees : The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). See also Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³⁵ Nash, “The American Invention of National Parks,” 733.

³⁶ The government used eminent domain to take the land for the park from its previous, unwilling inhabitants. This story is told in: Sue Eisenfeld, *Shenandoah: A Story of Conservation and Betrayal* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

Judd has written about the western focus of the field of environmental history, and the need to address the history of conservation in the east as well.³⁷

Thus far only a limited body of scholarship exists on national park formation in the east. Shenandoah National Park and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park have both received academic attention.³⁸ Even less scholarship has covered proposed parks in Maine. Sargent Collier and George Dorr himself have written accounts of Acadia's formation.³⁹ John Hakola gives limited coverage to the Katahdin national park controversy in his history of Baxter State Park.⁴⁰ Finally Neil Rolde and Thomas Uruquart reference the stories of all the proposed parks prior to today's EPI proposal in their respective histories of wild lands and conservation in Maine.⁴¹

The Allagash and RESTORE's Maine Woods National Park are the only Maine proposed parks that have received scholarly attention specific to the public debate that surrounded the proposals. Richard Judd has addressed the wilderness idea in the Allagash debate, and Judd and Christopher Beach give considerable attention to the Allagash controversy in their work on

³⁷ Richard W. Judd, "Writing Environmental History from East to West," in *Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground*, ed. Ben A. Minter and Robert E. Manning (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003).

³⁸ For Shenandoah, see Eisenfeld, *Shenandoah: A Story of Conservation and Betrayal*. For Great Smoky Mountains, see Bruce J. Weaver, "'What to Do with the Mountain People?' The Darker Side of the Successful Campaign to Establish the Great Smoky Mountains National Park," in *The Symbolic Earth: Discourse and Our Creation of the Environment*, ed. James G. Cantrill and Christine L. Oravec (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

³⁹ Sargent F. Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History* (Camden, Maine: Down East Books, 1978); George B. Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," in *The Story of Acadia National Park* (Bar Harbor, Maine: Acadia Publishing Company, 1985).

⁴⁰ Hakola, *Legacy of a Lifetime: The Story of Baxter State Park*.

⁴¹ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*; Thomas A. Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," in *Twentieth-Century New England Land Conservation: A Heritage of Civic Engagement*, ed. Charles H.W. Foster (Petersham, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

“environmental imagination” in Maine and Oregon.⁴² Bonnie Docherty has applied the environmental justice model to the early years of the RESTORE debate.⁴³ Stephanie Welcomer and Mark Haggerty later analyzed the RESTORE debate, focusing on conflicting notions of community legitimacy.⁴⁴ Finally, Welcomer extended such scholarship to an exploration of the ways the park support and opposition narratives changed throughout the RESTORE debate through the mid 2000s.⁴⁵ While these sources indicate scholarly attention to the early years of the RESTORE debate, no academic work has been published on the park proposal in Maine since Welcomer’s article in 2010. Therefore, today’s EPI proposal has received no attention. A re-examining of the issue in light of this new development is called for and is part of what this thesis aims to accomplish.

Value Theories

David Graeber has suggested that the word “value” holds three possible meanings in our language. His first way of talking about values is “‘values’ in the sociological sense: conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life.” This contrasts with Graeber’s second way of talking about value, value in the economic sense, which is “the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get

⁴² Richard W. Judd, ““A Last Chance for Wilderness”: Defining the Allagash,” *Maine History* 40, no. 1: The Nature of Maine (2001); Judd and Beach, *Natural States: The Environmental Imagination in Maine, Oregon, and the Nation*.

⁴³ Bonnie Docherty, “Maine’s North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal,” *The Harvard Environmental Law Review* 24, no. 2 (2000).

⁴⁴ Stephanie A. Welcomer and Mark E. Haggerty, “Tied to the Past - Bound to the Future: Ceremonial Encapsulation in a Maine Woods Land Use Policy,” *Journal of Economic Issues* XLI, no. 2 (2007).

⁴⁵ Stephanie A. Welcomer, “Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline,” *Organization & Environment* 23, no. 1 (2010).

them.”⁴⁶ The third way of discussing value concerns value in the linguistic sense and is not relevant to this work. When I discuss value in this thesis, I intend to use Graeber’s first way of speaking about value, the sociological definition.

Graeber’s first and second ways of talking about value, value in the sociological sense and in the economic sense, are linked. This paper holds that seeing value primarily in the economic sense (Graeber’s second definition) is in fact a value choice within the realm of values in the sociological sense (Graeber’s first definition). In this way, the second, economic way of talking about value is a subset or option within the first, sociological value discourse. It is a sociological value choice to decide to see economic wealth and value as “ultimately good, proper, or desirable.”⁴⁷

Prioritizing economic growth is part of a value system. In *Unequal Freedoms* John McMurtry articulates that a “value system” is essentially a collection of values that inform a way of conceptualizing the world.⁴⁸ McMurtry writes, “Values, when joined into an overall structure of thinking, whether conscious or largely unconscious in formation, make up a value system. A value system connects together goods that are affirmed and bads that are repudiated as an integrated way of thinking and acting in the world.”⁴⁹ This thesis will categorize the ways park supporters and opponents have justified their positions in park debates of the past and present into six unique value systems outlined later in this chapter. This thesis will also entertain the possibility that park supporters and opponents might themselves hold different private value systems than the value systems they choose to engage in public discussion of parks.

⁴⁶ David Graeber, *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (New York and: Palgrave, 2001), 1.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ John McMurtry, *Unequal Freedoms: The Global Market as an Ethical System* (West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1998).

⁴⁹ Ibid., 7.

For McMurtry, a “value program” is a more extreme, entrenched version of a value system. In a value program, McMurtry writes, “all people enact its prescriptions and functions as presupposed norms of what they ought to do. All assume its value designations and value exclusions as givens.”⁵⁰ Put more explicitly, “A value system or ethic becomes a *program* when its assumed structure of worth rules out thought beyond it.”⁵¹ How are value programs related to this project? Every time a value system is perpetuated through public discourse it becomes more entrenched and more likely to become a value program. Eventually, if a value system is articulated often and exclusively enough in public discourse, other systems of valuing will be ruled out and members of society will be unable to articulate values outside of the dominant discourse.

This phenomenon gives more weight to the importance of national park debates and conservation debates in general. The value systems people use to support and oppose conservation have a feedback effect in reproducing those same value systems, and perhaps entrenching them to the point that they become value programs. Given this reality, park supporters and opponents play a dangerous game when they publicly support or oppose conservation and national parks under different value systems than those they personally hold. The risk is solidifying a value system that is personally unattractive into a value program.

Massimo De Angelis has expanded on McMurtry’s work to clarify the relationship between social practice, like park debates, and reinforcing value systems or turning value systems into value programs. De Angelis introduces a third term, “value practices,” which he defines as “those actions and processes, as well as correspondent webs of relations, that are both

⁵⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁵¹ Ibid., 15.

predicated on a given value system and in turn (re)produce it.”⁵² “To talk about value practices,” De Angelis explains, is “not only to talk about social form, organizational reach, mode of doing, modes of co-producing and relating, but about the *processes* giving rise to this form.”⁵³ In the context of park debates, park supporters and opponents engage certain value practices, which in turn reinforce corresponding value systems. An example of a value practice that we will return to in chapter 3 is the choice by Elliotsville Plantation Inc. to fund the independent research group, Headwaters Economics, to complete two studies of the economic impact of the proposed national park.⁵⁴ By carrying out this particular value practice, EPI reinforces a value system founded on the belief that conservation needs to be economically beneficial to be justified. De Angelis’ concept of a value practice will be helpful to the remainder of this thesis work, because in chapters 2 and 3, I will point out some of the value practices park supporters and opponents have mobilized in the modern and historical park debates as well as the corresponding value systems advanced by each value practice.

Value conflicts are particularly important for this thesis, as park debates are obviously grounds of conflict. De Angelis introduces the term “value struggles” to refer to “conflicting value practices.”⁵⁵ The term value struggles, for De Angelis, also refers to the internal struggle we as humans undergo when we find ourselves a part of a societal value system with which we disagree. As this thesis will argue, park supporters and opponents sometimes feel compelled to

⁵² Massimo De Angelis, "Value Struggles," in *The Beginning of History: Value Struggles and Global Capital* (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁴ Elliotsville Plantation Inc. is the non-profit Roxanne Quimby and her family founded to manage the proposed park land. The first study is "The Regional Economy of Penobscot and Piscataquis Counties, Maine and a Potential National Park and Recreation Area," (Bozeman, MT: Headwaters Economics, 2013). The second study is "A Comparative Analysis of the Economies of Peer Counties with National Parks and Recreation Areas to Penobscot and Piscataquis Counties, Maine," (Bozeman, MT: Headwaters Economics, 2013).

⁵⁵ "Value Struggles," 30.

publicly voice their positions through value systems that do not reflect the values that are actually responsible for informing their positions in the first place, meaning they are undergoing an internal value struggle.

This thesis, however, is primarily concerned with De Angelis' first understanding of the term value struggle, conflict between value practices. De Angelis writes, "Indeed, we could say different value practices actually constitute the boundaries of systems of relations and that social conflict is the clash that occurs at the intersection between these boundaries."⁵⁶ Essentially, De Angelis finds opposing value practices (value struggles) to be the root of societal conflict. I intend to build on this work by suggesting that societal conflicts do not always take the form of value struggles; instead it is also possible to have a societal conflict framed entirely within a particular mutually held value system. I will use the term "value engagement" to refer to this situation. In a value engagement, both sides of a conflict appeal to the same value system in their arguments, but simply disagree about the best strategy for advancing that value system. Societal conflicts can take the form either of a clash of values (value struggle) *or* both sides can simply be locked in a disagreement within a mutually embraced dominant value system (value engagement).

An example of a value struggle would be if park supporters argued their cause by focusing on ecocentric values like wildlife habitat protection, while park opponents focused on lost forestry-related economic activity that would result from park creation. Here park supporters would be operationalizing a value system emphasizing the intrinsic worth of non-human nature, while park opponents would be deploying a value system centered on the importance of economic growth. An example of a value engagement would be if park supporters emphasized

⁵⁶ Ibid.

the job creation and economic development that would result from increased tourism to a new park and park opponents highlighted job loss and economic strain in the forestry sector. In this example, both park opponents and supporters would be engaged in a conflict entirely within the realm of a value system that suggests economic development is paramount. In the latter example, given that the conflict occurs entirely within a value system that emphasizes the importance of economic development, that value system is confirmed and made more likely to continue holding sway in the future. A societal conflict that takes the form of two opposing systems (value struggle) destabilizes both value systems, while a societal conflict confined within the bounds of one dominant value system (value engagement) further entrenches that value system and makes it more likely to become a value program.

The above section has introduced five terms that will be essential to this thesis. In order to clarify the distinctions between these related terms, each is restated and summarized below:

1. *Value System* (McMurtry)- A collection of values that inform a way of seeing and thinking about the world.
2. *Value Program* (McMurtry)- A value system that becomes so entrenched as to rule out thought outside of it.
3. *Value Practices* (De Angelis)- Actions and relations that result from a certain value system that in turn reproduce and further entrench that value system.
4. *Value Struggle* (De Angelis)- A societal conflict that takes the form of a clash of value practices and value systems. The term can also refer to the internal struggle we as humans undergo when we find ourselves needing to or choosing to engage a societally dominant value system we disagree with.

5. *Value Engagement (New)*- A societal conflict that is simply a disagreement within an overarching mutually held value system. Both sides of the conflict appeal primarily to the same value system.

The Value Systems

As it turns out, at least six key value systems have recurred throughout the national park debates of Maine's present and past, with varying degrees of emphasis in each debate. Some of the park debates have principally been value struggles, that is, clashes between two of these value systems, while others have primarily been value engagements. This thesis is not the only place where these six value systems have been noted, others have acknowledged the existence of similar clusters of values previously. The six value systems this thesis will cover are as follows:

1. Wilderness Escape

Wilderness escape is a value system centered around the idea that scenic natural lands should be managed for the enjoyment and leisure of people as a refuge from the corrupting influences of modern civilization and the economy. This is an anthropocentric view of nature and wilderness that emphasizes the importance of preserving nature for human ability to enjoy it, in contrast with the wilderness ecocentrism value system (see below), which is non-anthropocentric. Under wilderness escape, wilderness is something apart from man and society.

William Cronon has alluded to the wilderness escape value system in his famous essay "The Trouble with Wilderness."⁵⁷ He suggests that the environmental movement's infatuation

⁵⁷ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995).

with wilderness is counterproductive to actually helping the environment as it causes people to ignore the vastly more abundant nature not protected in wilderness parks. The tendency to idealize wilderness spaces for recreation and escape stems from the wilderness escape value system. Cronon is referring to this value system when he describes a vision of nature as “a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization.”⁵⁸ As we find in Maine’s park debates, Cronon suggests that this particular way of seeing nature is associated with elites. He asks, “Why, for instance, is the ‘wilderness experience’ so often conceived as a form of recreation best enjoyed by those whose class privileges give them the time and resources to leave their jobs behind and ‘get away from it all’?”⁵⁹

In the same volume as Cronon’s piece, Richard White also alludes to the wilderness escape value system. In “‘Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?’” White argues that environmentalists need to come to terms with work in the natural environment rather than demonizing all who make their living in the outdoors.⁶⁰ He too has identified the wilderness escape value system by noting that environmentalists tend to emphasize wild places as spaces of leisure. He explains that environmentalists are apt to “[celebrate] the virtues of play and recreation in nature.”⁶¹ Like Cronon, White maps this vision of nature onto elites. He writes that, “Environmentalists so often seem self-righteous, privileged, and arrogant because they so readily consent to identifying nature with play and making it by definition a place where leisured

⁵⁸ Ibid., 69.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁰ Richard White, “‘Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?’: Work and Nature,” *ibid.*

⁶¹ Ibid., 171.

humans come only to visit and not to work, stay, or live.”⁶² This vision of nature, primarily associated with elites, clashes with the social wilderness vision of nature (see below) associated with many working class northern Mainers.

2. *Wilderness Ecocentrism*

This value system holds that nature can be worthy of protection based on its own inherent qualities regardless of its ability to serve human interests. This is a non-anthropocentric view of nature, in contrast with the wilderness escape value system. Wilderness ecocentrism emphasizes protecting nature for reasons like wildlife benefit rather than only human recreation and enjoyment. Only park supporters have mobilized this value system.

Robyn Eckersley has identified this value system in referring to “ecocentric discourses” in the environmental movement.⁶³ “Various referred to as ecocentric or biocentric,” Eckersley notes, “these discourses have been in the forefront of mounting a critique of anthropocentrism or human chauvinism, philosophically defending the intrinsic value of nature and politically defending the setting aside of large tracts of habitat along with other policy changes to ensure the flourishing of nonhuman species.”⁶⁴

Judd and Beach write about the rise of a societal belief in the intrinsic value of nature. They argue that, between 1945 and 1975, the public environmental imagination shifted from a utilitarian understanding of the natural environment to one that emphasized the “more

⁶² Ibid., 173.

⁶³ Robyn Eckersley, "Ecocentric Discourses: Problems and Future Prospects for Nature Advocacy," in *Debating the Earth: The Environmental Politics Reader*, ed. John S. Dryzek and David Schlosberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶⁴ Ibid., 364.

compelling goals of wilderness preservation and ecological balance.”⁶⁵ This latter understanding of the natural environment is in tune with the wilderness ecocentrism value system. This value system, like wilderness escape, has been associated primarily with elites in Maine’s park debates.

3. *Social Wilderness*

The social wilderness value system is based on an understanding of the forest as an inhabited space. The importance of work in the woods is emphasized along with such “traditional” uses of the woods as hunting, snowmobiling, trapping, fishing, and ATV use. Unlike the wilderness escape value system, social wilderness does not hold wilderness to be something apart from people and society. Instead the wilderness is a place for human activity. This is an anthropocentric view of nature, which focuses on nature’s ability to provide for people. Under social wilderness, nature is improved rather than damaged by humans. Historically, park opponents primarily have appealed to this value system, but, as we will see in the third chapter, the national recreation area component of today’s EPI proposal also appeals to the social wilderness value system.

The term “social wilderness” is borrowed from Marguerite Andrews’ work on land-use, snowmobiling, and social relations in Maine’s North Woods.⁶⁶ For Andrews “social wilderness” refers to the idea of Maine’s North Woods as an inhabited working forest, “a multiple-use landscape where people and the environment are fundamentally interconnected through daily living and local economies; care for the earth is expressed via active stewardship, not hands-off

⁶⁵ Judd and Beach, *Natural States: The Environmental Imagination in Maine, Oregon, and the Nation*, 248.

⁶⁶ Marguerite L. Andrews, "Contested Conservation of the Snowmobile Commons: Private Land, Public Rights, and Rural Livelihoods in Maine's Social Wilderness" (Rutgers, 2014).

preservation; and spaces for work and play are one and the same.”⁶⁷ She continues, “Snowmobiling embodies this multidimensionality.”⁶⁸ This value system conflicts with the two wilderness value systems associated with elites. Unsurprisingly, Andrews identifies social wilderness with working class rural Mainers: “Rural inhabitants tend to possess a land ethic... perceiving themselves as stewards of their inherited lands, and view nature shaped to human needs.”⁶⁹

Richard Judd has also alluded to the social wilderness value system in *Common Lands, Common People*.⁷⁰ By focusing on northern New England, Judd contests the idea that conservation is a movement entirely of elite origin. His book “challenges environmental historians to look more closely at the people who used these [natural] resources and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, pondered their conservation.”⁷¹ Judd contrasts 19th century common people who are the subject of his book with “Romantic naturalists,” urban people whose concepts of nature were more in line with the wilderness escape value system. Romantic naturalists had a view of nature that was “predicated on recreational rather than utilitarian concepts of land use, and on Romantic visions of the wilderness.”⁷² He continues, “Unlike rural traditions, this ideal projected nature as immutable and separate from human activity.”⁷³ The contrasting rural traditions Judd mentions share many of the attributes of the social wilderness value system. “Unlike their contemporaries the Romantic naturalists,” he writes, “farm reformers were interested in using nature, not saving it. Primeval nature was an unfinished landscape to be

⁶⁷ Ibid., 51.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 49.

⁷⁰ Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).

⁷¹ Ibid., 5.

⁷² Ibid., 197.

⁷³ Ibid.

molded to a higher form of utility. Their admonitions were predicated on a view of nature as an infinitely malleable adjunct to the farm economy.”⁷⁴ The vision of nature Judd maps onto his rural “farm reformers,” like social wilderness, is anthropocentric and emphasizes nature as a lived in space that is improved by people and in turn provides valuable resources.

4. *National Interest*

This is a value system that holds that national rather than local interest should be paramount in land-use decisions. National interest suggests that places of national significance ought to be managed in the interest of all Americans rather than local people specifically. Only national park supporters have appealed to this value system.

Scholars like Anne Marie Todd and Terre Ryan have written about the relationship between sublime natural landscapes, patriotism, and national identity in American culture.⁷⁵ For example, Ryan describes how the natural environment helped foster nationalism in the 19th century United States. She writes, “The geographic features of the American landscape, depicted according to the pastoral, the picturesque, the beautiful, and the sublime, became symbols of the dominant national community.”⁷⁶ The national interest value system manifests this same sort of thinking by suggesting that the most superlative examples of America’s natural environment ought to belong to and be managed for the entire nation rather than just those who live close by. Stephanie Welcomer and Mark Haggerty have even alluded to this value system in the specific

⁷⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁵ Anne Marie Todd, *Communicating Environmental Patriotism: A Rhetorical History of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2013); “A Call for Environmental Patriotism,” *Taproot* 23, no. 2 (2014); Terre Ryan, *This Ecstatic Nation: The American Landscape and the Aesthetics of Patriotism* (Amherst and Boston, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

⁷⁶ *This Ecstatic Nation: The American Landscape and the Aesthetics of Patriotism*, 16.

context of the RESTORE debate by suggesting that the RESTORE debate was a conflict over contested ideas of community.⁷⁷ For Welcomer and Haggerty, park supporters were interested in the interests of “humans on the national scale,” which is clearly reflective of the national interest value system.⁷⁸ Park opponents were more interested in local interests, as reflected by the anti-federal localism value system addressed below. The national interest value system, as we will see, has been primarily associated with elites in Maine’s park debates.

5. *Anti-federal Localism*

Anti-federal localism is a value system predicated on the superiority of local over federal governance. It holds that the federal government has no place in dictating land-use in local areas. Moreover, this value system suggests a disdain for outsider influence beyond just the federal government, like out of state environmental interests. Park opponents, both working class locals and Maine-minded elites, have primarily appealed to this value system.

Scholarly coverage of this value system has been particularly linked to the Wise Use movement in the rural American West, as a central tenet of the movement is opposition to federal control. As James McCarthy writes, “A powerful antipathy towards the federal government is central to the political culture of the western USA and to Wise Use, and shapes all of the movement’s efforts.”⁷⁹ Teresa Erickson has made similar comments about how proponents of Wise Use disdain policies that impact local people but stem from the federal government or

⁷⁷ Welcomer and Haggerty, "Tied to the Past - Bound to the Future: Ceremonial Encapsulation in a Maine Woods Land Use Policy."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 383.

⁷⁹ James McCarthy, "Environmentalism, Wise Use and the Nature of Accumulation in the Rural West," in *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millenium*, ed. Bruce Braun and Noel Castree (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 131.

national environmental groups.⁸⁰ Whereas the Wise Use movement is about contesting federal control of lands and non-local environmental interests in the west, the same ideology is present in northern Maine. Currently, unlike in the west, there is very little federal ownership of land in Maine, and proponents of anti-federal localism would like to keep it that way. Welcomer and Haggerty help us to see that the anti-federal localism value system was at play in the RESTORE debate. While park supporters thought about Maine's North Woods in terms of its ability to serve a national audience, park opponents were adamant that local interests should come first.⁸¹

6. *Regional Economic Development*

This value system emphasizes the importance of considering economic development foremost in land-use decisions. Regional economic development is built on the idea that job creation, investment, and growth are the most significant factors in public policy decisions. This value system is unique in that both park supporters and opponents have appealed to it.

J.K. Gibson-Graham has identified this value system by noting the power in society of the "discourse of economy."⁸² They write,

"Despite their divergent positions on every issue, the right and left share a 'discourse of economy' that participates in defining what can and cannot be proposed. What from a right-wing perspective may seem like a truly misguided left-wing proposal is nonetheless

⁸⁰ Teresa Erickson, "Finding the Ties That Bind: Coalitions with Agriculture Groups," in *Let the People Judge: Wise Use and the Private Property Rights Movement*, ed. John Echeverria and Raymond Booth Eby (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1995), 314-15.

⁸¹ Welcomer and Haggerty, "Tied to the Past - Bound to the Future: Ceremonial Encapsulation in a Maine Woods Land Use Policy," 387-88.

⁸² J.K. Gibson-Graham, "The Economy Stupid! Industrial Policy Discourse and the Body Economic," in *The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*, ed. J.K. Gibson-Graham (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996).

intelligible and recognizable as a member of the extended family of potential economic initiatives, and vice versa.”⁸³

The tendency to discuss everything in the language of economic growth referred to by Gibson-Graham corresponds with the regional economic development value system.

John McMurtry, the scholar who coined the term “value system,” has argued that allegiance to and belief in the benign nature of the global market is in fact a value system.⁸⁴ Regional economic development is the same value system applied specifically to land use decisions. Relatedly, the regional economic development value system is similar to what Michael Sandel has called “market triumphalism.” Sandel describes market triumphalism as a dominant frame of thinking that affirms that markets “are the primary means for achieving the public good.”⁸⁵ Sandel relates the idea of market triumphalism to the tendency to allocate environmental protection using market values, which is related to the way market values like growth and investment dominate land use decision-making under the regional economic development value system.⁸⁶ Crucially, the regional economic development value system is the only one that seems to appeal to people across class and geographic lines.⁸⁷

⁸³ Ibid., 93.

⁸⁴ McMurtry, *Unequal Freedoms: The Global Market as an Ethical System*.

⁸⁵ Michael J. Sandel, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets* (New York: Faber, Straus, and Giroux, 2012), 6.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁷ A note on value systems: Justifications for and against national park creation did of course exist outside of these six value systems. For instance, appeals to scientific and historical significance were present in the Acadia debate. However the six value systems outlined here encompass the most critical and recurring aspects of each park debate. Additionally, the fact that most of these value systems are discernable throughout history and into the present is not intended to suggest that they are stagnant and unchanging over time. As we will see, these value systems are somewhat fluid, and the value practices that draw from them and reproduce them have changed over the course of history. My theorization of these value systems is simply intended as a way of organizing similar values people have mobilized in Maine’s park debates over the last roughly one hundred years.

Value System	Summary	Class & Geographic Associations	National Park Debate Associations
Wilderness Escape	Nature as away; wilderness as a refuge from modern society; anthropocentric; leisure and recreation	Elites “from away”	Supporters
Wilderness Ecocentrism	Nature as inherently valuable and degraded by man; non-anthropocentric; interest in wildlife protection	Elites “from away”	Supporters
Social Wilderness	Wilderness as inhabited; work in the woods and traditional recreation emphasized; nature improved by man	Working class locals	Opponents
National Interest	A national audience is paramount in land use decision making for nationally significant areas	Elites “from away” and nationally-minded Maine elites	Supporters
Anti-federal Localism	Local people are most important; local over federal government; dislike of outside influence	Working class locals and Maine-focused elites	Opponents
Regional Economic Development	Economic growth is the most significant factor in land use decision making	Working class locals and elites	Supporters and Opponents

Table 1. Park debate value systems

Class, Geography, and Values

To this point I have noted the class and geographic associations of each value system. Why is this important? Historically and today, environmental conflict in Maine has often pitted wealthy environmentalists from southern Maine or other states against working class northern

Mainers and the forestry industry. Maine's more recent park debates are no exception. As we will see, the Allagash, RESTORE, and EPI debates all were/are class and geographic conflicts between working class northern Mainers and non-local wealthier environmental interest. Maine's first two national park debates, surrounding Mount Desert Island and Mt. Katahdin, were different. As demonstrated in the second chapter, working class local voices did not figure into either debate; both were discussed exclusively by elites, and were therefore not class and geographic conflicts. As we will see, class and geography, however, are essential to understanding all five of Maine's historical and contemporary park debates regardless of whether they were/are outright class and geographic conflicts.

Core Propositions

This thesis will make four core propositions concerning values and national park debates in Maine:

1. The six value systems have historically been associated with particular geographic and class positions.
2. Historically, in Maine, national park debates that were not class and geographic conflicts were value engagements rather than value struggles. National park debates that were class and geographic conflicts were value struggles.
3. The modern park debate is both a class and geographic conflict and a value struggle. However, for various reasons, park supporters have framed today's public park debate as a value engagement within the regional economic development value system.

4. Despite efforts to make the park debate a value engagement publicly, it remains a value struggle under the surface. Truly meaningful discussion and compromise is prevented by the existence of a public discourse that does not allow park supporters and opponents to address their true differences.

Chapter 2: Maine's Historical Park Debates

Introduction

Today's park debate does not exist in a historical vacuum. In Maine, we have the rare opportunity to place the contemporary park debate within the century-long context of several other proposed national parks in the state. What types of values were used to support and oppose conservation on the national park model in these past debates? This chapter will trace the usage of the six value systems outlined in the last chapter through the debates surrounding Acadia National Park, the proposed Mt. Katahdin National Park, and the proposed Allagash National Recreation Area and later National Riverway.

As articulated in chapter 1, the various axes of a park debate can take the form of a value struggle when park supporters and opponents appeal to conflicting value systems in their justifications (value practices) within a park debate. Alternatively, park supporters and opponents can be locked in a value engagement by operationalizing value practices that reinforce the same value system. In these cases park supporters and opponents are not involved in a value struggle, but simply a disagreement over the best vision for implementing a given value system.

Given that all of the historical and contemporary proposed national parks in Maine have been promoted primarily by non-local elites, class and geography are crucial to understanding the dynamics of the park debates. The proposed Mount Desert Island national park, as we will see, was publicly discussed exclusively by elites who promoted the park, and thus no value struggle was produced. The proposed Mt. Katahdin park produced a much more contentious debate; however, both sides were elites who shared similar values, and thus the primary axis of the debate was a value engagement rather than a value struggle. Only when local working class people, who held different values, became prominent players in the public discussion during the

Allagash debate was a value struggle produced. The Allagash debate was the first of Maine's park debates that was a class and geographic conflict, and the first in which the debate was primarily a value struggle. In the case of Maine's historical park debates, class and geographic struggle made for a value struggle.

Acadia Background

Acadia National Park, the first national park east of the Mississippi, was born 100 years ago, in 1916, as Sieur de Monts National Monument, the same year the National Park Service itself was created. The creation of Sieur de Monts National Monument was the result of a 15 year struggle initiated by Harvard President Charles W. Eliot. Eliot was a landowner and summer resident of Northeast Harbor, one of the resort communities on Mount Desert Island near today's Acadia National Park. Inspired by his son, a landscape architect, Eliot realized that the advent of the portable mill meant that the saw threatened previously inaccessible timber on the slopes of the island's mountains. Eliot believed timber extraction would lead to erosion and the eventual desertification of the island.⁸⁸

Eliot's first and most significant action towards protecting land on Mount Desert Island was to enlist the assistance of George Dorr, a wealthy bachelor from Boston. In August 1901, Eliot wrote Dorr requesting his presence at a meeting to discuss the "organization of a board of trustees or commission to hold reservations at points of interest on this Island, for the perpetual use of the public."⁸⁹ Eliot asked that Dorr bring other "gentlemen" along, and Dorr obliged by having his Bar Harbor neighbors John S. Kennedy, George Vanderbilt, and William Jay Schiefflin attend the meeting. Upon meeting Eliot, the men voted to organize, and Eliot became

⁸⁸ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 89.

⁸⁹ Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," 4.

the corporation's president, while Dorr became its vice president and executive officer. The corporation, which would come to be known as the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations, was chartered two years later in 1903 by Maine's biennial legislature when it next convened. Importantly, the legislature granted the corporation tax exempt status due to the public service orientation of their mission: "to acquire, by devise, gift or purchase, and to own, arrange, hold, maintain or improve for public use lands in Hancock County Maine, which by reason of scenic beauty, historical interest, sanitary advantage or other like reasons may become available for such purpose."⁹⁰

True to its charter, the Trustees soon began securing lands on the island. The first two gifts of land came immediately after incorporation.⁹¹ Then, after a brief lull in the corporation's activities, in 1908 the Trustees began acquiring truly significant parcels of land on the island. A friend of Dorr's gifted the Bowl and Beehive tract on Newport (now Champlain) Mountain to the Trustees. The gift of these lands, described by Dorr himself as "singularly appropriate to the Trustees' purpose, beautiful, unique and wild," inspired Dorr to set his sights on the single most "outstanding tract upon the Island or the whole neighboring coast," Green (now Cadillac) Mountain.⁹² With the financial assistance of John S. Kennedy, an original member of the Trustees, Dorr quickly secured the purchase of this land.⁹³

In the following years, Dorr worked tirelessly, travelling extensively and making use of his politically well-connected friends to find donors and otherwise add land to the Trustees' holdings. By 1912, Dorr was satisfied with the landholdings he had protected for public enjoyment under the Trustees. However, Dorr and the Trustees soon faced their first major threat

⁹⁰ Ibid., 5-6.

⁹¹ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 91.

⁹² Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," 7.

⁹³ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 92.

when local realtors asked the Maine Legislature to repeal the Trustees' charter.⁹⁴ In early 1913 when he first learned of this development, Dorr immediately travelled to Augusta to petition the legislators against this action. Dorr utilized his political connections to befriend members of the State House of Representatives. After Dorr's lobbying, the legislature chose not to revoke the Trustees' charter.⁹⁵

While he was successful in securing the immediate future of the Trustees, the threat to the corporation's charter made Dorr realize that holding the land under the Trustees was tenuous. On his way back to Boston from Augusta after defeating the move to revoke the Trustees' charter Dorr "decided that the only course to follow to make safe what we had secured would be to get the Federal Government to accept our lands for a National Park, deeming them well worth it."⁹⁶ Therefore, in 1913, as Dorr himself wrote, "It is here that the story of our National Park begins, born of the attack on our Public Reservations' charter."⁹⁷

Shortly after the threat to the charter was resolved Dorr travelled to Washington D.C. to push for federal protection of the Trustees' land. He stayed in the home of Gifford Pinchot, founder of the U.S. Forest Service under President Theodore Roosevelt. At the time, the National Park Service did not yet exist; its founding act would not pass until August 25, 1916. Existing national parks were controlled by other agencies; Yellowstone, for example, was orchestrated by the U.S. Cavalry. At the time, Congress was overrun with bills regarding creating new national parks. Dorr's politically savvy friends in Washington recommended that he not push for a similar bill for a Mount Desert Island national park that would likely get lost in the mire. Instead, they

⁹⁴ McIntosh, Diamant, and Mitchell, "Federal Land Conservation in New England: Crisis Response, and Adaptation," 46.

⁹⁵ Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," 19.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

advised Dorr to seek national monument status for the Trustees' lands. The 1906 National Monument Act gave the President the power to protect under federal control any land of "exceptional historic...or scenic interest" without consulting Congress.⁹⁸ Between 1913 and 1916 Dorr would make many trips to Washington to gather support for national monument designation. Dorr took advantage of all of his political connections and friendships, including Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, and Maine Senator Charles Fletcher Johnson, to force the national monument issue to President Wilson's attention. Finally, after three years of Dorr's concerted pressure, President Wilson signed the Proclamation creating Sieur de Monts National Monument.⁹⁹ Dorr became the monument's first director.¹⁰⁰

As director, one of Dorr's principal tasks was to secure federal appropriations to fund the new monument. After years of effort, in 1918 Dorr secured former President Theodore Roosevelt's assistance in pushing for appropriations. Roosevelt wrote a letter to the Head of the House Appropriations Committee pushing for funding for the fledgling monument. As a result, the 1919 appropriations bill allotted \$10,000 to Sieur de Monts.¹⁰¹ Curiously, the announcement of the appropriation for the new monument was accompanied by the rationale that the funding had been granted because the land was of national park standard and ought to be made a national park. As Dorr expressed, "This provided me with the opportunity I was seeking for my next and final step: the creation of a National Park."¹⁰² Dorr rushed to force through the national park legislation before the close of the congressional session. Dorr's bill, introduced by

⁹⁸ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 100.

⁹⁹ Sieur de Monts was a courtier of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV of France). Samuel de Champlain, who was the first documented European to discover Mount Desert Island in 1604 was sailing under de Mont's sponsorship at the time.

¹⁰⁰ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 100-08.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁰² Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," 70.

Representative Peters and Senator Hale, both of Maine, flew through the Public Lands Committee unanimously. Finally, on February 26th, 1919, President Wilson signed Lafayette National Park into existence, named as such in reference to the ongoing war in France.¹⁰³ Dorr rejoiced, “The task that I had set myself to do six years before was done.”¹⁰⁴

A Debate on Mount Desert Island?

The park Dorr championed, renamed Acadia in 1929, is unique among the other park debates referenced in this thesis firstly because it was the only proposal that resulted in the creation of a national park.¹⁰⁵ Also, and relatedly, Mount Desert Island provided a very different setting culturally, economically, and socially than existed in the other historical and contemporary park debates, which have all taken place or are taking place in Maine’s North Woods. Moreover, the proposed national park on Mount Desert Island was the least controversial. The body of source material I reviewed for this thesis indicates that the proposed park was widely discussed publicly but not widely contested.¹⁰⁶ Acadia was not a park debate, so much as a one-sided concerted effort by Dorr, Eliot, and other allied Trustees and elite figures.

While the creation of Acadia was not a geographic and class conflict in the same way the Allagash and later park debates would be, geography and class are still crucial to understanding the public discussion surrounding creating Acadia. Why was the creation of Acadia not hotly contested in the same way the park proposals in the North Woods would be? Similarly, why was the creation of Acadia less of a class and geographic conflict? While the North Woods area has

¹⁰³ Collier, *Mt. Desert Island and Acadia National Park: An Informal History*, 112-13.

¹⁰⁴ Dorr, "Its Origin and Background," 76.

¹⁰⁵ McIntosh, Diamant, and Mitchell, "Federal Land Conservation in New England: Crisis Response, and Adaptation," 305.

¹⁰⁶ See page 13-14 of the introduction for a description of the source material I used.

been and remains relatively poor throughout the time period examined by this work, Mount Desert Island, by the early 20th century was already an established summer retreat for the nation's elite. Therefore the class dynamics at play were fundamentally different than in the park proposals in the North Woods. As we will see, local working class opposition to a national park was and is a feature in each of the Allagash, RESTORE, and EPI park debates in the North Maine Woods. In the Acadia example, if such voices existed at all, they are not prominent in the historical record.¹⁰⁷ The relative lack of working class park opposition in the sociopolitical landscape of Mount Desert Island is likely relevant to the fact that Acadia actually became a national park unlike any of the other proposals examined here.

Given that the park on Mount Desert Island was not widely opposed, discussion of the park was generally limited to pro-park elites “from away” like Dorr and Eliot. Given the lack of significant opposition, the discussion of a proposed park on Mount Desert Island was neither a value struggle nor value engagement. The Acadia example does however provide the opportunity to examine the types of value practices elite non-local park supporters mobilized in the absence of meaningful opposition. The source material available for this thesis indicates that the justifications Dorr and his fellow summer elites used to promote a national park drew primarily from the national interest, wilderness escape, and wilderness ecocentrism value systems. Justifications based on the regional economic development value system were present but not emphasized, and appeals to the anti-federal localism and social wilderness value systems were unsurprisingly non-existent given the lack of park opposition.

¹⁰⁷ It is important to note here that, as described above, Dorr's push for public land on Mount Desert Island did meet one significant local stumbling block when real estate interests sought to have the state legislature revoke the Trustees' charter. This however was prior to when the national monument and national park discussion began.

The elite summer people who were the most powerful voices on Mount Desert Island were understandably apt to appeal to the national interest value system in their park support justifications. Given that they were largely from other states, it benefitted them to argue that the land on Mount Desert Island should be managed for a national rather than local audience. This sentiment is made abundantly clear in Dorr's responses to questioning from the House Subcommittee on Public Lands during the hearing when the subcommittee was considering changing the status of the land to a national park from a national monument. A Mr. McClintic asked Dorr if there were "any large cities in close proximity to this area?" Dorr responded, "Bangor is the nearest. But this park would be used principally by people from beyond the State, not by Maine people. I went there myself from Boston as a boy... The friends I have made there have come from the whole country to the eastward of the Rockies, from New Orleans, from St. Louis, from Cincinnati and Chicago, and largely from the South."¹⁰⁸ Dorr continued, "We used to have a number of Richmond people and Confederate service officers and their families there regularly at one time, and many people come there always from Washington and Baltimore, from Philadelphia and New York. It is a place of national resort, not in any sense a local area."¹⁰⁹

Appeals to the national interest value system were also clear when supporters justified the park's creation based on the ability of the proposed park to serve people across the East, where the mass of the country's population was located. A 1916 article explained,

"The new national park is by far the most available to the majority of the people of the United States living in the eastern states. In 'seeing America first' from now on tourists will be reminded of the fact that to visit a national park they need not journey to

¹⁰⁸ Subcommittee of the Committee on the Public Lands, *H.R. 11935 a Bill to Establish the Mount Desert National Park in the State of Maine*, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, May 30, 1918.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Yellowstone or California, thousands of miles away. Bar Harbor is easily accessible by rail or steamer from all points in the east, and it is always glad to welcome visitors.”¹¹⁰

For park supporters, the land around Bar Harbor was for the benefit of people across the east, not just local people.

The second major value system Dorr and his fellow elites used to promote a national park on Mount Desert Island was wilderness escape. One of the most common justifications for protecting the land we now know as Acadia National Park was the appeal to scenic and aesthetic enjoyment of the natural landscape. This is exemplified in a *Bar Harbor Times* article published in 1916 after national monument designation was proposed: “The land is of value chiefly for its scenic beauty and forests, and will form a natural park equal to the most famous western parks, although on a smaller scale.”¹¹¹ Similarly, a later 1916 article exclaimed: “There is something in the grandeur of Mt. Desert’s mountains, valleys, rocks, woods and ocean which draws you back and back and back again to look upon them. Yet this was but one of thousands of superior spots of beauty in this newest of national monuments...”¹¹² Quotes like this demonstrate value practices within the wilderness escape rather than wilderness ecocentrism value system, because they appeal to human enjoyment of nature’s scenery as the justification for conservation rather than suggesting an inherent value in preserving nature.

Further appeals to the opportunity for human enjoyment of scenic beauty are found in Dorr’s own writing in the *Sieur de Monts* publications. For example, he wrote,

¹¹⁰ "Sieur De Monts National Monument: Maine Has First National Park to Be Set Aside in the East," *Bar Harbor Times*, August 19, 1916.

¹¹¹ "National Park to Be Made of Mt. Desert Hills--5000 Acres Offered to United States Government," *Bar Harbor Times*, May 6, 1916.

¹¹² "The Wonders of Sieur De Monts, Only National Park in East," *Bar Harbor Times*, October 21, 1916. This article was published after the National Monument had been created.

“As one ascends, superb views of land diversified by lakes and bays and stretching away to distant hills, disclose themselves successively, and when one reaches the summit, the magnificent ocean view that opens suddenly before one is a sight few places in the world can parallel. The vastness of the ocean seen from such a height, its beauty both in calm and storm, and its appeal to the imagination yield nothing even to the boldest mountain landscape.”¹¹³

Clearly, for Dorr and other supporters of the national monument and national park, the aesthetics were significant.

The wilderness escape value system was also present when park supporters articulated that the proposed park would be a haven from the corrupting influences of modern civilization. Charles Eliot wrote a 1914 article decrying that the “evils which attend the growth of modern cities and the factory system are too great for the human body to endure.”¹¹⁴ For Eliot, in order to “cure” the “destructive evils” of “present urban life and the factory system... The human environment must be... positively improved” so that people have more access to natural settings.¹¹⁵ Specifically, Eliot offered that if

“the government of the United States should set aside as a national monument a large area on this picturesque and unique island, it would help to consecrate for all time to the improvement of the human environment one of the most beautiful and interesting regions in the whole country; and in so doing it would take appropriate part in resisting and

¹¹³ George Bucknam Dorr, "The Sieur De Monts National Monument and It's Historical Association," in *The Sieur De Monts Publications*, ed. George Bucknam Dorr (Department of the Interior, 1917), 5-7.

¹¹⁴ Charles W. Eliot, "The Need of Conserving the Beauty and Freedom of Nature in Modern Life," *National Geographic*, July-December, 1914, 67.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 67-68.

overcoming the destructive influences on modern civilization of urban life and the factory system.”¹¹⁶

Beyond wilderness escape, park supporters also utilized value practices from the wilderness ecocentrism value system by appealing to the park’s value as a wildlife sanctuary. Preserving bird habitat in particular was often emphasized. A 1916 newspaper article, for example, noted, “While National parks protect the various fauna of different sections of the country, there is no place in Northern New England to preserve the characteristic animal life, especially bird life. The interior of Mt. Desert will form an ideal spot for this...”¹¹⁷

Dorr himself was also emphatic in his support for the park on the basis of bird protection. For example, Dorr co-authored a 1914 article that appeared in *National Geographic* that focused on the opportunity and need for preserved land on Mount Desert Island to protect bird life. For example, Dorr and his co-authors wrote, “All who speak with knowledge now agree that no plan for the preservation of birds in any country can succeed unless adequate and well-placed bird refuges and absolute sanctuaries are provided.”¹¹⁸ They contended further that, “This coastal region is indeed wonderfully fitted to be a great nesting ground and feeding place for both land and water birds.”¹¹⁹ Therefore, the authors argued that, “Remarkable opportunities exist here, accordingly, for inducing birds of many kinds to remain and nest upon the island...”¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 73.

¹¹⁷ "Want Mt. Desert Scenic Park: Hancock County Trustess Are to Ask Congress to Act," *Bar Harbor Times*, April 8, 1916.

¹¹⁸ "The Need of Conserving the Beauty and Freedom of Nature in Modern Life," 79.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 81.

Several of the *Sieur de Monts* publications too focused on the value of the proposed parklands as bird, wildlife, and floral sanctuaries.¹²¹ These justifications are value practices within the wilderness ecocentrism rather than wilderness escape value systems, because bird and wildlife protection is presented as important not based on human enjoyment of nature, but based on an inherent value in birds and wildlife. The ecocentric nature of these justifications is made clear in a passage from the *Sieur de Monts Publications* written by George Dorr. He wrote of the tragedy of the shrinking forest of America's Appalachian region:

“It is a forest of immense antiquity. The earliest fossil record of the broad-leaved, deciduous-leaved type of tree found in the world is found in deep placed rock-strata of the southern Appalachians, and the evidence is strong that never since that immeasurably far-off time has the long succession of its trees been broken, south of the limit of ice-sheet invasion. It is unique today in species no longer to be found elsewhere, such as the Tulip Tree, of which a dozen other species once dwelt within it; the Magnolias—now elsewhere found in eastern Asia only; and the Tupelo, the Liquidamber, Sassafras, and others. Anciently as rich as it in these and other forms, the whole continent of Europe at the present time can scarcely show one-half its wealth in genera and species... These species, forever irreplaceable if lost, are—like many of our native wild-flowers, birds, and animals whose home the forest was—seriously endangered under existing conditions; and eastern America stands in the way today of losing swiftly, in a single human lifetime,

¹²¹ See for example the previously mentioned piece by Howard Lane Eno, “The *Sieur de Monts* National Monument as a Bird Sanctuary,” Edward Howe Forbush’s “Natural Bird Gardens on Mount Desert Island,” and Dorr’s “Wild Life and Nature Conservation in the Eastern States.”

its long inheritance of wealth and beauty in the natural world, in trees, in flowering shrubs and plants, in birds and other forms of animal life.”¹²²

Dorr expressed here a value in preserving nature that goes beyond human enjoyment. He argued that the Appalachian forest is worthy of protection in its own right, and later in the publication he proposes a system of reserves for this purpose.¹²³

Another pair of often cited justifications for the proposed park were its scientific and historical value. These types of justifications do not fit into any of the six value systems, but it would be inappropriate not to mention them, given their inclusion in the Mount Desert park discussion. These types of justifications are not a part of my broader analysis, because they do not have recurring importance in each of Maine’s park debates, and where they do appear, are not contested by park opponents. An example from a 1916 newspaper article relates that, “Mt. Desert Island is, geologically speaking, of great scientific interest, in that its lofty summits, gorges and drainage areas show in enduring granite the marks of the glacial trowel, and that its fauna and flora are of exceptional scientific interest and importance.”¹²⁴ After extolling the scientific virtues of the proposed park land, the author continues that the park would not only be useful from a scientific perspective, but also from a historical standpoint. The park would, “commemorate the discovery of Mt. Desert Island by Samuel de Champlain, who first landed on this island while exploring the present Maine coast as the trusted lieutenant of Sieur de Monts, for whom the Monument is named.”¹²⁵ As such, the article continued, “the creation of the

¹²² George Bucknam Dorr, "Wild Life and Nature Conservation in the Eastern States," in *The Sieur De Monts Publications*, ed. George Bucknam Dorr (Bar Harbor, Maine: The Wild Gardens of Acadia, 1917), 3-5.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁴ "Mt. Desert's National Park," *Bar Harbor Times*, August 19, 1916.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

monument will preserve for public use a spot historically and scientifically worthy...¹²⁶ The Sieur de Monts publications also include several articles highlighting the historical and scientific qualities of the national monument.¹²⁷

Justifications drawing on the national interest, wilderness escape, and wilderness ecocentrism value systems as well as scientific and historical justifications were the most common ways of supporting the proposed national park on Mount Desert Island. The source material indicates that the ability of a national park to grow the local economy was also acknowledged during the Mount Desert Park discussion, but appeals to the regional economic development value system were infrequent and underemphasized in comparison to the other value systems outlined above.

One example of an economic justification comes from a 1918 article about the historic significance of the proposed national park. This article stated:

“The recreative industry in the State of Maine cannot be too strongly emphasized. The State is millions of dollars richer because of the picturesque scenery of our seacoast, and because of the big game that dwells in our forest. Bar Harbor has grown from an insignificant fishing hamlet in Church’s time to a fashionable summer resort. In 1860 the valuation of the town was \$158,464. It is now about seven millions, or one-sixtieth of the whole valuation of the State.... A national park here amid these ancient hills will

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ See for example Dorr’s “The Acadian Forest,” “The Sieur de Monts National Monument as Commemorating Acadia and Early French Influences of Race and Settlement in the United States,” “The Sieur de Monts National Monument and its Historical Associations,” as well as M.L. Fernald’s piece “An Acadian Plant Sanctuary” and Charles Eliot’s “The Coastal Setting, Rocks, and Woods of the Sieur de Monts National Monument.”

preserve the scenic beauty of our island which in the past has and still does attract millions of dollars to eastern Maine.”¹²⁸

The inclusion of this passage in the article indicates that local economic benefits were noted at the time; however, for the article’s author, they were of secondary importance. The economic argument only surfaces in the third-to-last paragraph, almost as if an afterthought, after thirty plus paragraphs about historical significance.

Economic justifications for national park creation were also interspersed throughout the *Sieur de Monts Publications*. The third publication in this series, authored by Henry Lane Eno, the Ornithologist of the new national monument, focused on the importance of the area for studying birds. However, it also included an interesting section on the importance of bird sanctuaries to the economy. Eno explained that birds are crucial in eating bugs and other pests that hinder the agricultural and forestry industries. He suggested that preserving a space for birds to reproduce would therefore benefit these industries.¹²⁹ Eno wrote,

“If we add that the United States Department of Agriculture has estimated the loss to agricultural interests occasioned by insects at about Eight Hundred Million Dollars a year, and the loss to the interests of forestry at One Hundred Million Dollars, we can form some rough estimate of the services of our wild birds!”¹³⁰

This argument, reminiscent of the language modern economists use around the concept of ecosystem services, is further evidence that appeals to regional economic development did make up part of the public discourse surrounding the proposed park. However, again, this was a small

¹²⁸ "Mt. Desert National Park Historical Associations," *Bar Harbor Times*, September 28, 1918.

¹²⁹ Henry Lane Eno, "The *Sieur De Monts* National Monument as a Bird Sanctuary," in *The Sieur De Monts Publications*, ed. George Bucknam Dorr (Mount Desert Island, Maine: 1917), 7-8.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

acknowledgement of the economic argument amongst a piece that focused primarily on the importance of preserving bird habitat.

As we have seen, the public discussion surrounding the proposed park on Mount Desert Island was dominated by elite out-of-state figures like George Dorr. These people used value practices from the national interest, wilderness escape, and wilderness ecocentrism value systems to promote the park. The regional economic development value system was acknowledged, but not emphasized. Unsurprisingly, the anti-federal localism and social wilderness value systems were missing from the discussion given a lack of opposition to the park. As the park was uncontested, there was no value engagement or value struggle. This would change in the 1930s with a spirited public debate around Mt. Katahdin.

Mt. Katahdin Background

The first national park proposal in Maine's North Woods centered around Maine's highest and most iconic peak, Mt. Katahdin. Plans to create a national park at Mt. Katahdin first surfaced around the same time George Dorr and Charles Eliot began promoting a national park on Mount Desert Island. In 1913 Frank Guernsey, a republican congressman from Dover-Foxcroft, Maine, introduced a bill to create a national park around Mt. Katahdin. This bill and a similar one he introduced 3 years later in 1916 died in committee.¹³¹ This thesis will focus on the much more widely supported and debated Katahdin national park proposal of the 1930s.

The Katahdin national park controversy of the 1930s was colored by the existence of a competing state park proposal for the region. In 1919 soon to be Maine Governor Percival Baxter proposed a Mt. Katahdin Centennial State Park to commemorate Maine's upcoming 100th

¹³¹ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 27.

anniversary of statehood in 1920. This measure never passed largely due to firm opposition from the Great Northern Paper Company, the owner of much of the land in the area.¹³² Two years later, after being elected Governor, Baxter pressed again for his state park idea, but Great Northern's chief Garrett Schenck had no interest in selling the land. After Schenck's death, Great Northern became more open to the idea of a state park. While Baxter was never able to convince the state legislature to buy land for a park, Baxter was independently wealthy and took on the task personally. In 1930, Great Northern sold 5,760 acres to Baxter, including Mt. Katahdin. Then, in 1933, after Baxter deeded the land to the state, Baxter State Park officially came into existence.¹³³

The same year Baxter State Park became a reality, a conflicting vision for a national park in the area took shape. During the summer of 1933 various proposals for a national forest or park were voiced. The most significant was a proposed million acre Roosevelt National Park Maine Governor Brann advocated.¹³⁴ At Brann's prompting, the state legislature passed a bill that would have allowed the federal government to purchase land in the region for a national forest and national park. This plan never received serious federal or public attention, because federal officials quickly rejected it, as the bill would have withheld Maine's rights to watersheds, dam sites, and water storage facilities on land that the federal government purchased.¹³⁵

After this development, in 1936 and 1937, the national park debate heated up. During these years, Brann's national park plan found a significant public advocate in the form of Myron Avery. Avery, from Lubec, Maine, was considered the country's leading expert on Mt. Katahdin. He was the President of the Appalachian Trail Conference at the time and is today seen as the

¹³² Ibid., 305.

¹³³ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 45.

¹³⁴ Hakola, *Legacy of a Lifetime: The Story of Baxter State Park*, 141.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 141-42.

father of the Appalachian Trail, which reaches its northern terminus on Mt. Katahdin.¹³⁶ With the weight of the Appalachian Trail Conference behind him, Avery would author many articles promoting the national rather than state park option for Mt. Katahdin. His chief opponent was Baxter himself, who wished to safeguard and grow his fledgling state park.

Early in 1937, Avery and a landowner by the name of Ross, who wished to sell his land in the Katahdin region to the federal government, found a crucial political ally in their quest to create a national park: Maine congressman Ralph Owen Brewster. Brewster, an ex-governor, was a fierce political rival of Baxter and was willing to introduce the required federal legislation to create a national park around Mt. Katahdin. On March 23, 1937 Brewster introduced his “Katahdin National Park” bill. With the reality of a national park around Mt. Katahdin looming, the battle lines for the public debate were drawn. The debate would pit the two most prominent outdoor organizations in the Northeast against each other: Avery’s national park stance was endorsed by the organization he chaired, the Appalachian Trail Conservancy, while Baxter’s state park alternative was supported by the Appalachian Mountain Club.¹³⁷

In the end, Baxter’s state park model would trump the national park concept for the protection of Mt. Katahdin. Despite a spirited public debate, Congress adjourned in June 1938 without considering Brewster’s bill. Shortly thereafter, Baxter and Brewster mended their political relationship, and Brewster agreed not to reintroduce the bill.¹³⁸ Baxter, victorious, continued to purchase land around Katahdin with his personal fortune to donate to the state park

¹³⁶ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 308.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 310-11.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 311.

until 1962. Today the park stands at 209,644 acres, a manifold increase on the original 5,760 acre purchase Baxter made in 1930.¹³⁹

The Katahdin Debate

How did the public debate around the proposed Mt. Katahdin national park compare to the earlier Acadia debate? The Mt. Katahdin debate was much more hotly contested given the sociopolitical dynamics of the region as compared to Mount Desert Island. On Mount Desert Island, by the time of the park discussion, the precedent already existed that land on the island would be managed for the benefit of outsiders, as the island was already a famous resort for out-of-state summer visitors. This was not the case in Maine's North Woods in the 1930s.

Interestingly however, class was not a significant factor in the Katahdin debate as, like on Mount Desert Island, elites dominated the public discussion of the proposed park. The body of sources I reviewed for this thesis indicates that the voices of local working class people made up very little of the park debate. Instead Maine political elites like Percival Baxter and Owen Brewster as well as elite environmental interests like Myron Avery of the Appalachian Trail Conference and Ronald Gower of the Appalachian Mountain Club dominated the discussion.

Why were local working class voices not present in the Katahdin debate when they would be a significant part of the later park debates in the North Woods? This is likely because the Katahdin debate was between two conservation proposals. As Congressman Brewster put it, "Everyone is agreed... that Mount Katahdin and the wild region surrounding it and all the beautiful vistas that are afforded across the hundreds of miles of Maine lakes and forests should be preserved untarnished for posterity... The only question is the best method by which this may

¹³⁹ "Brief History of Our Park".

be accomplished and its preservation guaranteed.”¹⁴⁰ Brewster’s observation that “everyone” was agreed that the region required conservation status was an oversimplification. As previously indicated, Baxter’s earlier attempts to create a state park at Mt. Katahdin initially met fierce resistance from paper companies. He tried multiple times, unsuccessfully, to have the state buy the required land for the park. Only by using his own personal fortune to buy the land was Baxter able to create the state park he envisioned, thereby circumventing political opposition from paper companies.

By the time the national park proposal surfaced, Baxter’s private actions made it clear the Katahdin region was destined for some type of conservation, be it under a state or national park. In the Allagash, RESTORE, and EPI park debates local working class people have allied with the forest products industry that has historically employed them in opposing conservation. It is not unreasonable to assume that this same coalition existed during the time of the Katahdin debate. However, Baxter’s private actions ensured there was no use in pushing totally against any conservation in the region, as the paper companies had done against his earlier state park proposal. Given that a state park already existed, the only thing left to be settled was what model of conservation would hold, which became a conversation for conservation-minded elites. Local working class people and the forestry industry interests who would have opposed any conservation therefore had no place in the discussion.

Conservation-minded elites with similar values dominated both sides of the Katahdin debate; both sides appealed primarily to the wilderness escape value system to promote their preferred model of conservation. The only point of contention was whether state or federal protection was superior. This conflict did partially manifest as a secondary value struggle

¹⁴⁰ "Brewster Gives Reasons for Making Katahdin National Park Area," *Portland Press Herald*, May 13, 1937.

between national interest and anti-federal localism; however, as we will see, the primary axis of the Katahdin debate was not a value struggle, but a value engagement within wilderness escape.

As with the Mount Desert discussion, the regional economic development value system was acknowledged by both sides, but not widely emphasized. Curiously, the wilderness ecocentrism value system, present in the Mount Desert discussion, did not surface in the Katahdin debate. Likewise, the social wilderness value system did not appear in the Katahdin debate, which is unsurprising given that elite conservation-minded individuals dominated the debate. Lastly, a noteworthy feature of the Mt. Katahdin debate was the existence of a wilderness escape voice *opposing* national park creation based on the development that would result.

The principal disagreement in the Katahdin national park debate was not a value struggle, but a question of whether the National Park Service or the Baxter State Park Commission would be a better manager of the land and mountain.¹⁴¹ The justifications most commonly used by both park supporters and opponents had to do with the quality of the recreational experience one could have in the proposed state or national park, value practices within the wilderness escape value system. For example, national park supporters argued that the state had done a poor job of stewarding the land thus far and was not financially equipped to properly do so in the future. They contended that the area around the mountain faced ruin under inadequate state management against ever increasing visitation. For example, Avery deplored that under state management, “No expenditure has been made by the State in connection with the area. . . . There is no custodian

¹⁴¹ The Baxter State Park Commission was the group created to run Baxter State Park in the 1930s. The park existed and still exists outside of the Maine State Park system, so control of the park was under a five man commission consisting of the governor, the forest commissioner, the commissioner of Inland Fisheries and Game, and two appointed members of the public. This arrangement changed in 1939 when the Baxter State Park Authority was created. This group consisting of the attorney general, forest commissioner, and commissioner of Inland Fisheries and Game. The Baxter State Park Authority is still the managing entity of the park today. Hakola, *Legacy of a Lifetime: The Story of Baxter State Park*, 128, 39.

or anyone in the park area to represent law or authority or to prevent depredations.”¹⁴² He continued, “The stranger who is drawn to the region by its extensive publicity is astounded to find an utter lack of any public accommodations.”¹⁴³ In another article, Avery noted that under state management the mountain’s trails had received no maintenance and that the park had been wholly unequipped to handle 400 visitors over Labor Day weekend.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Avery decried the fact that trees had been cut to build a cabin by Chimney Pond, an area Avery believed should be devoid of any such development.¹⁴⁵

Avery and Brewster painted a torrid picture of Mt. Katahdin under state management, and suggested that due to the budgetary restrictions of the state, only National Park Service management would improve the situation. Brewster explained that, “A very modest request of two thousand dollars to provide a caretaker for the Katahdin area at this session of the [state] Legislature was turned down because of the limitations of finance in the present precarious financial conditions of the State.”¹⁴⁶ Brewster then speculated that part of the reason appropriations to care for the new state park were not passed was because the state did not wish to or have the means to set a precedent for adequately funding the park. He offered this thought in contrast with the situation in Acadia where the federal government was providing “fifty to a hundred thousand dollars” to care for the park.”¹⁴⁷ For Brewster and Avery, only the federal government was financially equipped to steward the Katahdin region properly.

¹⁴² Myron H. Avery, "Katahdin National Park: Extension of Remarks of Hon. Ralph O. Brewster of Maine," (Congressional Record, 1937).

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ "Chaotic Conditions in Katahdin Region Demand Restoration Program," *Portland Sunday Telegram*, August 7, 1938.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ "Brewster Gives Reasons for Making Katahdin National Park Area."

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Further, Brewster and Avery offered that, beyond a financial perspective, the National Park Service was uniquely qualified to do a better job of preserving the mountain than the state. For example, Brewster wrote, “The National Park Service of the United States are specialists in this field and are recognized as authorities throughout the world on how these areas may be best preserved and yet made accessible to man. The problem of [Katahdin’s] proper development and protection is one for which the National Park Service is uniquely qualified.”¹⁴⁸

National park opponents offered a different set of justifications from within the wilderness escape value system. They argued that a national park would overdevelop the area and spoil its wilderness qualities. For instance, Baxter himself exclaimed, “To commercialize this magnificent area, to desecrate it with ‘great hotels’ with their noisy social life, their flaming signs, the roar of motor cars and airplanes coming and going to break the peace of that great solitude would be nothing less than sacrilege.”¹⁴⁹ Ronald L. Gower, the editor of the Appalachian Mountain Club’s Katahdin Guide and another vocal national park opponent, agreed with Baxter that a national park would ruin the mountain with overdevelopment. He argued:

“It should always be borne in mind that this region has not yet been set apart for the type of use and development that exists in the National Parks. This is a wilderness area from which motor cars and all that they mean are forever barred by the terms of the gift to the State. No highways, no great log hotels, no skyline drives, no summit roads, no noisy

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "Baxter Vigorously Protests Proposal to Make Katahdin Area National Park," *Portland Press Herald*, May 3, 1937.

social life, no flaming signs, no semi-commercialized recreation, no roar of civilization, no orders from Washington.”¹⁵⁰

The last clause of this quote also evokes the anti-federal localism value system, which, as we will see, park opponents also appealed to secondarily.

An anti-development sentiment was also frequently expressed in editorials from the time. Opponents disdained national parks in particular for the hotels and hot-dog stands they believed a national park would bring to the area. For example, one 1937 editorial read:

“This position [of opposing a national park] is based upon sincere love of Mt. Katahdin and upon perception of the fact that a “developed” national park with hotels, hot-dog stands, trailer camps, postcard emporia and all the other paraphernalia for catering to popular taste as exemplified in the Yellowstone, the Yosemite, and other national parks would spoil the sylvan solitude and majestic aloofness of Maine’s great mountain.”¹⁵¹

National park opponents believed Katahdin would be best managed as an undeveloped wilderness setting, and they alleged that National Park Service management with its accompanying development was incompatible with that vision.

Another editorial offered a similar argument claiming that, “To surrender [Katahdin] to hot-dog stands, trailer colonies, summer hotels and the main run of summer tourist trade would be shameful when there is so much of that for those who like it and so little for those who want something different.”¹⁵² The author instead argued Katahdin should not be managed for the

¹⁵⁰ Ronald L. Gower, "In the Northern Wilderness, Baxter State Park: Mountain Club Editor Deplores Breaking of Trust in Step to Make Katahdin U.S. Park," *Portland Sunday Telegram*, April 24, 1938.

¹⁵¹ "Mt. Katahdin," *Portland Press Herald*, May 10, 1937.

¹⁵² "Baxter State Park," *Kennebec Journal*, May 4, 1937.

“main run of summer [tourists],” but for a “limited class of true nature lovers.”¹⁵³ Ronald Gower expanded on this idea by writing, “This place does not beckon to great masses of pleasure seekers on wheels...The Baxter State Park invites those who are willing to walk to get there, to carry their necessaries on their backs and who want solitude, close contact with nature and the mental and physical rebirth (not hackneyed ‘recreation’) that comes of these things.”¹⁵⁴ Gower does not wish to see Katahdin opened up to the masses. Instead he is interested in preserving access to the area for a more adventurous type of outdoorsman.

The primary axis of the Mt. Katahdin debate was a value engagement amongst conservation-minded elites reinforcing the wilderness escape value system. However, these elites did contest a secondary value struggle between the national interest and anti-federal localism value systems. For example, park supporters argued that Katahdin was not of local but national significance, and that therefore the area needed to be managed in the best interest of people across the country who might want access, rather than only Mainers. Avery, for example authored an article that appeared in the 1937 edition of *Nature Magazine* that extolled the many reasons he believed Katahdin to be of national significance. He points to many features of the area including its wilderness characteristics, its geology, its floral and faunal life, and the area’s historical associations with Henry David Thoreau.¹⁵⁵ Given his belief that Katahdin was nationally significant, Avery argued that the mountain should be made open to all American people. He explained that he viewed the national park bill as a matter of

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ "In the Northern Wilderness, Baxter State Park: Mountain Club Editor Deplores Breaking of Trust in Step to Make Katahdin U.S. Park."

¹⁵⁵ Myron H. Avery, "Katahdin and Its Country: Proposal for a National Park in the Wilderness of Central Maine Focuses Attention on a Glorious Region," *Nature*, October, 1937.

“whether or not, in central Maine, we shall create, while yet we may, a large area to be forever preserved as a wilderness, as symbolic of this country in its earliest days, as a heritage of the American people, and for the benefit of the United States as a whole and not for the particular county or state in which such an area is located.”¹⁵⁶

Elsewhere Avery makes this sentiment more explicit. He writes, “Katahdin and the Katahdin area belong not only to the people of Maine but to the United States.”¹⁵⁷ While Avery himself was a native Mainer, he believed Katahdin should be managed not only in the interests of locals, but for a national audience.

Avery’s interest in inviting outsiders to enjoy Katahdin was combated by national park opponents who utilized value practices from within the anti-federal localism value system. National park opponents generally liked that a state park would not encourage access to the area by out of state tourists and were more interested in having the mountain managed by and for Mainers. Baxter himself said, “This mountain is the property of the people of Maine forever to be held by the State for their benefit.”¹⁵⁸ Baxter continued by explicitly outlining that his vision for the mountain had no place for a federal presence: “As donor of this area I wished to do something that for all time would benefit my native State...In planning for this over all those years my sole interest was in the State of Maine, not in the national government.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ "Katahdin National Park Plan Is Seperate Issue from Baxter Area," *Portland Sunday Telegram*, July 31, 1938.

¹⁵⁷ "Katahdin National Park: Extension of Remarks of Hon. Ralph O. Brewster of Maine."

¹⁵⁸ "Baxter Reminds Maine He Gave It Katahdin; Ex-Governor Opposes Federal Acquisition," *New York Times*, May 9, 1937.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Ronald Gower advocated a state rather than national park, because “The control of a Maine Park will remain in the hands of Maine people.”¹⁶⁰ Gower criticized national park supporters by articulating:

“Now comes a group of people, most of whom live outside of New England, and practically all of whom are non-residents of Maine, who have decided that this, Maine’s mountain, shall forthwith be a National Park, and they are determined to cram this National Park bill down the throats of the Maine people whether they like it or not.”¹⁶¹

State park proponents like Gower saw national park advocates as outsiders wanting to usurp control of one of Maine’s natural treasures from local residents.¹⁶² For the author, state rather than national governance would be superior, a central aspect of the anti-federal localism value system.

The source material indicates that the regional economic development value system was also acknowledged in the Katahdin debate, but made up only a small part of the public discourse. For example, in an article, Brewster, in an argument that today’s supporters of the modern park proposal still make, pointed to the economic benefits nearby Acadia provided the state of Maine in his time, thereby suggesting that a national park at Mt. Katahdin could provide similar economic benefits. Brewster exclaimed, “Maine has an example within its bounds in Acadia National Park where more than six million dollars has been expended in recent years.”¹⁶³ Not only did Brewster point to the six million dollar investment in the Acadia region, he also

¹⁶⁰ Gower, "In the Northern Wilderness, Baxter State Park: Mountain Club Editor Deplores Breaking of Trust in Step to Make Katahdin U.S. Park."

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Interestingly, as pointed out by Avery in a rebuttal to Gower’s article, Gower himself was not from Maine. He was a resident of Newton, Massachusetts, and therefore as Avery wrote, “one of the ‘outsiders’, whose activity in Maine he so severely criticizes.” Myron H. Avery, "Katahdin National Park Plan Is Separate Issue from Baxter Area," *ibid.*, July 31,.

¹⁶³ "Brewster Gives Reasons for Making Katahdin National Park Area."

suggested that national parks are good for employment. He noted, “For some years now more than one hundred thousand dollars a year has been expended in payrolls to carry [the Acadia] project on and this has meant not only worthwhile employment for Maine citizens but also adequate protection of the area against desecration by the thoughtless hand and foot of man.”¹⁶⁴ However, the economic argument is mentioned in only one paragraph towards the end, and the remainder of the article is devoted to arguing that the state was not equipped to manage Mt. Katahdin and that the National Park Service would do a better job.¹⁶⁵

National park opponents also made fleeting references to the local economy in their arguments. For example, the author of one editorial conceded that a national park “might be a benefit to the commercial side of Maine’s recreational business but the cost to other interests would be heavy.”¹⁶⁶ We can only assume that the other interests the author referred to here would be logging, then, as now, the most significant industry in the Katahdin area. The author therefore concluded, “On the whole, even from a business standpoint alone, it’s probably wisest to keep Katahdin wild and unspoiled.”¹⁶⁷ However, this editorial was primarily about keeping Mt. Katahdin wild and primeval under a state park rather than commercialized under a national park.¹⁶⁸ In the case of the public debate around the proposed Mt. Katahdin National Park, appeals to the growth of the economy were present from both park supporters and opponents, but they made up only a small under-emphasized fraction of the justifications offered by park supporters and opponents.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ "Keep Mt. Katahdin Wild," *Kennebec Journal*, May 4, 1937.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

The primary axis of the Katahdin debate was a contest between two competing visions of the proper way to preserve Katahdin's wilderness setting and the recreation the area provided. Both sides primarily used value practices reflecting the wilderness escape value system, and thus this debate was predominantly a value engagement. This value engagement was contested among conservation-minded elites who displayed similar values. Their values differed only in their allegiance to the national interest or anti-federal localism value systems. Once local working class people entered the public debate in the case of the Allagash, a more dramatic value struggle would take hold. It is also crucial to note that in the 1930s, conservation-minded individuals opposed national park creation based on the development a national park would create. This is very different than in the modern park debate where conservation interests support national park creation based on expected development.

Allagash Background

Before Percival Baxter had purchased his final addition to Baxter State Park in 1962 another National Park controversy struck Maine. The debate surrounding the Allagash was much more complicated than simply deciding whether the river should or should not be home to a national park. The Allagash controversy, spanning the late 1950s and early 1960s, involved multiple competing dam proposals, three unique proposals from the National Park Service, and various models of protection based on state or state-federal partnership. Unlike in the case of the Acadia and Mt. Katahdin debates, the controversy surrounding the Allagash, famous for its legendary wilderness canoe excursion, became national news.

The Allagash controversy took off in 1955 after the Army Corps of Engineers proposed a hydropower dam at Rankin Rapids on the St. John River. The Rankin Rapids dam would have

flooded both the upper St. John and nearby Allagash Rivers.¹⁶⁹ In the face of this threat to the river, the Maine State Park Commission called to protect the Allagash under public ownership in 1956.¹⁷⁰ That same year the Maine Fish and Game association suggested an undeveloped national park to protect a wilderness corridor along the river.¹⁷¹ A year later, the National Park Service responded to the situation by creating a proposal for a 750,000 acre Allagash National Park. The Park Service reviewed this plan internally and shared it with Maine state agencies, but eventually decided to withdraw the plan and never officially released it to the public.¹⁷²

In 1960, after canoeing the Allagash, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas tried to enlist an aging Percival Baxter's support in protecting the Allagash under the Baxter State Park Authority, because he believed Maine people were likely to resist the federal management of a national park.¹⁷³ This proposal never gained any serious consideration; however, it did introduce the idea of state protection of the river to the public.¹⁷⁴ The National Park Service the next year, in 1961, made public plans for a 246,000 acre Allagash National Recreation area to "make sure that the wilderness character of the finest canoe route in the Northeast is preserved."¹⁷⁵ In the same year State Senator Edward Cyr of Madawaska introduced a bill asserting a different wilderness vision for the Allagash. His bill embraced the "working wilderness" (social wilderness in this thesis) idea favored by the landowners in the area, and would have maintained state control of the area and allowed for more timber harvesting.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ Judd, "'A Last Chance for Wilderness': Defining the Allagash," 8.

¹⁷⁰ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 52, 54.

¹⁷¹ Judd, "'A Last Chance for Wilderness': Defining the Allagash," 8.

¹⁷² "Report on the Allagash to the Natural Resources Council of Maine," 7-8.

¹⁷³ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 52.

¹⁷⁴ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 325.

¹⁷⁵ "Report on the Allagash to the Natural Resources Council of Maine," 8-9.

¹⁷⁶ Judd, "'A Last Chance for Wilderness': Defining the Allagash."

This already complex situation was further complicated in 1963 with the introduction of yet another proposal from the Park Service and two additional dam proposals. The new Park Service plan called for an Allagash National Riverway, which would be, at 150,000 acres, much smaller than the national recreation area proposed two years earlier. The new proposal, like the old one, allowed hunting and fishing.¹⁷⁷ The first new dam proposal, called the Dickey-Lincoln dam, was a modification of the earlier Rankin Rapids proposal. It called for a dam on the St. John, but in an alternate position that would flood the St. John and leave the Allagash unaffected. Both the Rankin Rapids and Dickey-Lincoln dam proposals were federal. The second dam proposal of 1963 introduced a state controlled dam option. This option was more cost effective than either of the two federally proposed dams and would have provided revenue to the state, but at the cost of transforming the Allagash, as one environmentalist explained, into a “vast deadwater reservoir with stinking mud flats and barren gravel bars.”¹⁷⁸ In sum, by the end of 1963 Maine was faced with the choice between three conflicting dam projects, the most recent National Park Service plan, and various state and private “working wilderness” solutions to the Allagash question.¹⁷⁹

The 1963 state legislature considered a weak bill that was highly influenced by industry lobbying. It would have created tax programs promoting vague “wilderness” easements that did not forbid harvesting timber or extracting minerals. Crucially, it also did not restrict flowage rights, meaning the Cross Rock dam was still possible under the bill. The protection the bill would have afforded the Allagash was so minimal that Secretary of the Interior Steward Udall

¹⁷⁷ Gil Gilpatrick, *Allagash: The Story of Maine's Legendary Wilderness Waterway* (Freeport, Maine: DeLorme Publishing Company, 1983), 147; "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area," (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, 1961).

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Judd, "'A Last Chance for Wilderness': Defining the Allagash," 9.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

contacted Maine Governor John Reed letting him know that should the bill pass, the federal government would be forced to act.¹⁸⁰ The question of the Allagash remained unanswered.

Further complicating the situation was a development in the Cross Rocks dam proposal. The dam's promoters, knowing that the dam would ruin canoe recreation as it had been available on the Allagash, announced their intention to create a new mass recreation destination for the area. The dam would create a massive lake, deemed the Grand Allagash Lake. Promoters suggested building a new 20,000 acre recreation park to draw hundreds of thousands of visitors to camp and boat on the new artificial lake. The complex would have offered developments such as marinas, trailer parks, boat launches, and cottages.¹⁸¹ Now, in addition to the slew of dam and federal, state, and private protection schemes for the Allagash, the public was forced to grapple with the question of what kind of recreation and tourism to allow in the area. Protection of the Allagash would continue to offer a rugged wilderness canoe excursion only accessible to a limited class of experienced outdoorspeople on a naturally flowing river. The Cross Rocks proposal, on the other hand, offered the possibility of mass tourism and recreation on an artificially created lake. The choice could not be more stark.

In 1964, given the complex situation surrounding the river, the Maine Legislature created the Allagash River Authority to deliberate and make suggestions for the proper management of the river.¹⁸² The Authority consisted of state bureaucrats and a University of Maine forestry professor.¹⁸³ After much consideration, in 1965 the Authority announced their proposed solution: the Allagash Wilderness Waterway. Under this plan the state would control recreation and

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 9-10.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Gilpatrick, *Allagash: The Story of Maine's Legendary Wilderness Waterway*, 147.

¹⁸³ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 325.

commercial activity on 145,000 acres of land and water.¹⁸⁴ The managing entity would be the State Park and Recreation Commission, not the federal government through the National Park Service.¹⁸⁵ In that same year promoters dropped the Cross Rock Dam proposal after Congress approved funding for the more environmentally friendly Dickey Lincoln dam.¹⁸⁶

With the dam situation clarified, in 1966 the Allagash Wilderness Waterway proposal passed. The land and water surface required was purchased with half state, half federal funds.¹⁸⁷ U.S. Senator Muskie of Maine introduced federal legislation to allow state administered rivers to join the federal Wild and Scenic Rivers program. In 1970 Senator Muskie dedicated the Allagash Wilderness Waterway under this program, and by 1973 all the required land and water surface had been purchased.¹⁸⁸

The Allagash Debate

Given the complexity of the Allagash controversy, complete with various dam proposals and competing state, federal, and private protection schemes, there is not room here to fully cover all angles of the debate. Coverage of the Allagash controversy here will focus particularly on the smaller public discussion around National Park Service management of the river.

The body of sources I reviewed indicates that the debate surrounding a national park in the Allagash region was distinct from the earlier debates around Mount Desert Island and Mt. Katahdin in that voices from the forest products industry and local working class people were significant. Whereas Acadia had been an unchallenged push towards conservation by out of state

¹⁸⁴ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 53.

¹⁸⁵ Gilpatrick, *Allagash: The Story of Maine's Legendary Wilderness Waterway*, 147.

¹⁸⁶ Judd, "'A Last Chance for Wilderness': Defining the Allagash," 11.

¹⁸⁷ Gilpatrick, *Allagash: The Story of Maine's Legendary Wilderness Waterway*, 147.

¹⁸⁸ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 53.

elites and Mt. Katahdin was a contest between nationally-minded and Maine-minded elites with different conservation visions, the Allagash debate featured local and timber industry voices opposed to any governmental conservation, especially federal. On the supporters' side, the Allagash debate is missing an Elliot and a Dorr or an Avery and a Brewster. Whereas the principal supporters of the earlier proposed parks had been private or elected individuals from Maine or summer residents, in the case of the Allagash, the park idea originated and found its most ardent support within the National Park Service itself. A small group of Maine elites did not begin the push for a national park in the case of the Allagash; Department of Interior bureaucrats did.

The Allagash debate was a class and geographic conflict that pitted out of state conservation-minded elites against working class locals and forestry interests. Given that these groups had different values, the Allagash debate, unlike the Katahdin debate, was primarily a value struggle. Park supporters used justifications principally from within the wilderness escape value system, while park opponents appealed most ardently to regional economic development. The first park debate in Maine that was a class and geographic conflict was also the first debate that was principally a value struggle.

National park supporters appealed to the wilderness escape value system particularly by emphasizing wilderness recreation. The Park Service proposal for a National Riverway, for example, defined the Allagash as "a major recreation resource of great potential significance to the Nation."¹⁸⁹ The Park Service made it very clear that the primary value of the National Riverway was recreation. The park proposal spelled out that, "The purpose of an Allagash National Riverway would be to insure an area in the eastern United States of sufficient size and

¹⁸⁹ "A Report on the Proposed Allagash National Riverway," 4.

quality where present and future generations may experience a primitive northwoods canoeing adventure.”¹⁹⁰ Both the National Riverway and National Recreation Area proposals extolled the recreational value of the Allagash. The recreation area proposal, for example highlighted the fauna an Allagash paddler could spot from a canoe. “To traverse Allagash trails and waterways is also to encounter birds and animals of many kinds, for this lake-filled land is a reservoir of northern wildlife.”¹⁹¹ The passage then continued to paint a picture of the birds, deer, and moose a recreationist could spot on an Allagash journey.¹⁹²

The Park Service also mobilized threat to the wilderness recreation experience as a justification for federal protection. As previously noted, the threat of the dams loomed. The National Riverway proposal decried, “The alternative to public protection and preservation of the area... is to leave it to private commercial interests. Such a decision offers no real assurance to the public that the river, lakes, and natural environment of the Allagash will not eventually be encroached upon by diverse industrial demands.”¹⁹³ The National Recreation Area proposal made it clear exactly what value the proposed park was intended to protect: leisure in a wilderness setting. The last page of the proposal reads:

“Leisure experience in wilderness is among the most deeply refreshing and stimulating forms of outdoor recreation, yet opportunity for it is vanishing under the impact of technology and population growth....there are few places left where one can live in, study, and enjoy the earth in its natural design, and there is only one Allagash—one such resource of its character and magnitude left in the East. It can, by default, become another casualty in the ‘march of civilization,’ or it can be preserved as an unspoiled country of

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹¹ "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area."

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ "A Report on the Proposed Allagash National Riverway," 7.

adventure, a unique wilderness canoe route into an age-old dimension of human experience.”¹⁹⁴

The desire to protect the wilderness canoe route against encroachment from industry and civilization is directly in line with the wilderness escape value system.

Park opponents, on the other hand, attacked the various national park proposals for their perceived negative impact on Maine’s economy. Indeed, appeals to regional economic development were the primary arguments park opponents used. For example, Ben F. Pike, of the Association for Multiple Use of Maine Timberlands, an organization that adamantly opposed a federal presence in the Allagash region, argued, “If the Allagash is to be administered by the National Park Service, which would control access to and from the area, then the entire forest resources of northern Maine would be seriously affected and wood-using industries of the state, which account for one-third of our economy would be in jeopardy.”¹⁹⁵ A similar article offered that the number one reason to oppose an Allagash National Park was that. “It would result in a loss of substantial timber resources and destroy the woods industry of northwestern Maine, thus crippling the pulp and paper industry of the entire state.”¹⁹⁶ Opponents also argued against the park in more specific terms, noting that, “It is estimated that the railroads and trucking industry alone would stand to lose over \$1,000,000 annually, if the Allagash were closed; and local saw-mills, individual woods contractors, farmers, chemical suppliers, forest machinery companies, would all be affected by taking this large area out of timber production.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area."

¹⁹⁵ "Timber Spokesman Scores Allagash Riverway Plan," *Daily Kennebec Journal*, October 25, 1962.

¹⁹⁶ "Petition Opposing Allagash Park Circulated Here," *ibid.*, March 23, 1960.

¹⁹⁷ Arch Soutar, "Should Allagash Be Turned into National Recreation Area?," *Lewiston Journal Magazine*, May 5, 1962.

Park opponents also argued that the Allagash region was a particularly economically valuable forest, and was therefore not appropriate for setting aside for recreation. Several articles noted that the Allagash region was home to productive spruce-fir stands that were relatively scarce in the state. "Therefore the economic importance to Maine of the spruce-fir stands in the Allagash far exceeds the relative area involved."¹⁹⁸ Further, park opponents argued a park would diminish timbering access to woods west of the Allagash. Publicity materials produced by the Association for Multiple Use of Maine Timber Lands articulated that with an Allagash park "working access to the west would be very difficult. Continued access to and productivity of this land is vital to Maine industry and to the general economy of the State."¹⁹⁹ John H. Hinman, the honorary chairman of the board of the International Paper Company claimed an Allagash park "would effectively block an additional million acres of productive forest land from economic use by Maine industry."²⁰⁰

Park opponents were quick to argue that Maine was a relatively poor state, and that taking any timberlands out of the resource basket was misguided. For example, an anti-park article argued, "Maine is not a wealthy state. Its economy sorely needs the harvests from its 17 million acres of timberlands which provide for a \$500 million industry and employment for 32,000 citizens."²⁰¹ The end of this quote points towards another economic argument frequently used by park opponents, that of jobs. One *Lewiston Journal Magazine* article scathingly noted, "There are no jobs in the wilderness."²⁰² The same article went on to argue that the timber in the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ "The Allagash Controversy: Forest Facts," ed. Association for Multiple Use of Maine Timberlands (Augusta, Maine).

²⁰⁰ "Federal Allagash Control Seen as Industry Block," *Bangor Daily News*, October 30, 1963.

²⁰¹ Henry Clepper, "Waters of the Allagash," *American Forests*, November 1964, 48.

²⁰² Soutar, "Should Allagash Be Turned into National Recreation Area?."

proposed park area could support 500 mill jobs annually and an annual payroll of \$5-\$6 million.²⁰³

The economic argument deployed by park opponents relates to the class and geographic dynamics of the debate. National Park Service management would primarily confer benefits in wilderness recreation to outsiders who would gain ready access to the region. Why, locals asked, should the federal government use tax dollars to create access to an area that already allowed access? The difference was that while northern Maine locals, the people most likely to be park opponents, had ready access under private ownership, the larger national audience did not feel as comfortable making a trip in the area with its peculiar ownership scheme, dearth of publicity, and lack of the reassuring brand and facilities of the National Park Service. Clearly, the question was not truly one of access, but access for whom? Private ownership, as already established, provided adequate access for local people, and also provided jobs. Therefore private ownership was seen to confer more benefits on locals, unlike Park Service management.

Likely driven by opponents' vocal claims that a federal park in the Allagash area would hinder the local economy, park supporters did offer limited economic counterarguments. Park proponents were likely to argue that opponents overstated the negative economic impacts of the park or to argue that the park would have limited economic benefits. The Natural Resources Council of Maine commissioned a report by the Conservation Foundation that considered the economic impacts of the proposed Allagash National Recreation Area.²⁰⁴ Economics were only a small piece of this study however, and the report focused on such other factors as the history, fish and wildlife, and recreational aspects of the area.²⁰⁵ This is in stark contrast with the modern

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ "Report on the Allagash to the Natural Resources Council of Maine."

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

park proposal in which multiple studies have been published devoted exclusively to the economics of the park proposal.

Park supporters were apt to point out that the results of the Allagash study suggested the economic impact of the proposed park would be negligible. For example, Ronald F. Lee, the Regional Director of the National Park Service, argued, in a speech delivered to the annual meeting of the New England Section of the Society of American Foresters in 1962, that the negative impact of the park on the logging industry would only be the equivalent of “one quarter of one percent of the gross wages paid in Maine in 1960.”²⁰⁶ Lee therefore articulated that, “The conclusion seems inescapable that the timber resources within the proposed Allagash National Recreation Area have limited economic importance for the State of Maine or for New England generally.”²⁰⁷ Lee acknowledged the economics of the proposed park, but crucially, he supported the park despite realizing it might have a slight negative economic impact. Lee’s reasons for supporting the park become clear in the end of his speech when he discusses the need to provide more opportunities for wilderness recreation to people in the Northeast.²⁰⁸

The National Park Service itself took Lee’s economic argument one step further. Rather than arguing that the park would not significantly harm the timber industry, the Park Service instead claimed the park could be an economic benefit to the state. The Park Service’s official proposal for a national recreation area claimed the park would not be a threat to the forest economy given the relatively small size of the park compared to the available timber lands in the

²⁰⁶ Ronald F. Lee, “The Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area: An Address by Ronald F. Lee, Regional Director, National Park Service to the Annual Meeting of the New England Section of American Foresters,” (Hotel Statler, Boston, Massachusetts 1962), U.S. Senate Series, Washington Office 1959-1980 Subseries, Box 38, Folder 10, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, 8.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 11.

state. Moreover the proposal stated, “On the contrary a recreation area would provide a valuable economic asset to Maine.”²⁰⁹ The proposal continued by explaining that the Allagash park would “continuously yield substantial dollar income from recreation.”²¹⁰

While it is important to note that the sources reviewed for this thesis indicate that park supporters did deploy value practices from the regional economic development value system, these justifications were only a small part of the reasoning offered to create an Allagash park, and the economic arguments of park supporters were largely secondary and brought up simply to counter park opponents’ insistence that a proposed park would cripple the area’s economy. References to the economic argument were typically only a small piece of works that emphasized the greater need to preserve wilderness recreation. For example, the Park Service publication on the proposed National Recreation Area only mentions economics on a single page of the roughly 15-page publication, which is otherwise devoted to extolling the merits of the Allagash region as an area for wilderness recreation. The publication even explicitly states that the “immeasurable benefits of health, happiness, inspiration and a deepened love of country” are “more important” than “dollar income from recreation.”²¹¹ Such a claim would find no place in the way park supporters publicly support a new national park in northern Maine today. As we will see in the third chapter, in the modern park debate, park supporters use economics as the primary justification to create a park, rather than merely a secondary counterargument.

While local working class and forestry interests appealed principally to economics in their park opposition, a different type of park opponent also existed. National park opposing environmentalists offered an argument drawing from the wilderness escape value system.

²⁰⁹ "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area."

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

Although much less pervasive than the economic argument, these conservation-minded people scorned the Park Service for promoting overdevelopment and overuse, as national park opponents had done in the Mt. Katahdin debate. For example, one high profile non-local park opponent, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas explained, “The most frightening prospect for many is that the Allagash will become a national park.”²¹² He continued by noting that “the Park Service has become more and more devoted to roads and hotels—less and less to true wilderness areas. The prospect of making the Allagash another Yellowstone Park is sickening to those who know the wonders of this wilderness waterway.”²¹³²¹⁴ A similar argument, authored by forester and conservationist Henry Clepper appeared in *American Forests* magazine, the magazine of American Forests, an environmental organization devoted to conserving forests.²¹⁵

“In places the lovely Allagash promises to become as jam-packed with people and as slummy as Yosemite National Park on a Fourth of July weekend. Not only have living trees been hacked down, but rustic tables have been broken up for firewood. Paper and metal containers and rubbish litter the periphery of the camp sites. A trail of underwater beer cans guides the canoeist to his landing.”²¹⁶

²¹² William O. Douglas, *My Wilderness: East to Katahdin* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961), 263.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 264.

²¹⁴ Douglas later supported a national park after he was assured it would not involve bring roads and resorts to the area. “The Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area: An Address by Ronald F. Lee, Regional Director, National Park Service to the Annual Meeting of the New England Section of American Foresters,” (Hotel Statler, Boston, Massachusetts 1962), U.S. Senate Series, Washington Office 1959-1980 Subseries, Box 38, Folder 10, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

²¹⁵ Biographical information on Henry Clepper from "Henry Clepper Collection, 1915-1972 (Bulk 1940-1972)," PennState University Libraries, <https://www.libraries.psu.edu/findingaids/1494.htm>.

²¹⁶ Clepper, "Waters of the Allagash."

In the modern park debate, the conservation community is conspicuously silent in raising this type of wilderness escape concern regarding the development national parks bring.

The social wilderness value system played a minor role in park opposition, stemming from working class locals and forest-products industry interests. An example is an article in the *Journal of Forestry*, an industry magazine, which argued that the Allagash forest had been improved by commercial forestry management: “The Allagash forest has been protected from fire and insects, wildlife has flourished, mineral resources have been explored, scientific studies have been carried out, and overage, decay, and blowdown of timber, so common in older wilderness areas, are being controlled.”²¹⁷

Park opposition arguments based on the social wilderness value system, like the one above, were very rare in the source material available for this thesis. Why did social wilderness play such a minor role in the Allagash debate, when it would be so significant for working class locals and forestry industry interests in the later RESTORE debate? Neither of the two serious federal Allagash proposals (national recreation area and national riverway) severely threatened the social wilderness view of the North Woods as an inhabited space for work and traditional recreation. The proposed parks were focused on water surface, and were therefore less of an affront to the idea of forests as a space for logging and traditional uses. Moreover, both the national recreation area and national riverway proposals allowed hunting and fishing.²¹⁸ Further, snowmobiling and ATV use had not yet taken hold in the North Woods. The recreational snowmobile was not invented until 1959, and it was not until the second half of the 1960s that it

²¹⁷ "The Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area," *Journal of Forestry* 60, no. 3 (1962): 207.

²¹⁸ Gilpatrick, *Allagash: The Story of Maine's Legendary Wilderness Waterway*, 147; "Proposed Allagash National Recreation Area."

reached the masses.²¹⁹ Similarly, the first ATV was not invented until 1970.²²⁰ The social wilderness value system would become much more central in the RESTORE debate, because snowmobiling and ATV use had become part of the North Woods culture, and RESTORE's 3.2 million acre park vision threatened other traditional uses like hunting and trapping, as well as the broader vision of the forest as an inhabited, worked-in space.

In the case of the Allagash, park opponents appealed primarily to the regional economic development value system, and park supporters justified their position primarily based on wilderness escape. The Allagash debate was therefore a value struggle, which is made clear in an anti-park editorial that argued that the true worth of the Allagash region was not its famous wilderness canoe excursion (wilderness escape), as park supporters would claim, but its timber resources (regional economic development). The author exclaimed, "No matter how strong the emphasis may be upon such other offerings of the Allagash as its canoe trip or its appeal to sportsmen, the major worth of this sector over the years has been its hundreds of thousands of acres of valuable timber. Timber is a key economic resource for Maine."²²¹ The Allagash debate was principally a struggle around the proper way of valuing the Allagash region. Was the primary value of the region its ability to provide economic resources and thereby foster the growth of the local economy (as park opponents would argue), or was its more important value in providing a unique wilderness recreation experience (as park supporters would argue)?

²¹⁹ Leonard S. Reich, "Ski-Dogs, Pol-Cats, and the Mechanization of Winter: The Development of Recreational Snowmobiling in North America," *Technology and Culture* 40, no. 3 (1999).

²²⁰ "History of the Atv," Specialty Vehicle Institute of America, <http://www.svia.org/#/aboutHistory>.

²²¹ "State Control Sensible," *Lewiston Evening Journal*, June 22, 1964.

Conclusion

Class and geography are important to understanding all of Maine's historical park debates. Mount Desert Island was already established as a summer resort for elites, and there was therefore little local opposition to a national park which Dorr, Elliot, and their allies promoted principally with national interest, wilderness escape, and wilderness ecocentrism values. The Katahdin debate was primarily a wilderness escape value engagement between conservation-minded elites with conflicting visions for the appropriate protection of the area. Only once local working class people and forestry interests were introduced as legitimate players in the Allagash discussion did a public debate that was principally a value struggle emerge. In Maine, class and geographic conflict in the Allagash debate resulted in value conflict.

Chapter 3: The Modern Park Debates

Introduction

The modern park debate, when it first began in the 1990s, resembled the Allagash debate. Park supporters were primarily out of state conservation-minded elites, and opponents generally were working class locals. This class and geographic conflict manifested itself as a value struggle between appeals primarily to wilderness ecocentrism on the side of park supporters and social wilderness on the side of park opponents. However, over time the modern park debate has transformed. Park supporters have publicly abandoned the value systems, like wilderness ecocentrism, that are historically associated with non-local elites and publicly adopted the regional economic development value system historically embraced by locals as the principal value system behind supporting the park. Park opponents too have shifted their justifications away from the social wilderness value system and towards regional economic development. The modern park debate is unique in that it is monopolized by the regional economic development value system. Other types of value practices are largely excluded from the public conversation. Thus, the modern debate has become a value engagement, with both sides simply contesting strategy: is tourism or forestry the best way to grow the economy of the area? However, as chapter four will show, the value struggle that was at play when the modern park debate began still very much exists; park supporters have simply forced it under the surface in an apparent attempt to make the park proposal more palatable to local working class people.

Two Modern Park Proposals

The modern park debate began to take shape in the late 1980s. In 1988, the National Parks Conservation Association, a non-governmental advocacy group that promotes National

Parks recommended a national park around Baxter State Park. A year later, the Wilderness Society came out in support of a 2.7 million acre Maine Woods Reserve. The most drastic proposal of the period came from environmental activists Dave Foreman and Howie Wolke, who promoted a 10 million acre wilderness park north of Baxter State Park that would have encompassed both the St. John River and the Allagash Wilderness Waterway. The Natural Resources Council of Maine, in 1991, contributed a suggestion for a several million-acre North Woods Conservation Area to the cacophony of park proposals. Finally, in 1994 a group called the Northern Appalachian Restoration Project called for a five-million-acre Thoreau Regional Wilderness Reserve.²²²

While many visions for a park in Maine's North Woods surfaced in the late 1980s and early 1990s, only one would receive serious long-term consideration. This proposal came from an organization called RESTORE: The North Woods. Wilderness supporters founded RESTORE in 1992 to promote conservation amidst massive upheaval in the ownership patterns of the millions of acres of forest land in Maine's North Woods.²²³ The North Woods, consisting of approximately 10.4 million acres, have historically been privately owned by paper companies throughout the 20th century. For the majority of the century this land was owned by about 12 to 15 companies.²²⁴ Beginning in the 1980s this stability was undermined as millions of acres changed hands. Between 1980 and 2005, in a total of 150 transactions, 20,091,000 acres of

²²² Phyllis Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Qimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park* (Thomaston, Maine: Tilbury House Publishers, 2015), 14-15.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²²⁴ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 58.

timberlands, or 88.7% of the state, were sold.²²⁵ By the time of RESTORE's founding, the stability and longevity of this ownership model had come into question.

In 1994 RESTORE announced its plan for a 3.2 million acre national park in the North Woods.²²⁶ Larger than the state of Connecticut, the proposed park includes such features as Moosehead Lake, the largest lake in New England, the Allagash Wilderness Waterway, and the "100 Mile Wilderness" section of the Appalachian Trail.²²⁷ The park would surround Baxter State Park and stretch all the way to the Quebec border.²²⁸ RESTORE's vision for a national park tries to take into consideration the social wilderness value system embraced by many of northern Maine's people by including a national preserve where traditional activities like hunting, fishing, trapping, and snowmobiling would be allowed. These activities are not allowed in most national parks, but are traditionally important to northern Mainers.²²⁹ Also, RESTORE was careful to specify that land for the park would only be acquired from willing sellers; private land owners would not be forced to sell their land by eminent domain.²³⁰ RESTORE estimated that the land would cost between \$320 and \$960 million, or less than the price of one B-2 stealth bomber.²³¹

Despite RESTORE's efforts to design their proposal with the interests of northern Mainers in mind, local opposition was fierce when the proposal was made public. People in the

²²⁵ John M. Hagan, Lloyd C. Irland, and Andrew A. Whitman, "Changing Timberland Ownership in the Northern Forest and Implications for Biodiversity," (Brunswick, Maine: Manomet Center for Conservation Sciences, 2005), 4.

²²⁶ Welcher, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 59.

²²⁷ Docherty, "Maine's North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal," 539.

²²⁸ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 27.

²²⁹ Docherty, "Maine's North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal," 539.

²³⁰ Welcher, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 59.

²³¹ Docherty, "Maine's North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal," 540.

Greenville-Millinocket-Patten area tended to oppose the idea of federal ownership, viewed the loss of commercial forest lands as a danger to local jobs and culture, and disliked the idea of outsiders dictating restrictions on recreation in the area.²³² Groups like the Maine Sportsman's Alliance and the Millinocket Fin and Feather Club soon joined the fight against RESTORE's park proposal.²³³

The debate played out along these lines for several years as RESTORE generated significant news coverage and some grassroots support throughout the 1990s.²³⁴ A 1997 poll indicated that 63 percent of Mainers supported the park, and by 2000, polls showed that almost two-thirds of Mainers supported the park.²³⁵ Despite this statewide progress, local opposition in the North Woods region remained fierce and RESTORE did not appear significantly closer to realizing the park goal. Then, in 2000, Roxanne Quimby inserted herself into the saga.²³⁶ In that year, Quimby made her first of many significant conservation land purchases in Maine.²³⁷ Quimby, who had made her fortune by co-founding the cosmetics company Burt's Bees, in 1997 learned about RESTORE's park vision at the Common Ground Fair. In 2000, she contacted RESTORE's Maine director, Jym St. Pierre indicating that she was eager to help further the project. Quimby's partnership gave RESTORE something they had previously lacked: the financial power to begin buying land for the proposed park.²³⁸ In 2000 and 2001 Quimby bought five properties totaling 8,667 acres for the proposed national park.²³⁹

²³² Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Quimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park*, 16.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 254.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, 20.

²³⁷ Urquhart, "A Certain Persistence of Character: Land Conservation in Maine-1900-2000," 78.

²³⁸ Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Quimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park*, 248-49.

²³⁹ *ibid.*, 267.

However, soon after solidifying her first conservation purchases, Quimby's relationship with RESTORE began to strain. Quimby, fiercely independent, did not like having to work within the confines of RESTORE's mission. According to Jym St. Pierre, Quimby thought her association with RESTORE might slow down her achievement of her conservation goals.²⁴⁰ Moreover, Quimby's park vision contrasted with RESTORE's. As previously indicated, RESTORE's plan called for a preserve that would allow such traditional uses as hunting and snowmobiling. Quimby, on the other hand, envisioned more of a wilderness park—no hunting or motorized uses with limited road access, a place primarily for canoeing and hiking. Given these differences, Quimby chose to create her own personal landholding organization, Elliotsville Plantation Inc. (EPI).²⁴¹ In 2003 Quimby formally resigned from RESTORE's board of directors, and by 2004 her relationship with the organization was officially over.²⁴²

Shortly after Quimby's association with RESTORE ended, the public temporarily lost some interest in the park debate. In 2005 Plum Creek Timber, a significant landowner in the region, proposed rezoning 426,000 acres near Moosehead Lake for residential lots (including lakefront homes), a nature tourism area, a lodge facility, an industrial timber-processing site, campgrounds, storage units, and a store. The proposed development was entirely within the bounds of RESTORE's proposed national park, and Plum Creek's proposal, rather than RESTORE's, became the most pressing threat to existing land use patterns in the area. The public debate thus shifted to focus on Plum Creek more than the proposed national park. As Stephanie Welcomer articulated in 2010, "RESTORE: The North Woods continues to advocate

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 268.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid., 271, 90.

for the park, but public focus, as evidenced by news stories and public meetings, has turned to consideration of Plum Creek's proposal."²⁴³

While the public spotlight was off of the national park issue, Quimby evaluated her goals for her land holdings in northern Maine. In 2003 Quimby had purchased the first significant tract of land, 24,083 acres, between the eastern border of Baxter State Park and the East Branch of the Penobscot River, the area she would later propose as a smaller national park.²⁴⁴ Quimby continued buying land in this area, and by 2007 she owned most of the land bordering Baxter State Park on the east that was not already otherwise protected.²⁴⁵ After parting ways with RESTORE, Quimby considered the idea of making her land a national monument or a national wilderness area, speculating that the local public was not yet ready for a national park.²⁴⁶ However, in 2011, Quimby announced her plan to donate more than 70,000 acres of land between Baxter State Park and the East Branch of the Penobscot to the federal government as a national park.²⁴⁷ Now, with two competing park proposals, one from RESTORE and the other from Quimby, the national park issue returned to the forefront of the public's attention.

Also in 2011, Quimby made a significant effort to reach out to park opponents. She expressed that she intended to purchase land for an equal sized recreation area that would allow traditional uses like hunting and snowmobiling if opponents would support her in creating the roughly 70,000 acre national park.²⁴⁸ Despite this conciliatory effort, local opposition remained as ardent as ever. Quimby faced a ferocious public backlash after giving an interview in *Forbes*

²⁴³ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 71.

²⁴⁴ Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Quimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park*, 278.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 301.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 310.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 311.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 313-14.

magazine in which she claimed that the way of life northern Mainers were used to was not working and suggested local residents were in denial about needing to seek alternatives to the mill economy.²⁴⁹ Further, Quimby insulted locals by articulating that, in Maine, “We have the most aged population in the country.... I believe we have one of the highest adult obesity rates in New England. We have... oxycontin abuse... [and] Maine’s the largest net receiver of Federal funds, even though we supposedly hate the Feds...it’s a welfare state.”²⁵⁰ Understandably, locals did not appreciate being called elderly, overweight, drug-abusing, welfare recipients. In the fallout of this interview, Quimby realized she could not continue to be the public face of the national park campaign. She was widely hated in the region, and her association with the park allowed opponents to fight the park via personal attack.²⁵¹

Quimby stepped out of the public spotlight and was replaced by her son Lucas St. Clair as the public face of the park. As a Maine native and a fisherman, hunter, and snowmobiler, St. Clair was a much more palatable figure for locals. St. Clair indicated the park proposal was being reworked to better suit local interests, and his likable personality helped him come across as much more conciliatory than his mother.²⁵² The proposal St. Clair unveiled is for a 75,000 acre national park on the west side of the East Branch of the Penobscot, and an equal sized national recreation area on the east side of the river.²⁵³ The recreation area would allow traditional uses like hunting and snowmobiling, while the national park would not. In the years since St. Clair

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 321.

²⁵⁰ Michael Charles Tobias, "Maine Vs Thoreau: The Roxanne Quimby Question?," *Forbes*, October 3, 2011.

²⁵¹ Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Quimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park*, 327.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ It is crucial to note that Quimby’s landholding entity, Elliotsville Plantation Inc., owns the 75,000 acres for the national park, but only currently owns a small portion of the land proposed as the national recreation area. This reality is critical to park opponents who suggest that St. Clair and Quimby are trying to give away land that they do not own.

became the public face of the park, several high profile opponents have become park supporters and other groups like the Katahdin Area Chamber of Commerce and the Penobscot Nation have come out in favor of the park.²⁵⁴ Despite the upswing in public support, the debate rages on, and there have been no concrete steps towards making the park a reality. Given that it is already 2016, Quimby's stated goal of creating the new national park in time for the centennial of the Park Service seems extremely unlikely. In a move reminiscent of George Dorr and Acadia National Park, St. Clair and other park supporters are now lobbying for national monument designation in 2016 as a stepping-stone towards eventual national park designation.²⁵⁵ National monument designation only requires an executive order from the President rather than legislation from Congress. President Obama has already designated 19 national monuments, breaking the previous record of 18 set by Theodore Roosevelt. Between this record and the Park Service centennial, it seems possible that Obama will choose to exercise his authority under the 1906 Antiquities Act to designate Quimby's land a national monument. However, St. Clair has been adamant that the end goal remains a national park.²⁵⁶

Also, it is important to recognize that, while the Quimby/St.Clair proposal has received considerably more attention in recent years, RESTORE remains active, and they still promote their vision for a 3.2 million acre park. RESTORE's Jym St. Pierre explained the difference between the two proposals, noting that, "[EPI's] proposal is just focused on the land that they own and that they hope to be able to accomplish that in the near term. So theirs is smaller and sooner than ours. And ours is larger and longer term. Ours is the long term vision for the

²⁵⁴ Austin, *Queen Bee: Roxanne Quimby, Burt's Bees, and the Quest for a New National Park*, 329-30.

²⁵⁵ Jr., "St. Clair: National Monument Could Be Step toward Park."

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

region.”²⁵⁷ While St. Pierre expressed his support for EPI’s endeavors, RESTORE still intends to push for a larger park in the long run.

The Early Years of the RESTORE Debate

When RESTORE first began promoting their national park vision in 1994, the park debate, like the earlier Allagash debate, was a class and geographic conflict manifested as a value struggle between out of state elites and the coalition of working class locals and forestry interests. Park supporters principally justified the park with the wilderness ecocentrism value system, while opponents most vocally opposed the park primarily through the social wilderness value system. However, today, the value struggle has been eclipsed publicly and replaced by a value engagement within the regional economic development value system. This section will demonstrate how this transition occurred in the roughly 20 years since RESTORE first proposed a national park in the north Maine Woods.

The modern park debate has been a geographic and class conflict ever since the early years of RESTORE’s proposal. In 2000, Bonnie Docherty wrote an article on the early RESTORE debate that brought up environmental justice concerns surrounding the proposal. She explains that park supporters “[came] most frequently from southern Maine or from other states.”²⁵⁸ Further, she highlights that “RESTORE, the driving force behind the park is based in Massachusetts and its Maine office is located in Hallowell, just south of Augusta and far south of Maine’s ‘Mason-Dixon line.’”²⁵⁹ Park opponents, Docherty explains, were most often northern Maine locals. She writes, “Northern Mainers repeatedly complain that the project is the creation

²⁵⁷ Jym St. Pierre, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

²⁵⁸ Docherty, "Maine's North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal," 549.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 546.

of outsiders imposing their values and desires on an unreceptive audience.”²⁶⁰ This quote is particularly relevant, because in addition to pointing the geographic nature of the park debate, it also alludes to the value struggle that framed the early years of the public debate.

Docherty points out that the geographic nature of the park debate was also a class conflict. The environmental justice model should be applied to the park debate, she argues, not because racial minorities were being targeted, but because the park proposal “targets one of the poorest regions of the state.”²⁶¹ Docherty contrasts this by describing southern Maine, where park supporters often come from, as a place with “more people, more jobs, and more money.”²⁶² Docherty’s interest in applying the environmental justice model to the early years of the RESTORE debate is an indication that, like the Allagash debate, the modern park debate began as a class and geographic conflict.

According to Stephanie Welcomer, the RESTORE park debate between 1994 and 2005 can be split into two unique phases. Welcomer completed an eleven-year longitudinal study of hundreds of publicly available local and national newspaper articles about the proposed park, and concluded that the park debate was fundamentally different between 1994 and 1999 and 2000 to 2005.²⁶³ For Welcomer, during the first phase, justifications for the park were primarily ecocentric. The forests of the North Woods were presented as damaged by the centuries of logging, and the park was offered as a way to return the forest to a healthier, more pristine state. In Welcomer’s own words, in this first stage, supporters presented the park as a “refuge for

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 545.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 59-60.

humans and a variety of wildlife.”²⁶⁴ Welcomer is alluding to the wilderness ecocentrism value system here. Wilderness escape values were also tied in with wilderness ecocentrism during this time, as indicated by Welcomer’s description of the park as a refuge for not only animals, but also humans. As with the historical park debates, appeals to economic benefits for locals (regional economic development) were present too, but were not as dominant as ecocentric justifications.²⁶⁵ For Welcomer, during the second period of the RESTORE debate after 2000, park supporters shifted to focusing on economic growth rather than ecocentric justifications. In essence, park supporters publicly dropped the wilderness ecocentrism and wilderness escape value systems in favor of regional economic development.

Park opponents, in the early years of the debate, appealed primarily to the social wilderness vision of Maine’s woods as an inhabited working forest landscape that was improved rather than degraded by logging practices, as well as the setting for valued traditional uses. By the RESTORE debate, snowmobiling and ATV use had become part of the North Woods culture. In addition, unlike with the Allagash proposals, fishing, hunting, trapping, and the general valuing of the North Woods as an inhabited space were severely threatened by RESTORE’s proposed 3.2 million acre wilderness park and preserve.²⁶⁶ Thus, the social wilderness value system became a much more significant part of the RESTORE debate.

The source material I examined corroborates Welcomer’s findings that ecocentric arguments dominated the early years of RESTORE’s public support for the park. For example, in this time park supporters were apt to argue for a park in the context of lost wilderness. In a 1996 editorial in the *Bangor Daily News*, RESTORE’s Maine Director, Jym St. Pierre, wrote that,

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 60.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 62.

²⁶⁶ It must be noted that RESTORE, anticipating this criticism, have always stated that a portion of the 3.2 million acres would be a preserve that would allow hunting and snowmobiling.

“Maine’s North Woods represent the greatest second chance wild-land area in our country. That the problem we face is not bad people deliberately trying to destroy our forest, but a continuing loss of crucial wilderness due to the cumulative actions of many reasonable men and women.”²⁶⁷ St. Pierre continues that while Maine has “lost a great deal... it is not too late to protect the best of what is left and recover some of the wildness that is gone.”²⁶⁸

Justifications such as the one above fall under wilderness ecocentrism rather than wilderness escape, because they suggest an inherent value in protecting wilderness outside of the anthropocentric value of recreation. RESTORE supporters, for example, also promoted the park based on the ability of a park to allow cut-over forests to heal. For example, in a 1997 editorial, Robby Richardson, a RESTORE employee, argued for the park on the basis of its ability to protect the inherent value of wilderness in the Maine Woods.²⁶⁹ Richardson wrote, “Already over 2,000 square miles of forests have been clearcut in the Maine Woods. This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to protect a vast area of wilderness before it steps closer to the mediocrity that accompanies our appetite for expansion...”²⁷⁰ He continued, “Once the lakeshores are dotted with homes, once the old-growth trees become sawlogs—the opportunity will have passed us by. As part of the last remaining wildlands east of the Rockies, this is our last chance to preserve a significant piece of wilderness in the heavily-populated northeastern United States.”²⁷¹

The early years of the RESTORE debate also included non-anthropocentric values in that park supporters promoted the park based on its ability to protect wildlife. In 1995, RESTORE

²⁶⁷ Jym St. Pierre, "What Kind of North Woods Does Maine Really Want?," *Bangor Daily News*, April 25, 1996.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Richardson was the coordinator of the Maine Woods Visitor Center in Bar Harbor, which existed to promote the RESTORE park.

²⁷⁰ Robby Richardson, "North Woods National Park a One-Time-Only Opportunity," *Kennebec Journal*, August 14, 1997.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

founder Michael J. Kellett wrote an article that exclaimed, “Four short centuries of careless exploitation have almost ruined [the North Woods].”²⁷² After explaining the modern threats to the North Woods, Kellett articulated, “there is still time to restore this unique ecological region.”²⁷³ Kellett’s appeal to an inherent value in wildlife protection is made clear when he pronounced that RESTORE,

“has a vision of the North Woods as it once was and can be again. We see a diverse, native landscape, where towering white pines preside over vast ancient forests: wolf and moose, cougar and caribou roam the wilderness in the timeless contest between predator and prey; and salmon, sturgeon, and grayling spawn in free-flowing rivers. We envision a healthy, self-sustaining forest that is the summer home for countless tropical birds, an immense reservoir of fresh water, a natural recycler of air, and a storehouse for carbon that would otherwise fuel global climate change.”²⁷⁴

Kellett offers the proposed Maine Woods National Park as crucial to realizing this vision of the North Woods as a wildlife sanctuary. Similarly, in this same article Kellett offers the national park proposal in association with RESTORE’s campaigns to protect eastern timber wolf, Atlantic salmon, and North American wood turtle species.²⁷⁵

The Allagash debate was largely a contest around by and for whom the land in question should be managed, locals or people from away who would be park visitors. RESTORE’s appeal to non-anthropocentric valuing of wildlife introduces a third variable to this equation. Under the new paradigm, the interests of the biotic community are raised as legitimate alongside the

²⁷² Michael J. Kellett, "The Ecological Restoration of the North Woods," *Wildflower*, Spring 1995, 32.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

interests of locals and people from away. For Stephanie Welcomer and Mark Haggerty, the RESTORE park debate can be understood as a contest to establish who the legitimate stakeholders should be in making land use decisions in the area. Should only locals have a say, or should the interests of people from across the nation be considered? Should the interests of the non-human biotic community be considered? Welcomer and Haggerty have written that the themes of the park debate,

“are undergirded by competing notions of community and legitimacy. Park advocates depict a community characterized by citizens of the local, state and nation, and include the biotic community. Because the community is defined to include such constituents the interests and goals of the Maine forest are constituted in a broader sense.”²⁷⁶

By appealing to wilderness ecocentrism values, RESTORE supporters claimed wildlife as legitimate actors in the park debate.

During this period RESTORE supporters blended wilderness escape justifications in with wilderness ecocentrism. For example, RESTORE Founder Michael Kellett and Maine Director Jym St. Pierre described the impact of the logging industry on the Maine Woods. They claimed,

“In the past, landowners took relatively good care of the forest. Today, control of most of the region has become concentrated in the hands of a few large corporations. Driven by global pressures to maximize short-term profits, they have been clearcutting the forest, spraying toxic pesticides, building extensive logging road networks and subdividing

²⁷⁶ Welcomer and Haggerty, "Tied to the Past - Bound to the Future: Ceremonial Encapsulation in a Maine Woods Land Use Policy," 387.

pristine shorelands... Without protective action the Maine Woods—and a valued way of life for Mainers—may soon be lost.”²⁷⁷

This article offers a national park as the solution to the ecological degradation outlined above. This argument is derived from the wilderness ecocentrism value system. However, St. Pierre and Kellett continue that, “a Maine Woods National Park could permanently safeguard the heart of the Maine Woods for public benefit. The forests, the watersheds and wildlife would be protected and past clearcutting damage healed. Vast restored wildlands would offer backcountry recreation.”²⁷⁸ By alluding to public benefit, St. Pierre and Kellett are clearly back in the realm of anthropocentric values. The reference to backcountry recreation is a value practice within wilderness escape. While wilderness ecocentrism values were at the forefront of RESTORE’s early justification for park creation, it is important to note that such justifications also included frequent references to wilderness escape.

Appeals to create RESTORE’s park were primarily ecologically focused at first, but in this time, regional economic development was also a secondary part of the discourse deployed by park supporters. In fact, in the article quoted in the above paragraph, after referencing backcountry recreation, St. Pierre and Kellett also argue that, “The park would create jobs and draw new businesses.”²⁷⁹ Tellingly, the economic argument is offered third, behind the ecological and recreational benefits. This is indicative of the secondary importance of the regional economic development argument behind ecocentric justifications in this time period. As we will see this framing would reverse over time.

²⁷⁷ Jym St. Pierre and Michael J. Kellett, "Maine Woods National Park: Land Is on Market," *Lewiston Sun Journal*, July 22, 1995.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

A key instance of park supporters beginning to emphasize regional economic development more occurred in 1996 when Jym St. Pierre and Michael J. Kellett released a report titled, “Gateway to a Healthy Economy” extolling the expected economic benefits of the proposed park.²⁸⁰ Welcomer is correct, however, that the emphasis on the economic argument was more dramatic after 2000. In this later period, as we will see, a much more serious independent economic study was published. Moreover, the last two sentences of RESTORE’s 1996 report read, “With open minds, ingenuity, and cooperation, a healthy ecosystem can be protected and a strong economy can be created in northern Maine. A Maine Woods National Park and Preserve would be a major step toward this goal.”²⁸¹ In 1996, even in the economic report about the proposed park, the goal of “a healthy ecosystem” comes before the goal of a “strong economy.”

During this period, park opponents, on the other hand, appealed primarily to the social wilderness value system. Welcomer has argued that between 1994 and 2000 park opponents built their position on a “working forest narrative.”²⁸² Welcomer’s “working forest narrative” is a manifestation of the social wilderness value system:

“The forest scene is one of human activities, a ‘working forest’ serving a diversity of interests. An area of multiple human uses, the working forest accommodates the harvesting of hard- and softwoods for a range of forest products, and areas are provided for a variety of non-motorized and motorized activities. Through forest management, the narrative suggests, the forest’s health is also maintained and nurtured... Critical to this

²⁸⁰ Michael J. Kellett and James A. St. Pierre, "Gateway to a Healthy Economy: The Proposed Maine Woods National Park and Preserve and the Future of the Moosehead Region of Maine," (RESTORE: The North Woods, 1996).

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁸² Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 63.

working forest narrative is the scene of a civilized ‘working forest,’ which is not a wild space and has not been wild for centuries...”²⁸³

Welcomer’s passage makes it clear how the social wilderness narrative is in direct opposition to the wilderness ecocentrism and wilderness escape value systems. While park supporters saw the North Woods as a damaged ecosystem that needed protection from human influence to return it to its rightful wild state, park opponents viewed those same woods as part of their home, a place not degraded but improved by human management, a space for people and the various activities they do to make livelihoods and recreate. This is a clear example of a value struggle.

As Welcomer argues, appeals to the working forest/social wilderness narrative were indeed ascendant for park opponents during the early years of the RESTORE debate. One of the best examples of this comes from a letter to the editor in the *Bangor Daily News* written by Jimmy Busque, the President of the Fin and Feather Club of Millinocket, a group that opposed the RESTORE proposal. Busque wrote,

“As for their plan to turn much of Maine into a national park, we cannot support the establishment of a federal park that steals the assets and heritage of the people. This park would erect gates, charge fees, destroy roads, stop hunting and trapping and stop snowmobiling and float plane use. In this proposed park there are 366,000 acres of public land, 300,000 acres of land under great ponds and all of the fur, fish, fowl, and game that will be taken from the people of Maine. A private, working, sustainable forest in northern Maine will continue to provide needed renewable resources for all, and many good jobs which accompany them, as well as quality public recreational opportunities for all.”²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Jimmy Busque, "Stop Federal Park," *Bangor Daily News*, September 17, 1999.

Another example comes from a letter to the editor in the *Portland Press Herald*. Larry R. Gilbert attacked RESTORE for wanting to rid the North Woods of snowmobiling, an activity enjoyed by many locals. He wrote, “Although Restore lists snowmobiling as a recreation available within the proposed park, be certain that it will do everything possible to ban snowmobiles as soon as the land grab is complete, if not before.”²⁸⁵ Gilbert concludes, “The Maine Woods are working, living forests, in which the people of Maine have always lived, worked and played. All Mainers must fight land grabs by those who would deprive us of our livelihood, our recreation and our heritage.”²⁸⁶

A final example of anti-park justifications from the social wilderness value system comes from Stephen Schley, President of Pingree Associates, Inc., a Bangor forest products company. In an article in the *Bangor Daily News*, Schley wrote that Mainers did not need a national park, because, “Maine's public enjoys boundless public recreation opportunities under a multiple use, private system of ownership that combines recreation, wildlife management, conservation, and economically viable timber harvesting in a sustainable system that supports rural Maine economies and a way of life.”²⁸⁷

The social wilderness value system was at the forefront for park opponents during the early years of the RESTORE debate. Park supporters, on the other hand, appealed primarily to the wilderness ecocentrism value system at first. As such, the early years of the RESTORE debate were clearly a value struggle between two contested visions of the North Woods. Park supporters, generally wealthier people “from away” viewed the North Woods as requiring protection to return them to their primeval state, while park opponents, generally working class

²⁸⁵ Larry R. Gilbert, "Letter to the Editor," *Portland Press Herald*, February 7, 1999.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Stephen Schley, "No Need for North Woods National Park," *Bangor Daily News*, February 11, 1999.

locals and allied forestry interests, viewed the North Woods as a healthy industrially managed forest, ideal for making a living and recreating.

A Shift in Discourse

The value struggle that framed the early years of the RESTORE debate would eventually be replaced by a regional economic development value engagement, and the prevalence of wilderness ecocentrism and social wilderness values would decline. Welcomer writes that after 2000 the park support narrative “no longer emphasized Romantic wilderness values to the same extent.”²⁸⁸ Instead, “the park narrative underlined economic benefits and stakeholder legitimacy. Although ecocentric arguments to restore lost habitat and preserve wild places were not undermined, they were not emphasized.”²⁸⁹ While Welcomer’s biphasic model denies the gradual nature of the discursive shift, this quote points to the reality that wilderness ecocentrism values were still very much present in the later years of the park debate, but they were no longer the primary focus.²⁹⁰ Park opponents too shifted their focus to regional economic development rather than social wilderness justifications over time. Thus the historical paradigm of Maine park debates reversed. No longer were regional economic development values present but secondary;

²⁸⁸ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 66.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ While Welcomer is indeed correct that ecocentric justifications dominated in the early years of her study and economic justifications dominated the later years, her biphasic model is oversimplified. The sources examined for this thesis indicate that park supporters did not simply use ecocentric justifications before 2000 and economic one afterwards; instead the role of economic justifications grew over time throughout the entire period of Welcomer’s study, while ecocentric justifications correspondingly decreased.

instead, for the first time in the hundred-year history of national park debates in Maine, economics came first.²⁹¹

In the earlier years, the park was pitched primarily as a solution to environmental degradation and a protector of wildlife and wilderness. Later, the primary goal of the park, as it was publicly presented, was to rescue the economy, not the environment. Under this new framing, “Recovery [shifted] to highlight the park’s role as economic engine.”²⁹² As Welcomer explains, “In Phase II of Maine’s recovery narratives, the central tension of loss [was] reoriented to focus on the lost economy, not the lost abundant wild forest and all that it makes possible for humans.”²⁹³ Welcomer continues that in this new discourse, “nature [was] no longer at center stage. Instead, this role [was] occupied by the economic benefits of the park—a departure from an ecocentric argument and a turn toward a more anthropocentric rationale.”²⁹⁴

Under this new framing, the wilderness ecocentrism values of the park became implicit rather than explicit as the public discussion focused on regional economic development. Welcomer argues that, “even though the declensionist recovery was still implicitly predicated on preserving land via a park, its rationale evolved from harmed forest with intrinsic value as a big unbroken space to value as an economic amenity provider.”²⁹⁵ The primary value of the park, as publicly discussed, had shifted from its ability to preserve wild lands to its ability to grow the local economy. While ecological preservation values that appealed to outsiders remained implicitly associated with the park proposal, economic arguments intended to appeal to locals were at the forefront publicly.

²⁹¹ I will discuss the causes of this shift in the next chapter.

²⁹² Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 66.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 67.

RESTORE's archives confirm Welcomer's claim that regional economic development values became ascendant in the debate sometime after 2000. For example, in that year Jonathan Carter, the director of the Forest Ecology Network in Augusta, wrote a pro-park editorial that focused exclusively on the economics of the proposed park. Carter began by claiming that, "The Maine Woods National Park and Preserve proposal could be a part of the solution to the economic revitalization of northern Maine."²⁹⁶ Carter then outlined the economic declines in the traditional economic activities of the area, farming and forestry. He wrote,

"In the woods product sector we have witnessed an alarming loss of 54 percent of our logging and 30 percent of our mill jobs. In 1960, one in 11 people was employed in the forest industry. Now it is closer to one in 23. The Maine Department of Labor forecasts employment in this sector will decline by as much as 7 percent by 2005 and the U.S. General Accounting Office projects a decline of 27 percent over the next 50 years."²⁹⁷

Carter, typical of park supporters in this new phase of the RESTORE debate, offered a national park as the solution to northern Maine's economic woes.

A year later, in 2001, RESTORE funded Thomas Power, an economist at the University of Montana, to complete an independent economic report on the proposed park.²⁹⁸ The report concluded that the creation of the park could be a "new source of economic vitality" that would "help to offset the unavoidable declines in the forest products sector."²⁹⁹ Specifically, Power predicted that the park was likely to lead to an additional one percent annual growth in

²⁹⁶ Jonathan Carter, "Maine Woods National Park Makes Sense," *The Ellsworth American*, August 10, 2000.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Thomas Michael Power, "The Economic Impact of the Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve," (Hallowell, Maine: RESTORE: The North Woods, 2001).

²⁹⁹ "The Economic Impact of the Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve Executive Summary," (Hallowell, Maine: RESTORE: The North Woods, 2001).

employment surrounding the park, equal to about 100 new jobs per year immediately after park creation, and about 300 additional jobs per year 20 years later. Further, Power predicted about 3,600 total new jobs and noted that average income in the area would likely increase.³⁰⁰ While Powers did predict that the proposed park would create a modest economic benefit, he was careful to point out in an article he wrote for *the Bangor Daily News* that, “the proposed park would neither do significant damage to the northern Maine economy nor would it lead to a boom that would transform the region. Both sides in the debate over the proposed Park tend to exaggerate the economic impacts.”³⁰¹ Despite Power’s qualifications of the findings of his report, park supporters used the report as ammunition for the regional economic development argument.

Park opponents responded to this heightened focus on the economy from park supporters by moving somewhat away from social wilderness justifications for opposing the park and towards regional economic development justifications of their own. For example, park opponents called into question the perceived economic benefits of the park. In 2002, John Simko wrote an article titled, “National Park Would Damage Local Economy.”³⁰² Simko was at the time the Greenville town manager and the Chairman of the Maine Woods Coalition Steering Committee. The Maine Woods Coalition is a Greenville organization that formed in 2000 to fight the national park proposal.³⁰³ Simko’s article pointed out that, at the time, snowmobiling brought in over \$300 million in sales tax revenue each winter to Maine, a figure which would decrease if snowmobiling was restricted in a national park. Similarly, Simko noted that over 15 percent of workers in Piscataquis County were employed by the forest products industry, and these people

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 4.

³⁰¹ "Economic Impact of Woods National Park," *Bangor Daily News*, September 14, 2001.

³⁰² John Simko, "National Park Would Damage Local Economy," *Moosehead Messenger*, October 9, 2002.

³⁰³ "Why Did the Maine Woods Coalition Form?," Maine Woods Coalition, <http://mainewoodscoalition.org/about-us>.

would lose their jobs if a national park were created. Further, Simko claimed that when “truck drivers, the wood cutters, the mechanics, the diesel fuel delivery drivers, the saw shops and logging equipment suppliers” are included, the number of impacted jobs in the county would reach over 1,700.³⁰⁴

Simko’s article is in line with the way Welcomer defines her second phase of the RESTORE debate. For Welcomer, the way park opponents advanced their position changed after 2000 as well. While park opponents still appealed to a working forest narrative, given the recent declines in the forest products industry, park opponents could no longer assure the continued flourishing of logging. Instead, park opponents focused on arguing that technology and innovation could revive the floundering industry, and that a national park would get in the way of this possibility. In short, the narrative changed from emphasizing the ways the working forest advanced social wilderness values like traditional recreation to the way the working forest could advance regional economic development values through new technology and investment that would provide jobs. As Welcomer writes, the new narrative “relied on science, technology, and capitalism to retain an already existing Eden.”³⁰⁵

Simko’s article demonstrates the argument that technological advancement and new investment would spur economic growth in the area. For example, Simko pointed to \$30 million of pending private investments in two new lumbering operations in Dover-Foxcroft and Greenville that would create over 100 jobs. Simko also referenced a Wood Composites Business Incubator that was due to open in Greenville in 2003 and a “world-class advanced wood structures laboratory located at the University of Maine in Orono” as potential sources of new

³⁰⁴ "National Park Would Damage Local Economy."

³⁰⁵ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 67.

innovations that could revitalize the industry.³⁰⁶ Simko concluded, however, that, “The potential loss of 3.2 million acres of productive timberland would ruin all of these prospects.”³⁰⁷

In sum, Welcomer concludes:

“The park narrative was founded on Romantic and environmental justice perspectives privileging nature’s intrinsic values as well as alternative economic arrangements. As this issue evolved, however, the park narrative shifted away from those founding impulses, adding a progressive recovery argument that promoted the instrumental economic benefits potentially offered by the park. Correspondingly, less rhetorical space was given to forest health and intrinsic aesthetic, spiritual, and ecological values.”³⁰⁸

Over time, RESTORE supporters publicly abandoned wilderness ecocentrism in favor of regional economic development. Park opponents too embraced economics, and the park debate thereby shifted from a value struggle to a regional economic development value engagement. This phenomenon would only deepen when a new smaller and more realizable national park proposal entered the public discussion.

Class and Geography in the New Framing of the RESTORE Debate

While the later years of the RESTORE debate were primarily a regional economic development value engagement, a secondary value struggle between anti-federal localism and national interest also occurred. Park opponents insisted that northern Maine locals should be the only actors in deciding the fate of the North Woods, appealing to the anti-federal localism value

³⁰⁶ Simko, "National Park Would Damage Local Economy."

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 69-70.

system. Opponents painted park supporters as southern Mainers or people from out of state with no legitimate say in the matter. Welcomer writes of her second phase of the RESTORE debate,

“With the announcement of the public opinion polls finding that the majority of Mainers supported the park, the working forest story still identified park proposers as those who could not understand the woods or its importance to ‘real people,’ however, now with more specific references to demographic distinctions—northern versus southern Maine, rural versus urban Maine.”³⁰⁹

In this later phase of the park debate, park supporters, more than ever, were classified as people from away unjustly interfering in the livelihoods of northern Mainers.

An excellent example of this phenomenon comes from Charles Horne, a park opponent and news director at a radio station in Bangor. In 2000, Horne wrote an article satirically advocating for a Wilderness Park in southern Maine that would evict people in southern Maine from their homes and businesses and destroy their economy and way of life. Horne made it clear that this is precisely what he believed southern Mainers and out of state people were trying to do to northern Mainers with RESTORE’s proposed park. Horne classified RESTORE as a “Massachusetts-based group” and claimed that the only Mainers “enthused about establishing a 3 ½ million acre wilderness park in northern Maine” were from the southern part of the state.³¹⁰ The class dynamics are clear when he called these southern Maine park supporters “the ecological elite.” In conclusion, Horne stated, “Just as the Southern Maine Wilderness Park

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 68.

³¹⁰ Charles Horne, "The Time Has Come for a Southern Maine Wilderness Park," *The Northeast International Business Journal*, November, 2000.

overtaking Windham and Scarborough is an unworkable illusion, so too is the Northern Maine Wilderness Park.”³¹¹

Horne’s sentiment that park supporters were non-locals with no legitimate say in the matter was also reflected by a popular bumper sticker designed in 2000 by Millinocket Town Manager Eugene Conlogue. The sticker read "RESTORE Boston: Leave our MAINE way of life alone."³¹² This sticker, like Horne’s article, suggested that if non-local environmentalists, for example those from Boston, want a wilderness preserve, they should be willing to live with the consequences of locating it in their own backyard rather than in northern Maine.

Park supporters contested this anti-federal localism vision by appealing to national interest, suggesting that the park question was a matter of importance to a much broader community than only northern Mainers. As Welcomer writes, in her second phase of the debate, for park supporters, “the band of legitimate actors [was] widened, highlighting the park’s local, regional, national, and global significance for those of all socioeconomic backgrounds.”³¹³ Park supporters argued that working class local Mainers were not the only stakeholders in the issue, and that outsiders should therefore have a say in the matter. RESTORE’s proposal was for a national park, and therefore, for park supporters, the opinions of a national audience were valid.

Discourse Surrounding the EPI Park Proposal

The national park debate in northern Maine, as articulated by Welcomer, was largely overshadowed between 2005 and 2010 by the more pressing land use proposal by Plum Creek.³¹⁴

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Brian MacQuarrie, "At Loggerheads over Maine Woods," *Boston Globe*, December 21, 2003.

³¹³ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 68.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 71.

The park debate began heating up again in 2011 when Roxanne Quimby announced a new plan for a smaller national park that would only consist of lands she owned. In the immediate aftermath of Quimby making her proposal public, there was a limited resurgence of wilderness ecocentrism justifications for national park creation. Matt Polstein, the owner of the New England Outdoor Center in Millinocket and a park supporter, said “Roxanne’s principal interest was on the preservation side. She wanted more land preserved for the people of the United States, and managed by a good steward, the National Park Service. So she came about it more from the environmental and preservation perspective.”³¹⁵ As Polstein articulated, “while Roxanne clearly knew [about economic benefits] intuitively, it wasn’t her focus.”³¹⁶ As park opponent Anne Mitchell, the President of the anti-park Maine Woods Coalition, put it, Quimby’s “early efforts to rally support for a national park in Maine were laden with language encouraging conservation, preservation and protection of these lands for future generations of Mainers.”³¹⁷ In an interview, Mitchell claimed that in essence Quimby’s plan originally called for a national park to “save the environment from the damage of logging.”³¹⁸

Understandably, this type of reasoning did not resonate with northern Maine locals who traditionally had based their livelihoods around the logging industry. This return to wilderness ecocentrism discourse was soon abandoned when Quimby took her national park proposal off the table a year later in 2012. When the new proposal for a national park and national recreation area reemerged in 2013, the economics-first narrative established in the later years of the RESTORE debate became dominant once again. Quimby’s son, Lucas St. Clair, replaced his mother as the

³¹⁵ Matt Polstein, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Anne Mitchell, "Maine Should Reject a National Park," *The Ellsworth American*, April 3, 2015.

³¹⁸ Anne Mitchell, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

public face of the park and marshaled the narrative of park support away from wilderness ecocentrism values and towards regional economic development. Eliza Donoghue of the Natural Resources Council of Maine, a group that in recent years has supported the park, explained that, “this whole economic argument is one that was a part of what Roxanne had to say, but I think it has become a much bigger part of the conversation with Lucas at the helm, and I think that people are thinking about this project not just from a land conservation perspective, but also from an economic opportunity perspective.”³¹⁹ Similarly, Anne Mitchell wrote, “Environmentalism is no longer the leading argument, replaced by promises of an economic boost and increased jobs...”³²⁰ More candidly, in an interview, Mitchell exclaimed, “here comes Lucas in place of his mother with the ‘new’ plan. It’s not a new plan, it’s the same plan, just different packaging. This time they’re doing it, quote, ‘for the economy,’ instead of saving the environment.”³²¹

Much of the economic focus that materialized in the park debate after St. Clair entered the spotlight rests on a pair of independent economic studies commissioned by Elliotsville Plantation Inc. in 2013. Headwaters Economics, a Montana nonprofit research group, completed both studies. One of the studies analyzes the existing economy of Penobscot and Piscataquis counties, the two counties closest to the proposed park. The authors conclude that, “There is little evidence that creation of a National Park and recreation area would harm the local forest products industry, or that there would be significant changes in local and state taxes collected.”³²² Moreover, “As an economic development strategy a [National Park and National Recreation Area] has the potential to stimulate tourism and attract new migrants, including a

³¹⁹ Eliza Donoghue, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³²⁰ Mitchell, "Maine Should Reject a National Park."

³²¹ Anne Mitchell, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³²² "The Regional Economy of Penobscot and Piscataquis Counties, Maine and a Potential National Park and Recreation Area," (Bozeman, Montana: Headwaters Economics, 2013), 1.

younger population.”³²³ The other study focuses on the economic performance of “peer regions” that are in some way similar to northern Maine, but have a national park or national park and national recreation area. This study concludes that the economies of the peer regions with national parks or national parks and national recreation areas grew faster in all cases than the economies of northern Maine’s Penobscot and Piscataquis counties from 1970 to 2010. Overall, the report predicts the park would create 450 to 1,000 jobs.³²⁴

In the wake of the publication of these studies, park supporters deployed the Headwaters employment figures as a principal justification for park creation. For example, EPI created a publicity pamphlet that focused exclusively on the economics of the park proposal. The pamphlet begins, “Two peer-reviewed economic studies looked at the impact a new national park and recreation area would have on the Katahdin region and found that the combination of the two would help create up to 1,000 jobs in the region without any significant negative impact on Maine’s timber industry.”³²⁵ EPI published another pamphlet intended to show how the park proposal catered to local interests. The first block of text inside the pamphlet reads, “Thanks to feedback from thousands of people in the Katahdin Region, we have created a draft outline that ensures a proposed national park and recreation area would... create up to 1,000 jobs, strengthening the local economy.”³²⁶

After St. Clair became the public face of the park, newspaper editorials too focused more intensively on the economy. A June 2015 editorial from Avern Danforth, the manager and past

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ "A Comparative Analysis of the Economies of Peer Counties with National Parks and Recreation Areas to Penobscot and Piscataquis Counties, Maine," (Bozeman, Montana: Headwaters Economics, 2013), 1.

³²⁵ "The Economic Potential of a National Park & National Recreation Area in Northern Maine," ed. Elliotsville Plantation Inc.

³²⁶ "A Summary of Our 3-Year Conversation with People in the Katahdin Region," ed. Elliotsville Plantation Inc. (Portland, Maine).

chairman of the Millinocket Town Council, was typical of this period in treating the park proposal as an exclusively economic issue. Danforth's first sentence is, "We need a serious conversation about jobs and how we can create more of them, particularly in northern Maine."³²⁷ Danforth proceeds to explain the reality of high unemployment in the towns surrounding the proposed park, and he offers the 450-1,000 jobs expected to be created by the park as the solution.

Park opponents responded to this type of argument by voicing regional economic development arguments of their own, for instance by calling into question the employment figures in the Headwaters reports. For example, a flyer circulated by the Maine Forest Products Council features a heading that reads, "1,000 jobs? Unbelievable!"³²⁸ The flyer notes that Baxter State Park, larger than the proposed national park and national recreation area combined, only employs 21 full time and 40 seasonal workers. Further, the flyer references a University of Maine study that concluded Baxter's impact is equivalent to 87 full time jobs. This number is compared to the 38,000 forest products industry jobs statewide. Aroostook County, the flyer claims, is undergoing a forest products industry driven economic revival. The flyer's authors indicate, "That could happen here – if businesses aren't scared away by the restrictions imposed by a national park."³²⁹

In addition to questioning the quantity of jobs created by the proposed park, park opponents also admonished the quality of the jobs the park would create. Opponents were quick to point out that jobs created by the park in the tourism industry were likely to be seasonal and lower paying than the forest products industry jobs that had historically sustained people in the

³²⁷ Avern Danforth, "Nostalgia Isn't an Economic Development Plan for the Katahdin Region," *Bangor Daily News*, June 22, 2015.

³²⁸ "Land Ownership in the East Branch Area," ed. Maine Forest Products Council.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

area. For example, a 2013 editorial by Mark Marston, the co-chair of the East Millinocket Board of Selectmen and vice chair of the anti-park Maine Woods Coalition, reads, “These forest products jobs pay a living wage, unlike the tourism jobs that ranked among the lowest-paying in the region, according to the [Headwaters] economic study.”³³⁰ Marston, as is typical of park opponents, points to planned investment in the forest products sector as evidence that forestry jobs can once again sustain the region.

In an interview St. Clair confirmed that the way people support and oppose the park has shifted more towards the economic impacts. St. Clair agreed, “yeah, I think the strongest argument has been around the economics, and the economic benefits that parks bring.”³³¹ The wilderness ecocentrism and social wilderness values that reigned in the past are secondary publicly, if they are present at all. The value struggle that was present during the Allagash debate and the early years of the RESTORE debate evolved into a value engagement within the regional economic development value system. The following chapter will discuss further why this development occurred and its repercussions.

Differences from the Historical Debates

One further noteworthy difference in the contemporary park debate as compared to the historical debates in the North Woods is that the Mt. Katahdin and Allagash debates included a section of the conservation community that opposed a national park based on the wilderness escape value system, arguing that a national park would spur excessive development in the region. There is no such voice in the modern park debate. The conservation community is

³³⁰ Mark Martson, "Let's Make Paper, Not a National Park," *Bangor Daily News*, September 30, 2013.

³³¹ Lucas St. Clair, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

generally unified in backing the EPI proposal. Rather than opposing the development that a national park would bring, modern conservationists in Maine actually laud the development associated with a national park as a primary reasons to support park creation.

In the past park promoters appealed to the wilderness escape value system to both support and oppose park creation. A central aspect of this value system, which conservationists mobilized in the past, was the idea that wild nature (by way of a park) offered a place away from and a refuge from the economy and development. The emphasis on this relationship of a proposed park to economic development indicates that in the past the conservation community was in some ways opposed to economic development in wild places. This aspect of the conservation movement is gone in the modern park debate as park promoters seek to court local support with promises of economic growth. The following chapter will analyze the implications of the conservation movement abandoning this economic critique.

Conclusion

As with the historical examples, class and geography are critical to understanding today's park debate. Like the Allagash debate, the RESTORE debate and the modern EPI debate are geographic and class conflicts between working class northern Mainers and wealthier people from southern Maine and beyond. At first, in the early years of the RESTORE debate, this class and geographic conflict manifested itself as a value struggle. Park supporters mobilized value practices primarily from within the wilderness ecocentrism value system, while park opponents countered with social wilderness justifications. Gradually, this value struggle was replaced by a value engagement framed around regional economic development.

Today, after a brief return to a value struggle when Roxanne Quimby was the public face of the EPI proposal, the value engagement has intensified. Since Lucas St. Clair has taken over, both sides appeal most intensely to regional economic development. Park supporters and opponents, at least publicly, have accepted the premise that the national park matter should be decided based on its impact on the local economy. As we will see in the next chapter, the value struggle between locals and “people from away” that featured in the Allagash and earlier RESTORE debates has not disappeared, but simply remains unacknowledged in today’s predominantly economic framing. The clash of values simply simmers under the surface, obscured by the public acceptance by both sides of the supremacy of regional economic development. Is the fact that economic benefits dominate the park discourse evidence that, after 100 years, the national park-advocating conservation community has finally come to terms with the need to consider the interests of local working class people? Perhaps, but as it turns out, there are many more complicated consequences to the rise of this value engagement.

Chapter 4: The Causes and Implications of Today's Framing

Introduction

The previous chapter established that the modern park debate, in its dominant public form, is a value engagement within the regional economic development value system. The value struggle that framed the debate during the early years after RESTORE first proposed a national park in northern Maine has been publicly washed away. Why did this happen and what are the repercussions of obscuring this value struggle? This chapter will argue that the value struggle that framed the early years of the RESTORE debate is not truly gone; it has merely been pushed underneath the surface and hidden by the public acceptance of the supremacy of regional economic development by park supporters and opponents. This change is in some ways positive, as it reflects that the conservation community is considering the interests of working class locals. However, the public obscuring of the value struggle prevents people from discussing what really motivates them, and thereby diminishes the possibility of meaningful compromise, among several other problematic consequences.

Why a Change in Discourse?

What caused the ascendancy of the regional economic development value system in the modern park debate and the transformation of the debate from a value struggle to a value engagement? Welcomer attributed this development during the RESTORE debate to macro shifts in the economy and statewide opinion polling conducted around 2000. She writes, "These shifts begin in 2000 with the confluence of large land sales, an economic study of the park, statewide polls that showed a majority of Mainers supporting the park, and the last U.S. paper company

ending its ownership of timber in Maine.”³³² Welcomer’s Appendix B is devoted to further elaborating on the changes she deems responsible for producing the change of discourse around 2000. In this section she highlights the growing instability of land ownership patterns in the region. For example, she notes that in November 1999, during the last year, four million acres, or 18% of the state, had been put on the market and sold. Moreover, she notes this instability was enhanced by the fact that some of the new landowners (including Roxanne Quimby) disrupted the tradition of allowing traditional public access to and forestry on land in the North Woods.³³³

Also, in this period the long deteriorating status quo of land ownership by American paper companies was finally reaching its death knell. In 2004, the last piece of timber land held by an American paper company was sold. Relatedly, the paper industry continued to decline and with it jobs in papermaking and logging. For Welcomer, the time period around 2000 marked the end of an era in the North Woods, and the new framing of the park debate was a response to this reality.³³⁴

The similar and more robust transition to a regional economic development value engagement during the EPI debate in 2013 came after ten-plus years of further upheaval in land ownership and economic decline in the forest products industry in northern Maine. As such, stakeholders across the board that I interviewed indicated that today’s heightened focus on the economy in the park debate is a result of the struggling economy of the Katahdin region.

For example, when I asked Jym St. Pierre of RESTORE why park supporters have focused so much on the economic impacts, he responded,

³³² Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 66.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 72.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

“I think, as I said, because there’s so much concern these days about the changing economy in Maine, especially in that part of Maine... Most of the population and most of the economic activity in Maine is in southwestern Maine and the more urban areas around Portland, and along the midcoast. And the rest of the state is truly struggling in a lot of areas.”³³⁵

More specifically, St. Clair credited his focus on the economics as compared to his mother’s focus on other benefits of national parks to the closure of mills in the Millinocket area. He explained, “when my mom started this in the mid 2000s, the mills were running, and now they’re both gone, and one of them is torn down. That has changed a bit where peoples’ minds are. In 2004 they were thinking maybe the mill will come back. But now that it’s torn down, it’s like okay it’s gone.”³³⁶ Anne Mitchell, President of the Maine Woods Coalition, also brought up the mill closures when asked why park supporters have focused so heavily on the economics. She indicated, “when the mills started going down in the Millinocket area, that’s when [the park supporters] finally tuned this campaign and targeted it. It reaches people a lot more than saving the trees.”³³⁷ She continued, “the jobs aspect really hit home with desperate people in the Millinocket area.”³³⁸ Clearly, the mill closures and the accompanying economic downturn in the Millinocket area is one key factor in explaining the heightened economic focus of the park debate.

However, something deeper is also going on. Yes, park supporters have focused on the economic impact of the park because of the woeful economic situation in the Katahdin region, but the decline of the forest products industry was not truly a new phenomenon around 2000, yet

³³⁵ St. Pierre.

³³⁶ St. Clair.

³³⁷ Anne Mitchell, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³³⁸ Ibid.

the economic realities of working class locals have not always been at the forefront of the park debate. Even as recently as the early years of the RESTORE debate, long after the height of the forest products economy in northern Maine, the national-park-supporting conservation community was advocating for a park primarily based on wilderness ecocentrism values that appealed to environmentalists “from away.” Yes, the economic situation in northern Maine today has gotten worse, but what is new is not only the depths of the economic struggles of local people, but the choice by the non-local conservation community to publicly make the economic realities of locals a priority.

Why has the conservation community today chosen to prioritize locals? As Welcomer noted, polls in 2000 showed that support for a national park was widespread across Maine.³³⁹ More recent polls have also suggested that the majority of Mainers support a small national park east of Baxter State Park.³⁴⁰ However, despite the growth in support across the state, the national park vision has not come concretely closer to reality. This is largely due to the continued existence of devoted local opposition in the face of broad statewide support. Maine’s congressional delegation throughout the Katahdin Woods and Waters park debate has indicated that they will only take action towards creating the park if local people express interest. As Jym St. Pierre put it, “they have in essence empowered a small number of people in those communities with veto power. And they are very loud voices, and they’re holding back not only the rest of the people in the towns or the rest of the state of Maine, but they’re holding back the entire country, they’re holding back the entire world from enjoying this as a beautiful new

³³⁹ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 66.

³⁴⁰ Nick Sambides Jr., "Poll: 60% of Mainers Support National Park Feasibility Study," *Bangor Daily News*, December 12, 2011.

national park.”³⁴¹ In addition to highlighting the geographic nature of the conflict, St. Pierre’s quote emphasizes that in the current political climate, given the actions of Maine’s congressional delegation, if any meaningful progress is going to be made towards making the park a reality, local support needs to be courted.³⁴²

Hiding the Value Struggle

How have park supporters chosen to attempt to build local working class support for the park proposal? EPI and its proponents have actively hidden the value struggles in the park debate on three fronts. Firstly, making Lucas St. Clair the public face of the park is a concession to the social wilderness value system. Likewise, the national recreation area is a physical concession to the same value system. Finally, and most significantly, as we have seen, the remaining public debate has been largely limited to a value engagement within the regional economic development value system that appeals to locals.

Roxanne Quimby, the original public face of EPI’s park plan, was unpopular in the North Woods area, because she represented many of the negative things locals associated with the environmental movement. Quimby is a wealthy businesswoman “from away” (Massachusetts) who did not snowmobile or hunt in the woods. Her interest in the North Woods was setting aside a piece of them for preservation, allowing only such activities as hiking and canoeing. As such, Quimby aligned herself with the wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems. According to Lucas St. Clair, even the fact that Quimby is a woman worked to her disadvantage

³⁴¹ St. Pierre.

³⁴² Crucially, Maine’s congressional delegation and the need for local support could be circumvented by park supporters should the recent push to have the land designated a national monument prove successful. National monument designation only requires executive action from the President and nothing from Congress.

in the male-dominated world of forestry and traditional use of the woods. St. Clair explained the frustrations one park opponent, Bob Meyers, Director of the Maine Snowmobile Association, had with his mother by noting,

“I think part of [his frustration], it’s conversations that he had with my mother, who is very liberal and quite powerful, wealthy, and a woman, and all of those things he is not, and sort of is opposed to. He is intensely conservative, he’s a fiscal conservative, he wants to see the government shrink, not grow, and I think snowmobiling is a sort of male-dominated industry and recreational pursuit, and my mother has never sat on a snowmobile in her life, so I think there was just sort of a disconnect there that was really frustrating for him.”³⁴³

St. Clair, on the other hand, is a more likable figure for North Woods locals, as he is more representative of the social wilderness value system. He was born in northern Maine, is less visibly wealthy than his mother, and snowmobiles, hunts, and fishes. St. Clair himself is aware of these advantages. He articulated, “I spend a lot of time up there, and I hunt, and I fish, and I was born up there, so I’ve got different things working in my advantage there.”³⁴⁴

When St. Clair took over as the public face of the park, EPI made a second concession to the social wilderness value system by changing their park plan from a 150,000 acre national park to a 75,000 acre national park and 75,000 acre national recreation area. The national recreation area would allow hunting, snowmobiling, and ATV use. As park opponent Pat Strauch, executive director of the Maine Forest Products Council, explained in an interview, “The

³⁴³ St. Clair.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

recreational area reflects the values of traditional Mainers who already can have that kind of value on the majority of the land that's out there, you know, hunting access, recreation.”³⁴⁵

While the concessions to the social wilderness value system are important, park supporters have found that the most effective way to garner local support is by focusing on regional economic development. For example, in an interview, Lucas St. Clair offered many reasons beyond economics as to why he supports creating a national park. We will come back to these reasons later. When asked why he did not discuss these non-economic reasons publicly he responded:

“Yeah, I mean all of the things that I just mentioned I think are really important, but they don't move the needle on the ground in the second district really. And we've done a lot of polling and public research, focus groups and in depth interviews, phone interviews, to see what people really are moved by, and it really all revolves around the economy. So that's what we talk about. Inherently we know that if a national park is created a lot more will be done, but the best way to get it done is to talk about the economy and the economic benefits, so that's what we're sort of disciplined to do.”³⁴⁶

When asked if there were any downsides to the economic-focus of the park debate, St. Clair replied,

“No, I don't [think so], because all the research that we've done shows that people are most moved by economic benefits, by the economy, that's what's on everybody's mind. So if we use that as the reason why this should be something that's created, then that's

³⁴⁵ Pat Strauch, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³⁴⁶ St. Clair.

great. Whatever we can do to create the park. Whatever message that resonates the most and moves people the most, we should use in order to get it done.”³⁴⁷

St. Clair is willing to use the regional economic development argument to help create the park even if, as we will see, his primary interest in creating the park comes from different value systems.

Eliza Donoghue of the NRCM expressed a similar goal-oriented viewpoint on the dominance of economics in the park debate. She articulated, “I think that our ultimate goal is to conserve this area for all time, and in order to achieve that goal, we need to focus on the [economic] arguments that appeal to the most wide audience.”³⁴⁸ Relatedly, Donoghue agreed that conservation needs to be justified economically to occur in the North Woods region: “Yeah, I think that there are many people in this world who appreciate conservation for conservation’s sake, but in order for us to make progress, we need to appeal to a much wider audience, and that wider audience appreciates an economic argument over a conservation argument.”³⁴⁹

St. Clair suggested in an interview that the ways conservationists have traditionally supported their activities, through value systems like wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism, do not resonate with non-elites. St. Clair explained,

“I think conservationists do a pretty poor job about talking about how conservation benefits people. Beyond just economic benefits, but the whole package of benefits. I think in a lot of ways, people think, well conservation is for rich people, it’s protecting the coast so the views from a sailboat are nice and all those types of things. But it does so much more than that, and we as a conservation community have done a poor job talking

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Donoghue.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

about those other things. So I think we should start talking about the economy more, and if you talk to land trusts, I mean it's changing, but if you talk to a lot of the land trusts that have done conservation along the coast, or even interior Maine, they're not talking about, oftentimes they're talking about vernal pools, you know, bird habitat, that's not going to engage people if they're trying to put food on the table."³⁵⁰

St. Clair continued, "I think we need to figure out a more inclusive way to talk about conservation and encourage conservation than to just talk about critters"³⁵¹

St. Clair's goal of creating a more inclusive way of talking about conservation is certainly noble. As the earlier chapters of this thesis have demonstrated, conservation in Maine has typically been an elite pursuit. It is certainly necessary to work towards models of conservation and frameworks for discussing conservation that do not favor rich non-locals at the expense of working class local people. The solution to this problem marshaled by St. Clair is to hide the value struggle between working class locals and non-local elites that marked earlier national park debates in Maine in favor of publicly embracing a value system, regional economic development, that appeals to locals.

All three of the concessions to local interests outlined above are apparent in one quotation from St. Clair. He begins by explaining that since he replaced his mother as the public face of the park, "it's harder to attack the person" for park opponents, which alludes to the fact the he himself is a concession to their interests.³⁵² He continues, "We've been very inclusive of use, you know we allow snowmobiles, we allow hunting, fishing, so that sort of thing has been taken off

³⁵⁰ St. Clair.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid.

the table.”³⁵³ St. Clair concludes by noting that, now that traditional use is included in the proposal and Quimby is not the figurehead for the park, “the thing that’s really working and moving the middle, moving the base, is the economic argument.”³⁵⁴

A Value Struggle Remains

Considering local working class interests in conservation is a crucial goal. However, the particular method of doing so pioneered by Lucas St. Clair and others in the modern park debate is deceptive. The park debate, publicly a value engagement, privately remains a value struggle between two sides bounded largely by class and geography. The public framing of the park debate simply obscures this reality. While park supporters publicly present regional economic development as the number one reason to create the park, the personal reasons these people support the park are often different. This reality is discernable through interviews with top park supporters like Lucas St. Clair and Eliza Donoghue of the NRCM.

St. Clair, in an interview, acknowledged that his personal reasons for supporting the national park are different than the reasons he mobilizes publicly. He explained, “The reasons why I think that national parks are important may be different than for someone from East Millinocket. The benefits that they might see of having a national park might be more driven around the economy than for me personally living here in Portland and having a job, and so the economy isn’t the driving force of mine.”³⁵⁵

What were St. Clair’s personal reasons for supporting creating a national park? Firstly, St. Clair offered a general love of the national park system.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

“Well, I think the national park system is one of the best things that we have in our country... It is one of American’s best ideas, and it’s one that’s been duplicated all around the country... but the idea, the basis is the same, to conserve these places unimpaired for Americans. And I think it’s just such a strong and deliberate thing to do, and it just shows how much foresight our democracy can have at crucial moments in our history.”³⁵⁶

Beyond a general appreciation for the Park Service and its mission, St. Clair explained that land ownership trends in the North Woods are leading to the fragmentation of previously connected parcels and that the area is therefore at risk of development. He explained, “I want to be able to protect some of this against those types of forces that are barreling down on the North Woods.”³⁵⁷ The desire to see the North Woods protected against development is in line with the wilderness ecocentrism, wilderness escape, and even social wilderness value systems.

St. Clair also noted, “Maine is really fortunate to have a landscape that can adapt to climate change for example. Low river valleys and high peaks really close by, it’s incredibly important for climate adaptation, and so this I can see as sort of an ark for wildlife flora and fauna as the climate warms.”³⁵⁸ He continued, “Protecting the fresh water too, I mean that’s incredibly important. Having a carbon sink, having a giant forest that’s just growing, that is really important in this day and age for carbon sequestration.”³⁵⁹ St. Clair’s interest in making a national park to create “an ark for wildlife flora and fauna” in the face of global warming demonstrates his personal belief in supporting the park based on wilderness ecocentrism values.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

Wilderness escape also manifested itself in St. Clair's personal justifications for supporting the park. For instance, he mentioned the importance of the "outdoor recreation component," and continued that,

"People need to be able to get outside and they need to be able to have the infrastructure in place for them to be able to get outside. Really in northern Maine there's very little of that. It's quite intimidating for the average visitor to come, most people aren't really prepared to just drive off down a logging road and see what's at the end of it and hope they get to a pond they wanted to go fishing at or a hiking trail. There needs to be some more infrastructure in place..."³⁶⁰

St. Clair is motivated by the wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems, not only the regional economic development value system he appeals to publicly.

Eliza Donoghue of the NRCM also expressed a similar dissonance between her personal interest in creating a national park and the publicly expressed economic focus of park supporters. When I asked her what the most significant reason to support the park is, she responded asking me to clarify, "Do you want personally, or what I think is most compelling to people?"³⁶¹ When asked to give both, Donoghue suggested that the most compelling argument for others is economics. She explained, "For others, you know, money talks, and I think for the greater public, what's most compelling about the nation park proposal is the economic benefits."³⁶²

In contrast, Donoghue said her private most significant reasons for wanting the park created had to do with her childhood visits to interior Maine and the beauty of the area, along with a desire to have people across the nation and world appreciate interior Maine rather than

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Donoghue.

³⁶² Ibid.

only thinking of Maine as a coastal state of “lighthouses and lobsters.”³⁶³ As Donoghue explained, “The Maine that I know and love is the mountains, the rivers, the interior forests...”³⁶⁴

Donoghue also highlighted particularly NRCM’s interest in large landscape conservation: “what are ways that we can preserve large swathes of the interior of Maine’s North Woods?”³⁶⁵ As Donoghue explained, some of NRCM’s interest in large landscape conservation is inspired by wilderness ecocentrism: “Having conservation at that scale is great from a wildlife habitat perspective.” Further, Donoghue articulated that NRCM is interested in large landscape conservation in northern Maine “for the inherent qualities in preserving wilderness as it is currently.”³⁶⁶ She continued, “I think a lot of people don’t understand what a unique resource we have here in Maine’s North Woods, that it is something that is very very very largely untouched by humans, and as kind of that last remaining example, at least in the northeast, we have a responsibility to make sure it is preserved to the best of our ability here at NRCM.”³⁶⁷ Donoghue’s and NRCM’s interest in preserving wilderness for its inherent qualities and to protect wildlife habitat too stem from the wilderness ecocentrism value system.

Donoghue also offered justifications for large landscape conservation based on wilderness escape. She expressed, “From a recreation perspective, you must have conservation at that scale to truly feel like you are having a remote wilderness experience, so that’s another reason why we get behind large landscape conservation.”³⁶⁸ While park supporters like Lucas St. Clair and Eliza Donoghue publicly favor an argument for national park creation based on the

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

regional economic development value system, their personal reasons for supporting a park are often more in line with wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism.

Interviews with park opponents indicate that opponents too often hold personal reasons for opposing the park that differ from the publicly expressed focus on regional economic development. All the park opponents I interviewed did note economics as a key reason to oppose the park. However, as it turns out, social wilderness and anti-federal localism values remain key reasons people oppose the park, even though they receive less focus than economics in the public forum. For example, Pat Strauch of the Maine Forest Products council spoke at length about his opposition to federal control of land. He explained,

“We just see federal ownership as, there’s no turning back once you start that. And Maine’s biggest attribute in terms of the forest economy is the private land that we own up in that area. It’s contiguous; it allows us to haul loads on private roads. At that level, if you’re about the forest economy, you’re gonna be concerned about the appetite for people to create more federal land ownership.”³⁶⁹

Strauch also blended his appeal to anti-federal localism with a related appeal to the social wilderness value system: “I mean what appeals to Mainers is to have access and to be able to use the land, and the federal model creates a lot of restrictions on that, and I think, you know, hunters and snowmobilers are concerned that that sort of model is a bad sort of precedent to set. It might disrupt existing trails, it might disrupt old hunting grounds, as an example...”³⁷⁰

Bob Meyers, executive director of the Maine Snowmobile Association, was more explicit in his use of the anti-federal localism value system to oppose the park. When asked what the most significant reason to oppose the park is, he replied, “I think our concern is the feeding of

³⁶⁹ Strauch.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

control to the federal government of land in the state of Maine.”³⁷¹ He elaborated, “I think our biggest issue is the centralized command and control of federal agencies.”³⁷² For Meyers, any promise St. Clair might make to appease locals concerning the park plan is not

“worth the paper it’s printed on once this goes through down in DC. Because immediately the Park Service will start doing its own thing; there’s a large number of very well-connected and well-heeled national environmental organizations that have tremendous influence on the Park Service and a lot of federal agencies. And those people will be calling the shots.”³⁷³

Meyers, in addition to the anti-federal localism argument outlined above, also appealed to social wilderness values. He argued, “Maine has a tremendous tradition of public recreational access on private land. That’s a tradition that virtually all landowners honor, and it provides the foundation certainly for the snowmobiling industry and for hunting and camping and all kinds of other things.”³⁷⁴

The last park opponent I spoke with, Anne Mitchell, President of the Maine Woods Coalition, was particularly adamant in her mobilization of the anti-federal localism argument. She exclaimed, “Let’s keep the federal government out of Maine. What area has the federal government ever taken control of that they’ve improved? Not one, name one.”³⁷⁵

While economics is certainly important to both sides, the park issue, on a personal level, remains a value struggle between wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism values on the side of park supporters and anti-federal localism and social wilderness values on the side of park

³⁷¹ Bob Meyers, interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Mitchell.

opponents. This value struggle is key to understanding the modern park debate, but it occupies very little space in the public forum.

Obscuring What Matters and Other Consequences

The framing of the park debate as a value engagement obscures the real issues at hand. Both sides are motivated by ideological positions based on conflicting value systems, and the current framing of the debate offers no outlet for either side to articulate what really matters to them. The wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems often held by non-local environmentalists are in fundamental conflict with the social wilderness value systems associated with working class locals. One envisions Maine's North Woods as a landscape damaged by logging that ought be returned to its primeval state, where people are only non-consumptive visitors, whereas the other envisions the same space as an inhabited forest, improved rather than degraded by human management and the source of economic opportunity and traditional recreation. Similarly, national interest and anti-federal localism are opposing value systems. Whereas national interest would have Maine's North Woods managed for the benefit of the entire U.S. population, anti-federal localism would have the same woods managed by and for northern Mainers, the people who actually live there. Despite these two very clear axes of value conflict, park supporters and opponents are left no space to work through their value differences and make meaningful compromise in a public discourse that ignores values beyond regional economic development.

As Jym St. Pierre of RESTORE has explained, "Yes, there are downsides to overemphasizing the economics, and that's because, even though as we've said here, the

economics are important, it's, in the end, it's not what gets to the heart for so many people.”³⁷⁶

Both sides have tacitly agreed to argue through the mutually comprehensible value space of the economy rather than engage their value differences. Park supporters and opponents publicly squabble about the projected number of jobs created or destroyed by the proposed park despite the fact that jobs are not the exclusive interest of either party. The two fundamental axes of value conflict, wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism vs. social wilderness and national interest vs. anti-federal localism, are ignored. St. Pierre of RESTORE has speculated, “The economics I think is a red herring. A lot of people use that as a bludgeon, because they ideologically oppose this idea of having a park or any conservation in that area.”³⁷⁷ While St. Pierre only accuses park opponents of using economic arguments in lieu of their true ideological motivations, park supporters are guilty of the same. No meaningful progress can be made in creating a model of conservation that is a compromise between conflicting value systems if those conflicting value systems are unaddressed.

This work is not the first to suggest that preservationists like park supporters sometimes problematically articulate public support for their agendas using different values than those that actually motivate them. Mark Sagoff has written that society “has kept in mind two contrasting conceptions of the value of nature—one intrinsic, the other instrumental.”³⁷⁸ For Sagoff these ways of valuing are theoretically opposed. “It is one thing to be committed to protect an object of nature ‘for its own sake’; it is another thing to judge its worth in terms of its economic consequences.”³⁷⁹ Sagoff has argued that environmentalists, like park supporters, should stick to

³⁷⁶ St. Pierre.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Mark Sagoff, *The Economy of the Earth: Philosophy, Law, and the Environment*, Second ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

justifying their causes using the intrinsic (read wilderness ecocentrism) values they hold, rather than veiling their positions in economics. He writes of the “’ecological’ side” of environmental debates that “the economic reasons it offers to protect nature are plainly pretextual,” as we see in the national park debate with park supporters like St. Clair and Donoghue. For Sagoff, “Conservation biologists and other preservationists should urge society to preserve the beauty, integrity, history, and diversity of nature, aspects of which are valuable in themselves or as objects of aesthetic judgment, moral obligation, and spiritual affection.”³⁸⁰

Allen Putney similarly has articulated that in public discourse surrounding parks and protected areas, there is an imbalance between economic ways of valuing and appreciation of intangible values. He writes, “There is a need to redress this imbalance; to make explicit the intangible values that impact the way we perceive, select, establish, and manage protected areas without trying to force them into some sort of scientific, ethical, or economic framework.”³⁸¹ Putney calls upon the conservation community to “explicitly recognize once again those deeply rooted values that made the national parks and protected areas movement such a powerful force, which started in the United States and then spread around the world. It is an idea wrapped in primal values that has caught the imagination of millions.”³⁸² Putney here is referring to value systems like wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism, which have fallen out of public usage in today’s park debate.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 15.

³⁸¹ Allen D. Putney, "Introduction: Perspectives on Values of Protected Areas," in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, ed. David Harmon and Allen D. Putney (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 4.

³⁸² Ibid., 5.

Putney and Harmon have explained why divorcing the discussion of parks from intangible values like wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism in favor of economic values is dangerous and societally destructive.

“Economic well-being and the passion for scientific discovery are powerful driving forces, and each is, in its own way, an essential part of protected area conservation. But when they are abstracted out from (and set above) the complex of intangible values in which they are embedded, then the sense of connectedness is shredded. It leaves many people confused and dispirited, unable to justify their deepest feelings. That in turn can produce a kind of moral paralysis in which people do not act to protect what they care about because, faced with the perceived invincibility of scientific and economic argument, they think they cannot legitimately explain why they care.”³⁸³

This confused and dispirited reality is where we find ourselves in Maine. Both park supporters and opponents, under the regional economic development value engagement cannot “legitimately explain why they care.”

The fact that the framing of the modern park debate as a value engagement obscures the value conflict at play, preventing meaningful discussion and compromise, is not the only significant consequence of the new discourse. There are seven other problematic repercussions worth noting:

1. Ecological Concerns

One further repercussion of today’s framing of the park debate is that the environmental impact of the park remains largely unaddressed, despite the fact that the park likely would hurt

³⁸³ David Harmon and Allen D. Putney, "Intangible Values and Protected Areas: Toward a More Holistic Approach to Management," *ibid.*, 311.

rather than help the ecology of the area. EPI already owns the majority of the land for the proposed park, and the land is managed for preservation under EPI's ownership. Under the current ownership model there is little visitation to the area and the area has not been developed with the roads and visitor centers that would cater to national park visitors. Surely, visitation and development in the area would increase significantly if the land was made a national park. Given that the land is already under a protected status, creating a national park is likely to hurt rather than benefit the ecology of the region.

Bonnie Docherty wrote of RESTORE's park plan: "From an environmental perspective, the proposed park would have a positive impact on northern Maine."³⁸⁴ She argues,

"Paper companies have clearcut about 2000 square miles over the past twenty years, and they annually spray tens of thousands of acres with chemical herbicides. Less obviously, the decrease of old-growth forests to less than half of a percent of the region threatens species of beetles and lichen... While it may not be a perfect solution, the Maine Woods National Park would provide more environmental protection than continued ownership by paper companies. It would preserve natural beauty, improve air and water quality for the entire state, and protect habitat and endangered species."³⁸⁵

This reasoning does not hold true for EPI's proposed Katahdin Woods & Waters National Park. Because EPI's land is already under preservation status, a national park would simply invite more people and development to the region. As Docherty notes, "a national park does not eliminate human encroachment. Popular destinations, such as Yosemite and Yellowstone, have

³⁸⁴ Docherty, "Maine's North Woods: Environmental Justice and the National Park Proposal," 541.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

become almost overrun with tourists and trailers, compromising the wilderness experience.”³⁸⁶

For Docherty, these negative environmental consequences of RESTORE’s national park proposal were vastly outweighed by the benefit of taking millions of acres out of timber company ownership, so the RESTORE park was a net environmental “good.” The Katahdin Woods and Waters park would only manifest the negative environmental consequences outlined by Docherty given that creating EPI’s park would not transfer significant acreage from timber ownership to preservation.

Scholars have noted the ecologically destructive impacts parks can have. Particularly well-documented is the reality that, while parks may have positive ecological impacts within their borders, the development they spur outside park borders is often destructive to the greater ecosystem of the park area. As Richard Smith writes, “The threat of development near the borders of our nation’s parks is a reality in many places and a growing threat in many others. Much of this development has been, and still is, unplanned and uncontrolled...”³⁸⁷ The consequence, Smith explains, is that,

“Ecological components outside park boundaries, but critical to park ecosystems, and therefore to their survival—wetlands, riparian zones, habitat for park species, aquifers—are likely to be destroyed or fragmented under the relentless pressure for additional housing developments and their related infrastructure.”³⁸⁸

Smith concludes that, “The resulting loss of habitat and ecosystem components will make the world less safe for the species with whom we share the planet.”³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Smith, "Saving All the Parts," 232.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 235.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

This sort of concern is particularly applicable to the EPI park proposal. The Maine North Woods area is over 10 million acres. Even if the ecological impact within the 150,000 acre park and recreation area boundary was positive, the park could still be an overwhelming ecological “bad” if it encouraged development on the remaining millions of acres of the greater North Woods ecosystem. Yellowstone National Park offers an alarming example of the ecological destruction outside of park borders the North Woods could face. Dennis Glick and Ben Alexander write, “Rapid growth and immigration in Greater Yellowstone have already resulted in the subdivision of over a million acres of private lands into sections no longer large enough to farm or ranch.”³⁹⁰ In the North Woods, this would translate to sections no longer large enough to be viable for forestry. Glick and Alexander continue that, “The rural private lands in Greater Yellowstone, which make up approximately 20 percent of the ecosystem, are generally valley bottoms that encompass riparian corridors, wetlands, and winter ranges where much of the region’s biodiversity is found... Many river valleys once known for their pastoral agricultural landscapes have become a classic example of suburban sprawl.”³⁹¹ In the North Woods, such suburban sprawl could intrude into privately owned land that has historically been used for logging. While environmentalists may rightly have concerns about how forestry companies steward their land, surely millions of acres of contiguous forest, even if it is cut regularly, is better for the environment than sprawling home lots.

The fact that the park could be an ecological “bad” rather than a “good” is noteworthy given the ecological significance of the area. Conservation scholars like Robert F. Baldwin, Stephen C. Trombulak, Karen Beazley, Conrad Reining, and Gillian Woolmer have written on

³⁹⁰ Dennis Glick and Ben Alexander, "Development by Default, Not Design: Yellowstone National Park and the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem," *ibid.* (2000), 192.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

“The Importance of Maine for Ecoregional Conservation Planning.”³⁹² These scholars argue that “the state of Maine has the greatest and most strategically located conservation opportunities in the Northern Appalachian/Acadian ecoregion.”³⁹³ They continue, “We are able to say with confidence that in the context of the whole ecoregion, conserving the contiguity and integrity of Maine’s forests is among the most important conservation goals in the Northern Appalachian/Acadian ecoregion.”³⁹⁴ Given the importance of conserving Maine’s forests, it is noteworthy that the environmental community has not made ecological considerations a part of the public discourse on the proposed park.

EPI did hire an ecologist, Bart DeWolf, to complete an ecological survey of the proposed park lands.³⁹⁵ DeWolf’s report highlighted the Penobscot East Branch River system, the presence of federally-endangered ocean-run Atlantic salmon and federally-threatened Canada lynx, rare plants, animal species, geologic features, human history, mountains, and recreational opportunities.³⁹⁶ DeWolf argued,

“The East Branch properties of Elliotsville Plantation are of ecological significance in and of themselves, but also because of their adjacency to other conserved lands, specifically Baxter State Park, the Wassataquoik Public Reserved Land, the Bureau of Parks and Lands property north of Katahdin Lake, and the Nature Conservancy’s Trout Mountain Preserve. Taken together, these properties encompass an enormous block of

³⁹² Robert F. Baldwin et al., "The Importance of Maine for Ecoregional Conservation Planning," *Maine Policy Review* 16, no. 2: Maine's North Woods (2007).

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ Bart DeWolf, "East of Katahdin: Ecological Survey of the East Branch Properties of Elliotsville Plantation, Inc., Penobscot County, Maine," (2014).

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

diverse habitat: forests, wetlands, ponds, rivers and streams, and alpine and subalpine terrain. The sheer size of the conserved properties is without parallel in Maine.”³⁹⁷

The proposed national park could create major impacts on this ecologically important area, yet this matter goes unaddressed. Instead, economic impacts are most often discussed in the public forum, because caring about the ecological impacts stems from a value system, wilderness ecocentrism, which is generally not shared with local people.

Tellingly, the two Headwaters Economics reports of the park proposal EPI chartered have been all over the media and are publicly available and promoted online on EPI’s website for the proposed park.³⁹⁸ Moreover, park supporters and their promotional materials regularly cite these studies in their justifications for park creation. The ecological study EPI chartered, on the other hand, rarely if ever figures into public discussion of the park and its promotional materials. In fact, the ecological study is not available online, and I had to personally contact the author, Bart DeWolf, to receive a copy.

As explained in the last chapter, the modern park debate contrasts with the Mt. Katahdin and Allagash debates, which featured voices from the conservation community opposing national park creation with wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism values. Today the conservation community, at least publicly, is unified in supporting the national park proposal with regional economic development values. This difference from the historical debates in the North Woods is particularly striking given that the EPI’s park proposal seems particularly susceptible to wilderness ecocentrism and wilderness escape criticism given that EPI’s properties and the surrounding area are of particular ecological importance and could be damaged rather than protected by the park proposal.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 3.

³⁹⁸ "Economic Impact," Katahdin Woods & Waters, <http://katahdinwoods.org/economic-impact/>.

The framing of today's park debate thus signals some hypocrisy on the side of the conservation community and the potential betrayal of the goal to actually protect the environment. While EPI or the NRCM might say that the park proposal is worthy of support because it exists at the intersection of both economic and ecological benefit, in reality, it is probable that an alternate conservation status that would encourage less development in the region would be better from an ecological perspective. When you consider this reality, it appears that the environmental movement has perversely gone from arguing against the economic exploitation of the North Woods by forestry in order to establish a national park that would protect the environment (in the early years of the RESTORE era) to today arguing for the economic exploitation of the North Woods through tourism by creating a national park that would likely harm the environment. Does the framing of the modern park debate indicate that the conservation community in Maine, in this case at least, may not even be for environmental protection?

2. Abandoning an Economic Critique

In embracing the regional economic development value system, the environmental community has lost a critique of limitless economic development. In the past, conservationists in Maine have expressed an opposition to the idea of the expansion of the economy into wilderness areas. In embracing regional economic development as its principal public value system, the environmental community has rid itself of the ability to oppose economic development in particular contexts based on wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism values.

As Stephanie Welcomer noted, when park supporters around the year 2000 transitioned from ecocentric to economic justifications for the RESTORE park, the park narrative lost:

“a critique of many features of free-market capitalism, materialism, growth, consumption, and alternatives to the free market. The narrative discussed the cost rural Maine has borne from global capitalism but did not specifically propose a green economy or a steady-state economy. Rather, it positioned the park similar to a new type of employer for the region, signaling implicit support for the existing market structure.”³⁹⁹

By abandoning this critical narrative of park support, the conservation community has tacitly conceded to global capitalism and the pursuit of limitless growth. Under wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism, a park offers an escape, a refuge from the forces of global capitalism. Under regional economic development, a park offers another cog in its continued advance.

St. Clair does not think he is reinforcing a value by focusing on regional economic development to the exclusion of wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism, given that he must operate within the context of capitalism. He explained,

“I don’t think I’m reinforcing a value, because I think, we live in a capitalistic society, so in some ways yes, but if I didn’t talk about the economy I wouldn’t be moving anyone to think about something else. I mean within the confines of capitalism, if I talk climate adaptation as the most important thing, people will still say, ‘I need to put food on the table and pay my mortgage and put gas in my car and heat my home’ and all of those things and ‘that takes money, and I need to make money somehow, so I don’t really care about climate adaptation.’ So, I’m going to talk about what people care about.”

However, St. Clair is in fact reinforcing the very context of global capitalism he is so acutely aware of needing to operate within. Recall that, for De Angelis, value practices are “those actions and processes, as well as correspondent webs of relations, that are both predicated on a given

³⁹⁹ Welcomer, "Reinventing Vs. Restoring Sustainability in the Maine Woods: Narratives of Progress and Decline," 70.

value system and in turn (re)produce it.”⁴⁰⁰ St. Clair’s choice to focus on economics is a value practice predicated upon an acceptance of a capitalist system that in turn serves to reproduce that system. In the above quote, St. Clair hints that there are some problems with the capitalist system, yet he finds himself reinforcing it. De Angelis would suggest St. Clair is undergoing an internal value struggle. De Angelis notes that such value struggles involve asking questions like, “how is this system of value and correspondent discourses and guides to action sustained against our best judgments and struggles. [H]ow is it that, willingly or unwillingly, we become *bearers* of these value practices, despite our diverse values and dreams?”⁴⁰¹ St. Clair has become the bearer of value practices that reinforce the capitalist system despite his admission that he does have diverse values and dreams related to the North Woods and national parks not reflected by capitalism.

3. Commodifying Nature & Reinforcing Anthropocentrism

Today’s park discourse accepts the idea of nature as a commodity. The North Woods are presented as valuable first and foremost for their ability to provide economic opportunity. In this way, park supporters are actually very similar to many park opponents. Whereas park opponents see the North Woods as a resource for the timber economy, park supporters publicly present the North Woods as a resource for the tourism economy. Under the regional economic development value engagement, both sides commodify nature, and the only disagreement is the proper way to exploit the resource.

Similarly, today’s park debate discourse reinforces anthropocentrism. While non-anthropocentric wilderness ecocentrism values have featured in the historical debates as well as

⁴⁰⁰ Angelis, "Value Struggles," 24.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

the early years of the RESTORE debate, they are practically non-existent publicly today. The park is publicly discussed largely based on the ability of the North Woods to provide for human economic welfare. The interests of non-humans are not considered, despite the fact that park supporters did express non-anthropocentric values in interviews.

Why are the commodification of nature and anthropocentrism potentially problematic to the environmental movement? When taken together, anthropocentrism and the commodification of nature suggest that the environment is only worth protecting in instances where conservation will generate economic benefit for people, for example if creating a national park and national recreation area in northern Maine would create more investment and employment opportunity in the region than returning the land to the forestry industry. However, imagine a scenario in which, by virtue of a change in technology or in market conditions, logging or some other sort of environmentally destructive resource extraction becomes more profitable in the area. If anthropocentrism and the commodification of nature are accepted, the national park idea would become completely unviable if an alternate use of the land would spur more investment in the region and create more than the 450-1000 jobs expected to result from park creation. The interests of wildlife and ecological health would receive no consideration.

Yes, the conservationists at EPI or NRCM will say that, with this park proposal, they have found the sweet spot where job creation and environmental protection meet; however, this thinking is flawed on two levels. Firstly, this particular conservation option, national park creation, may not truly protect the environment, precisely because of the development it would likely bring to the region, and secondly, it creates a dangerous precedent for scenarios when economic and ecological goals do not align. In the case of northern Maine today, it does appear the conservation option may also make economic sense, but that is not always the case. As

Douglas McCauley writes, “Although it has been suggested that in most cases the services that come from nature are valuable enough to make conservation profitable, making money and protecting nature are all too often mutually exclusive goals.”⁴⁰² By reinforcing anthropocentrism and the commodification of nature, the environmental community risks setting a precedent that would forsake conservation in instances where the benefits to ecology and wildlife do not line up with human economic interests. As McCauley argues, “We must directly confront the reality that conservation may be expensive and stop deceiving ourselves and partners in conservation with hopes that win-win solutions can always be found.”⁴⁰³

Environmentalists, McCauley writes, must focus on the intrinsic value of nature, rather than embracing commodification and anthropocentrism. He includes a critique written as if it could be personally addressing Lucas St. Clair given St. Clair’s belief that conservation should be justified economically to be viable:

“Some will argue that this view [that conservation should be justified based on intrinsic values] is simply too optimistic. They may believe that the best way to meaningfully engage policy-makers driven by the financial bottom line is to translate the intrinsic worth of nature into the language of economics. But this is patently untrue—akin to saying that civil-rights advocates would have been more effective if they provided economic justifications for racial integration. Nature conservation must be framed as a moral issue and argued as such...”⁴⁰⁴

While St. Clair’s anthropocentric and commodifying discourse of conservation may still prove successful in the short run if a national park is created in the North Woods, McCauley concludes,

⁴⁰² Douglas J. McCauley, "Selling out on Nature," *Nature* 443, no. 7 (2006): 28.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

“We will make more progress in the long run by appealing to people’s hearts rather than to their wallets.”⁴⁰⁵

4. Disregarding the Question of Park Worthiness

The framing of today’s park debate provides an inadequate platform for discussing the worthiness of EPI’s land as a national park. While this issue is not a major part of the public debate, park supporters and opponents do have passionate opinions about this matter as evidenced by interviews. Lucas St. Clair claimed the land “certainly meets the criteria of the National Park Service,” noting, “This is a landscape that isn’t represented in the National Park Service, northern hardwood forests.”⁴⁰⁶ St. Clair went on to highlight the importance of the Penobscot River, the headwaters of which are in the proposed park, as a rationale for why the area is worthy of park status. He also highlighted the historical significance of the area, noting its association with Henry David Thoreau and Teddy Roosevelt as well as its importance to the Wabanaki culture.

Matt Polstein, the founder of the New England Outdoor Center in Millinocket and a park supporter, also highlighted the worthiness of the land. He argued,

“It’s absolutely gorgeous land, I mentioned to you before something that I don’t think a lot of people around here give any thought to, but I know it’s very important to the Park Service, it’s the fact that it’s unique habitat, that low level flood plain riparian zone rising up into a boreal forest on the side of Baxter State Park.”⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ St. Clair.

⁴⁰⁷ Polstein.

He also highlighted the view shed of Katahdin, the recreational opportunities provided by the East Branch of the Penobscot River, and the presence of the International Appalachian Trail running through the land.⁴⁰⁸

Eliza Donoghue of the NRCM too felt passionately about the merits of the land for a national park. She pronounced,

“It is a really fantastic example of Maine’s North Woods. It is home to some really amazing places, in particular the East Branch of the Penobscot, which runs down the middle of the property, it has amazing waterfalls and rapids and other geological features that are unlike anything that I’ve ever seen here in Maine or across the country, and I think that that’s something that others would appreciate. It’s also home to beautiful mountains that make for amazing hikes, great biking trails, some old growth forest, a wide variety of plant species and other natural communities that are very rare in Maine and across the country. It also has really outstanding wildlife habitat, to get back to that idea of large landscape scale conservation.”⁴⁰⁹

Donoghue also lamented that the current economic focus of the park debate does not leave adequate space in the public forum for discussing the merits of the land. She explained, “I think that ultimately I support that the focus has been on the economic side of things. I totally understand why that is the way it is. But I think the downside is that the quality of this land is not getting the attention it deserves.”⁴¹⁰ Relatedly, she expressed, “as someone who holds those

⁴⁰⁸ The International Appalachian Trail begins where the Appalachian Trail reaches its northern terminus, in Baxter State Park at Mt. Katahdin. The International Appalachian Trail leaves Baxter State Park, goes through EPI’s property and eventually into Canada.

⁴⁰⁹ Donoghue.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

[conservation] values above the economic values, I wish there was a little bit more of a focus on how outstandingly beautiful and unique this landscape is.”⁴¹¹

In personal interviews, park opponents contested the idea that this land is worthy of a national park. For example, Anne Mitchell argued, “This is not a significant landscape that Roxanne owns. The land that she owns currently and is promoting for her park is cut over timber land that’s fairly level. The only thing that it’s got going for it are the occasional views of Mt. Katahdin.”⁴¹² When asked if the land is worthy, Pat Strauch of the Maine Forest Products Council replied,

“My membership would say absolutely not, it looks like any other standard piece of land up in the North Woods, if not cut a bit harder than some parcels that are up in that region. So, there’s nothing remarkable, there’s not a huge lake frontage parcel, which are certainly available in different areas of that country. There’s no really big waterfall. The river has a couple of series of drops, which are interesting, but not overwhelmingly remarkable compared to other parts of the state. And we haven’t seen anything remarkable on that parcel, whereas there are other places in Maine that have, you know Gulf Hagas is a really kind of cool spot, call it the Grand Canyon of the east, it’s no comparison. We have beautiful ponds and lakes scattered around, we have Katahdin. It doesn’t have any of those kinds of features.”⁴¹³

Bob Meyers of the Maine Snowmobile Association similarly indicated that EPI’s land is “nice,” but not any more or less so than any patch of woods in northern Maine. He rationalized, “Yes, it’s nice, woods are nice in Maine, but it could have been anywhere, in the Forks area, could

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Mitchell.

⁴¹³ Strauch.

have been in the Greenville area, could have been over in the Rangely area. It's woods in Maine, and it's nice."⁴¹⁴ Interviews indicate that the players in the debate do have passionate opinions on the issue of park worthiness, yet it makes up a very small part of the public discourse surrounding the park.

Likewise, I myself have visited EPI's land. While I found it to be beautiful, I left the proposed park area feeling unsure whether it was national park worthy. I was not confident EPI's land compared favorably to other national parks I have visited in the past. I hiked and toured the auto loop road EPI has built and was regularly treated to stunning views of Mt. Katahdin. My recurring thought during this experience was that Katahdin was *the* feature of national significance in the area. I grappled with the question of whether it really makes sense to create a national park in an area in which the feature that is most clearly nationally significant exists outside the park. National park supporters wanted Mt. Katahdin as part of the national park system as early as Frank Guernsey's time in the 1910s and through the Katahdin park debate of the 1930s.⁴¹⁵ Mt. Katahdin seems in some ways like the one that got away from the National Park Service in the Northeast. One could imagine that creating a less stunning national park next-door where the primary feature is great views of Katahdin would be akin to purchasing a shack across the street from your dream house due to the views you would be afforded of the house you really wanted all along. Park supporters would likely argue that Katahdin's national significance does not mean there cannot be other features of national significance nearby. Supporters do have many good reasons why EPI's land is deserving of park status, but the matter is at least worthy of debate.

⁴¹⁴ Meyers.

⁴¹⁵ Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands*, 27.

5. Neglecting Penobscot Values

The Penobscot interest in the national park debate is also hidden by the economic focus of the park debate. Lucas St. Clair, in his rationale as to why the land is worthy of a national park, mentioned the historical association of the area with the Wabanaki people. The East Branch of the Penobscot River remains important to Penobscot people today, and the Penobscot Nation has come out in support of EPI's proposal.⁴¹⁶ Kirk Francis, the Chief of the Penobscot Nation, wrote a 2015 editorial explaining that, "The Penobscot River is the heart of the cultural identity of the Penobscot Nation. We have been the caretakers of this great watershed since time immemorial, and we consider that responsibility to be a very serious priority for our tribe."⁴¹⁷ Francis articulated Penobscot support for the park proposal by explaining, "Designation of about 150,000 acres of land surrounding these rivers as a national park and national recreation area would ensure that these lands and waters are protected permanently. Tribal members, as well as all residents and visitors to Maine, would be able to paddle and fish the entire area forever."⁴¹⁸

The Penobscot interest in creating a national park to protect the Penobscot watershed stems from a value system that is not afforded space in the public debate that favors regional economic development values. That the Penobscot interest in the park stems from another value system is clear from an interview with Kirk Francis. While Francis did note that the Penobscot support for the park is also about providing economic opportunity for Penobscot people and other northern Mainers, he highlighted particularly the cultural value Penobscots place in the Penobscot River:

⁴¹⁶ Kirk Francis, "A National Park Would Permanently Protect an Area Sacred to the Penobscot Nation," *Bangor Daily News*, January 1, 2015.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

“In our creation stories and our cultural based stories, Mt. Katahdin is a sacred place to Penobscots. The Penobscot River starts there and our reservation is in the Penobscot River. This is not just a reservation we were put on, this is our ancestral land. We’re still finding archeological items, you know, 9,000 years old. So we’ve been here a very very long time, and we’re a marine people, a fishing culture that has been up and down this river for thousands of years. When you talk about the Penobscot River watershed, and you talk about that region, it’s very very special, and very much important to the identity of the Penobscot people. So there’s not much, you won’t find many Penobscots who would say much is more important than the Penobscot River and it’s watersheds.”⁴¹⁹

As the framing of the modern park debate publicly washes away the wilderness ecocentrism and wilderness escape values of conservation-minded park supporters, it also writes the Penobscot’s particular value system regarding the river out of the public discourse. Park supporters have framed the modern park debate as a regional economic development value engagement to appeal to the values of working class northern Maine locals. However, in attempting to appeal to the values of this group, park supporters have left no room for the values of another historically marginalized group, the Penobscot Nation.

6. Corrupting the Value of National Parks

The economic framing of the park discourse also corrupts the value of national parks. As Michael Sandel writes, “Economists often assume that markets are inert, that they do not affect the goods they exchange. But this is untrue. Markets leave their mark. Sometimes market values

⁴¹⁹ interview by Adam Auerbach, 2015.

crowd out nonmarket values worth caring about.”⁴²⁰ This is exactly the reality we see in the modern park debate. Regional economic development values have crowded out other value systems like wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism for park supporters and social wilderness and anti-federal localism for park opponents.

Sandel further articulates, “Putting a price on the good things in life can corrupt them. That’s because markets don’t only allocate goods; they also express and promote certain attitudes towards the goods being exchanged.”⁴²¹ While the regional economic development framing of the park debate does not suggest that parks are goods to be exchanged, the park is monetized and commodified by the language of expected job creation and economic growth. As Sandel indicates, this does indeed promote changed attitudes about national parks. If national parks are primarily valuable for the Park Service brand that drives tourism and economic growth in surrounding areas (as suggested by park supporters), then what it means to be a national park has nothing to do with the natural, cultural, or historic features within the park’s boundaries. National parks are by definition intended to protect that which we as a society deem nationally significant. By discussing national parks as if their primary value is in promoting economic growth rather than protecting stunning natural, cultural, and historic features, we do indeed make a massive statement of what we as a nation consider to be nationally significant: the economy.

This way of thinking about national parks fundamentally dilutes what it means to be a national park. If a national park is primarily an economic driver, then any economically depressed area, regardless of its landscape and history, becomes worthy of a national park. For national parks to hold value, they must mean something to the public. The Park Service brand must signify something beyond “this area is in need of economic support.” It should signify “this

⁴²⁰ Sandel, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*, 9.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

landscape is worthy of protection because it holds unique and stunning features or wildlife and conveys important cultural, historical, natural, or spiritual values.” This of course is a catch-22, because if national parks did not signify to the public the presence of a stunning landscape, the national park brand would not attract tourists and economic growth. Therefore, by focusing principally on economics, park supporters are actually working to undermine the public understanding of national parks that leads to the tourism and job creation benefits park supporters are so apt to highlight.

The idea of a national park, according to the wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems, is special, because a national park exists outside of the human and economic. Harmon has offered that parks “are popular precisely because they offer a clear-cut contrast to the getting and spending that drives so much of modern life. They offer harried people a place to reflect and reinvigorate themselves. In this sense, parks are a counterweight to what might be called ‘workday values.’”⁴²² Parks are important to people for diverse value systems beyond the “workday values” (read regional economic development values) Harmon mentions. By publicly ignoring this reality and commodifying the national park idea in public debate, park supporters deny and desecrate exactly that which makes national parks special, their value beyond the economic.

7. Dangerous Class Dynamics

The framing of today’s park debate also suggests that park supporters may be taking advantage of the poverty of local people and reinforcing environmentalism as an elite pursuit. As

⁴²² David Harmon, "The Source and Significance of Values in Protected Areas," in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, ed. David Harmon and Allen D. Putney (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 24.

outlined earlier in this chapter, the focus of park supporters on the regional economic development value system is an attempt to build local working class support for the park. While it is certainly important to make conservation work for local working class people rather than only non-local elites, the class-related repercussions of today's park debate are not as simple and rosy as they might seem. Several park opponents suggested in interviews that park supporters were wrongfully taking advantage of the poverty of locals. For Anne Mitchell, park supporters are "playing to the desperation and the job loss effect in the Katahdin region."⁴²³ Similarly, Pat Strauch explained that park supporters "capitalized on the decline in jobs."⁴²⁴ Bob Meyers suggested that park supporters essentially tell locals that the park "is your only opportunity to have any kind of economic development."⁴²⁵

Park supporters have taken advantage of the dire economic situation of working class locals in northern Maine in an attempt to force a park proposal on these people that they would not support if not for their desperation. Is this really taking the concerns of local working class people seriously? Or are park supporters simply using local peoples' poverty against them in a class conflict? This would not be an example of the environmental movement gaining class-consciousness, but instead an instance of environmental elites operationalizing a new, particularly potent, economic weapon against working class locals in a time of their desperation.

Attempting to appeal to local working class people by focusing on regional economic development values is also problematic because doing so suggests that local working class people are only motivated by economic values and cannot be motivated by other value systems. In reality, as we have seen, park opponents are also motivated by other value systems like social

⁴²³ Mitchell.

⁴²⁴ Strauch.

⁴²⁵ Meyers.

wilderness and anti-federal localism. Suggesting working class locals can only hold economic values certainly does not give the environmental movement class-consciousness. The logical complement of the notion that working class people can only hold economic values is the idea that only wealthy people can hold conservation values. This framing suggests that only wealthy people can be environmentalists (if being an environmentalist means caring about the environment for reasons other than just the economy). This discourse, which at first glance appears to give the environmental movement class-consciousness, instead actually reinforces environmentalism as an elite pursuit.

Conclusion: Establishing a Value Program

Recall that a value program is established when a particular value system becomes so entrenched as to prevent thinking through the lens of other value systems. As McMurtry writes, “A value system or ethic becomes a program when its assumed structure of worth rules out thought beyond it.”⁴²⁶ In the context of the park debate in Maine it is necessary to differentiate between a public and private value program. The current park debate in the public sphere is a value engagement within the regional economic development value system. Therefore, a public value program has been established; regional economic values are almost-exclusively mobilized publicly. However, the fact that park supporters and opponents both hold personal justifications for their positions which draw from alternate value systems is evidence that a private value program has not been created. Clearly private thought that stems from other value systems remains in Maine’s conservation landscape today, even if such thought is not made public. However, value practices reinforce value systems; if the regional economic development value

⁴²⁶ McMurtry, *Unequal Freedoms: The Global Market as an Ethical System*, 15.

system is appealed to often and exclusively enough, the public value program could intrude further into peoples' heads, limiting their thoughts rather than only their public words, creating a private value program.

The conservation community must come to terms with the reality that the framing of today's park debate does risk turning what is already a problematic public value program into a more destructive private value program. If this were to happen people would become less likely to form opinions on conservation matters that do not result from economic considerations. Surely economics is a part of making conservation work. But is it the only meaningful consideration at play? Under today's public value program only profitable conservation proposals are publicly justifiably. Under a private regional economic development value program only profitable conservation proposals would be popularly conceivable. Thinking the thought that a national park in the Maine North Woods could be a good idea even if it did not spur economic growth would become unlikely under such a private value program. Any conservationist who thinks other values are legitimate need be concerned about the framing of today's park debate and the precedent it sets. This chapter has outlined many negative consequences of today's value engagement, and each of these repercussions would only be advanced under a private value program. The problem today is that people have other values and cannot express them publicly. If the regional economic development value program becomes further entrenched, the problem will become that people largely do not even hold other values.

Conclusion

The Maine Woods, Richard Judd writes, are “at the interface of two vastly different value systems—rural and urban.”⁴²⁷ On the one hand, there are the people who live, work, and play in the Maine Woods, and on the other are people “from away” whose understanding of the North Woods, Judd writes, “[have] been shaped by a century of urban wilderness fantasies.”⁴²⁸ Today’s park debate is most fundamentally about this very tension—different ways of valuing the North Woods expressed by different groups of people.

In order to explore this tension, the first chapter offered a framework for thinking about values by defining the terms value system, value practice, value program, value struggle, and value engagement. Next, I outlined six value systems that have recurred throughout Maine’s historical and contemporary national park debates. In tracing the role of each value system in Maine’s park debates I demonstrated that the value systems have historically been associated with particular class and geographic positions. Acadia was discussed by elites who mobilized wilderness escape, wilderness ecocentrism, and national interest to promote their support of the park. The Katahdin national park too was debated only by elites locked primarily in a wilderness escape value engagement. The only value difference between supporters and opponents was their allegiance to the national interest or anti-federal localism value systems. The Allagash debate was Maine’s first park debate that was a class and geographic conflict. Environmentalists justified the Allagash principally through the wilderness escape value system, while opponents, generally working class locals and the forestry industry, mobilized regional economic development most frequently. In Maine’s historical park debates, class and geographic conflict

⁴²⁷ Richard W. Judd, “The Maine Woods: A Legacy of Controversy,” *Maine Policy Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 8.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

made for value struggle, while debates that did not break down on class and geographic lines were primarily value engagements.

The early years of the RESTORE debate too were a class and geographic conflict manifested as a value struggle. However, over time, the value struggle has been publicly washed away, as both park supporters and opponents now appeal chiefly to regional economic development. Under the surface, the modern EPI park debate remains a class and geographic conflict and a value struggle. The value struggle is simply obscured, because, in an effort to appeal to working class locals, park supporters have framed the public debate around the only value system supporters and opponents share: regional economic development. This is not simply a positive move that makes the conservation movement more inclusive of working class people; the public discourse, which does not allow park supporters and opponents to address their value differences, prevents meaningful discussion and compromise.

As articulated in chapter one, Maine holds an elevated place in the public imagination with regards to environmental issues. Therefore, conservation discourse and controversy in Maine has the potential to influence conservation on a national scale. Is St. Clair's solution to the traditional elitism of the conservation movement—to simply ignore the value differences between environmentalists and working class locals by focusing on the economy—really the right solution for Maine, much less the wider nation? While the goal of including the interests of working class rural people in conservation is undeniably important, the particular solution marshaled in by St. Clair is highly problematic.

What might a better solution to the problem of the historical elitism of the conservation movement look like? This thesis will not offer a conclusive answer to this question, but will offer some tools to move towards addressing this next great project. As we have seen, the wilderness

escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems are in conflict with the social wilderness value system, just as the national interest value system conflicts with the anti-federal localism value system. First and foremost, any real solution to the problem of elitism in conservation must allow this tension to play out. People must be able to publicly address their value differences rather than pretend they do not exist. Only then will meaningful compromise be possible and will the conservation movement thereby make real progress towards being inclusive of working class interests.

What is meaningful compromise? I would like to differentiate here between three distinct types of compromises that are possible in the Maine Woods: *discursive compromise*, *positional compromise*, and *value compromise*. Discursive compromise is faux compromise. It is the sort of compromise we see manifested in the EPI debate and the later years of the RESTORE debate. It is a compromise in the way two conflicting sides talk about their conflict without a compromise in position from either side. In the EPI debate, park supporters are still wholly devoted to the idea of a national park and will not consider alternative conservation options for the land despite widespread hatred of the national park idea. Likewise park opponents are dead set against any federal conservation option. Neither side appears willing to compromise in their fundamental positions. However, both sides have engaged in a discursive compromise by agreeing to publicly address the park issue primarily through a value system they share: regional economic development. Discursive compromise is compromise without compromising. It gives the appearance of concession to the opposite side's interests, but in reality, both sides still cling steadfastly to both their position and values.

Positional compromise is a more practical and conciliatory form of compromise. A positional compromise occurs when both sides retain their perspective value systems, but make

meaningful active concessions to the other side's interests and values by being open to alternate positions or solutions. The resolution to the Allagash debate was a positional compromise. National park supporters wanted a federal national riverway or national recreation area, while park opponents generally wanted no governmental conservation and preferred that the area remain under private control. The solution gave neither side exactly what it wanted, but was enough to leave both sides reasonably contented. The end result, the Allagash Wilderness Waterway, is a small state-managed corridor of public land that was secured through state and federal funding, which is a part of the federal wild and scenic rivers program. Privately owned "working forest" land surrounds the public corridor.

Positional compromises are compromises between conflicting value systems. This is clear in Richard Judd's assessment of the outcome of the Allagash debate. As he writes of the Wilderness Waterway: "The solution is not ideal, but it illustrates the possibility—and the necessity perhaps—of flexible approaches to wilderness that reconcile urban dreams of untrammelled nature and local perspectives on a much more familiar 'working' woods."⁴²⁹ The possibility Judd alludes to is a positional compromise between the urban wilderness escape and wilderness ecocentrism value systems and the rural social wilderness value system.

Elsewhere Judd advocates for a similar positional compromise in the case of the Maine Woods today: "The conservation community must make room for those who gained their sense of stewardship by working the land. This stewardship has many voices—recreational, scientific, spiritual, practical—and past conservation efforts succeeded to the degree that they blended them into a unified them, the Allagash Wilderness Waterway being one such compromise."⁴³⁰

Similarly, in an interview, park opponent Pat Strauch, executive director of the Maine Forest

⁴²⁹ ""A Last Chance for Wilderness": Defining the Allagash," 14.

⁴³⁰ "The Maine Woods: A Legacy of Controversy," 10.

Products Council, expressed his belief that that the Allagash provided a good model of compromise for the modern park debate. He articulated, “The Allagash Wilderness Waterway is a compromise scenic waterway with some restrictions on neighboring landowners, [for example] sound, and, but it’s ultimately managed by the state, so that’s a model that is interesting.”⁴³¹

It is important to note that park supporters have already made a small positional compromise. The choice to change the park plan from a 150,000 acre national park to a 75,000 acre nation park and 75,000 acre national recreation area is a concession to the social wilderness value system. Scholars have offered different options for what a more serious positional compromise might look like for conservation in the North Woods. Baldwin, Kenefic, and LaPage explore four large-scale alternatives to a national park in northern Maine: a traditional national forest model, a new forest service model that allows more local control, a forest heritage area, and the British national park model.⁴³² Similarly, David Vail has called for a “Great Maine Woods National Heritage Area.”⁴³³

While a positional compromise is a more serious and meaningful compromise than a discursive compromise, it does not truly succeed in making the conservation movement inclusive of working class interests. Positional compromise is a compromise between two groups with conflicting values. Therefore, under a positional compromise, both groups remain in fundamental opposition. A positional compromise still sets environmentalists and working class locals on opposite sides of a spectrum; it simply is the choice by both sides to adopt a position that lies somewhere in the middle of that spectrum. Under a positional compromise, working class locals

⁴³¹ Strauch.

⁴³² Elizabeth Dennis Baldwin, Laura S. Kenefic, and Will LaPage, "Alternative Large-Scale Conservation Visions for Northern Maine: Interviews with Decision Leaders in Maine," *Maine Policy Review* 16, no. 2 (2007).

⁴³³ David Vail, "Tourism Strategy for the Maine Woods: A Big Push to World Class," *ibid.*: 113.

are therefore still otherized from conservationists, and their values and interests are held to be in conflict. A positional compromise is taking the concerns of working class local people seriously, but it does not attempt to make space for local people within the conservation movement itself.

This critical step can only be accomplished through a third type of compromise, value compromise. Under a value compromise, both sides are not only flexible to the possibility of compromising their positions, they also become open to the possibility of compromising and transforming the values they hold that motivate their positions. Under a positional compromise, park supporters would cling to the wilderness ecocentrism and/or wilderness escape value systems and park opponents would likewise remain steadfast in their adherence to the social wilderness value system, for example. Both sides would simply adopt a position that reflects some elements of these conflicting value systems. In a value compromise, however, both sides would become intentionally vulnerable to the possibility of changing their values and seeing the Maine Woods in a different way.

Through discussion, park supporters would open themselves to the possibility of understanding the North Woods not as a primeval yet degraded space, but as an inhabited, livelihood-sustaining forest. Likewise, park opponents would allow themselves to grapple with a vision of the North Woods that considers the interests of the biotic community and acknowledges that the woods they live and work in do provide a treasured refuge from everyday society for people “from away.” What would such a value system look like that blended these diverse understandings of the North Woods? It is beyond the scope of this thesis to find out, but exploring this value space is the only way to truly make the conservation movement inclusive of local working class people.

The conservation movement historically and today has been allied with the wilderness ecocentrism, wilderness escape, and national interest value systems. Meanwhile, working class locals have been allied with the social wilderness and anti-federal localism value systems. Given that these values are in conflict, working class local people can never truly be a part of the conservation movement so long as both sides retain their respective value systems. Only through a value compromise can a new conservation movement be born that represents the values of both non-local urban people and working class rural people. Only when their values beyond regional economic development are a part of the conservation movement will working class northern Mainers truly be included.

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form for Interviews

Introduction and Purpose

My name is Adam Auerbach, and I am a senior at Bates College in Lewiston. I am working on an honors thesis in the Environmental Studies Department with Professor Ethan Miller. My thesis is about the public discussion and debate around the proposed national park in northern Maine. The overarching goal of my work is to analyze what the current and historical park debates can illustrate about how we as a society assign value to land. The purpose of this interview is to learn your perspective on the park debate, as you are a key voice in the discussion.

Procedures

The interview will include questions about the current park debate, the economics of the proposed park, and the ways of valuing land suggested by park supporters and opponents. The interview should last about an hour.

Recording and Withdrawal

With your permission, I will record the audio of this interview. The audio recording will exist only to record accurately what we discuss during the interview. I will be transcribing the audio later. You may request that I stop recording the interview at any time or that we cease the interview altogether at any time. You may also request that I delete the recording at any time. I will not be using or circulating the contents of this interview beyond this specific thesis project.

Anonymity

With your consent, this interview will not be anonymous, and also with your consent, I may use your name and affiliation along with quotes from this interview in my thesis work.

Follow Up

I intend to conduct only one interview; however if follow-ups are needed for added clarification, I will contact you by email.

Agreement

I, _____ (full name) of _____ (affiliation)
agree to be interviewed and recorded for the purpose of this thesis project according to the
guidelines above. _____ (signature) _____ (date)

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Supporters (Lucas St. Clair, Eliza Donoghue)

Park Debate

- How does a typical conversation between you and a park opponent go?
- What do you think the most significant reason to support the park is?
- Why do you think people are against the park?
- How has the way people support the park evolved since when Roxanne was the public face of the park?
- Has the way people oppose the park evolved too?

Economics

- Why have park supporters focused on the economic impact of the park so heavily?
- Is there something bigger or more important than jobs and the economy at stake here?
- What types of important questions and issues do you think do not make it into the current public discussion surrounding the park?
- Do you think there are any downsides to the fact that the primary argument for this national park seems to be economically focused rather than concerning the actual piece of land in question?
- Do you think conservation needs to be justified economically in this landscape?

Value

- Why do you think the Maine North Woods are valuable?
- How do you think park opponents value the North Woods and land in general?
- How do you think land should be valued? What attributes make land valuable?
- What values are reflected by the Katahdin Woods & Waters proposal?
- What values are reflected by park opposition?
- Why do you think the land is worthy of national park status?
- How do you think the way people assign value to land plays into the park debate?

Interview Questions (Continued)

Kirk Francis

Park Debate

- What is the Penobscot position on the proposed national park?
- Why do you support the park proposal?
- What inspired you to publicly announce Penobscot support of the park by writing the editorial?
- John Banks indicated controversy?
- How does a typical conversation between you and a park opponent go?
- What do you think the most significant reason to support the park is?
- Why do you think people are against the park?

Economics

- What do you think is the role of the economy in the park debate?
- Do you agree that the economy should have a dominant role in the park debate?
- Why have park supporters focused on the economic impact of the park so heavily?
- Is there something bigger or more important than jobs and the economy at stake here?
- What types of important questions and issues do you think do not make it into the current economically focused public discussion surrounding the park?
- Do you think there are any downsides to the fact that the primary argument for this national park seems to be economically focused rather than concerning the actual piece of land in question?
- Do you think conservation needs to be justified economically in this landscape?

Value

- Why do you think the Maine North Woods are valuable?
- Are there any other values that you think should be a part of the park debate beyond economic values?
- How do you think park supporters and opponents value the North Woods and land in general?
- How do you think land should be valued? What attributes make land valuable?
- What values are reflected by the Katahdin Woods & Waters proposal?
- What values are reflected by park opposition?
- Do you think the land is worthy of national park status?
- How do you think the way people assign value to land plays into the park debate?

Interview Questions (Continued)

RESTORE (Jym St. Pierre)

Park Debate

- How does a typical conversation between you and a park opponent go?
- What do you think the most significant reason to support the RESTORE park is?
- What do you think the most significant reason to support the Katahdin Woods & Waters Park is?
- Why do you think people are against the RESTORE park?
- Why do you think people are against the Katahdin Woods & Waters park?
- How does the way people support the Katahdin Woods & Waters park compare with the way people support the RESTORE park?
- Has the way people support and oppose the parks changed over time?

Economics

- Why have park supporters focused on the economic impact of the park so heavily?
- Is there something bigger or more important than jobs and the economy at stake here?
- What types of important questions and issues do you think do not make it into the current public discussion surrounding the parks?
- Do you think there are any downsides to the fact that the primary argument for this national park seems to be economically focused rather than concerning the actual piece of land in question?

Value

- Why do you think the Maine North Woods are valuable?
- How do you think park opponents value the North Woods and land in general?
- How do you think land should be valued? What attributes make land valuable?
- What values are reflected by the RESTORE proposal?
- What values are reflected by the Katahdin Woods & Waters proposal?
- What values are reflected by park opposition?
- Why do you think the land is worthy of national park status?
- How do you think the way people assign value to land plays into the park debate?

Interview Questions (Continued)

Opponents (Anne Mitchell, Pat Strauch, Bob Meyers)

Park Debate

- How does a typical conversation between you and a park supporter go?
- What do you think the most significant reason to oppose the park is?
- Why do you think some people support the park?
- Do you think the reasons people say they support the park are different than their true reasons?
- How has the way people support the park evolved since when Roxanne was the public face of the park?
- Has the way people oppose the park evolved too?

Economics

- Why do you think park supporters have focused on the economic impact of the park so heavily?
- Would you support the park if you were sure it would in fact create the number of jobs park supporters say it will?
- Is there something bigger or more important than jobs and the economy at stake here?
- What would be a preferable alternative to the proposed park?
- What types of important questions and issues do you think do not make it into the current public discussion surrounding the park?
- Do you think there are any downsides to the fact that the primary argument for this national park seems to be economically focused rather than concerning the actual piece of land in question?

Value

- Why do you think the Maine North Woods are valuable?
- How do you think park supporters value the North Woods and land in general?
- How do you think land should be valued? What attributes make land valuable?
- What values are reflected by the Katahdin Woods & Waters proposal?
- What values are reflected by park opposition?
- Do you think the land is worthy of national park status? Why?
- How do you think the way people assign value to land plays into the park debate?

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