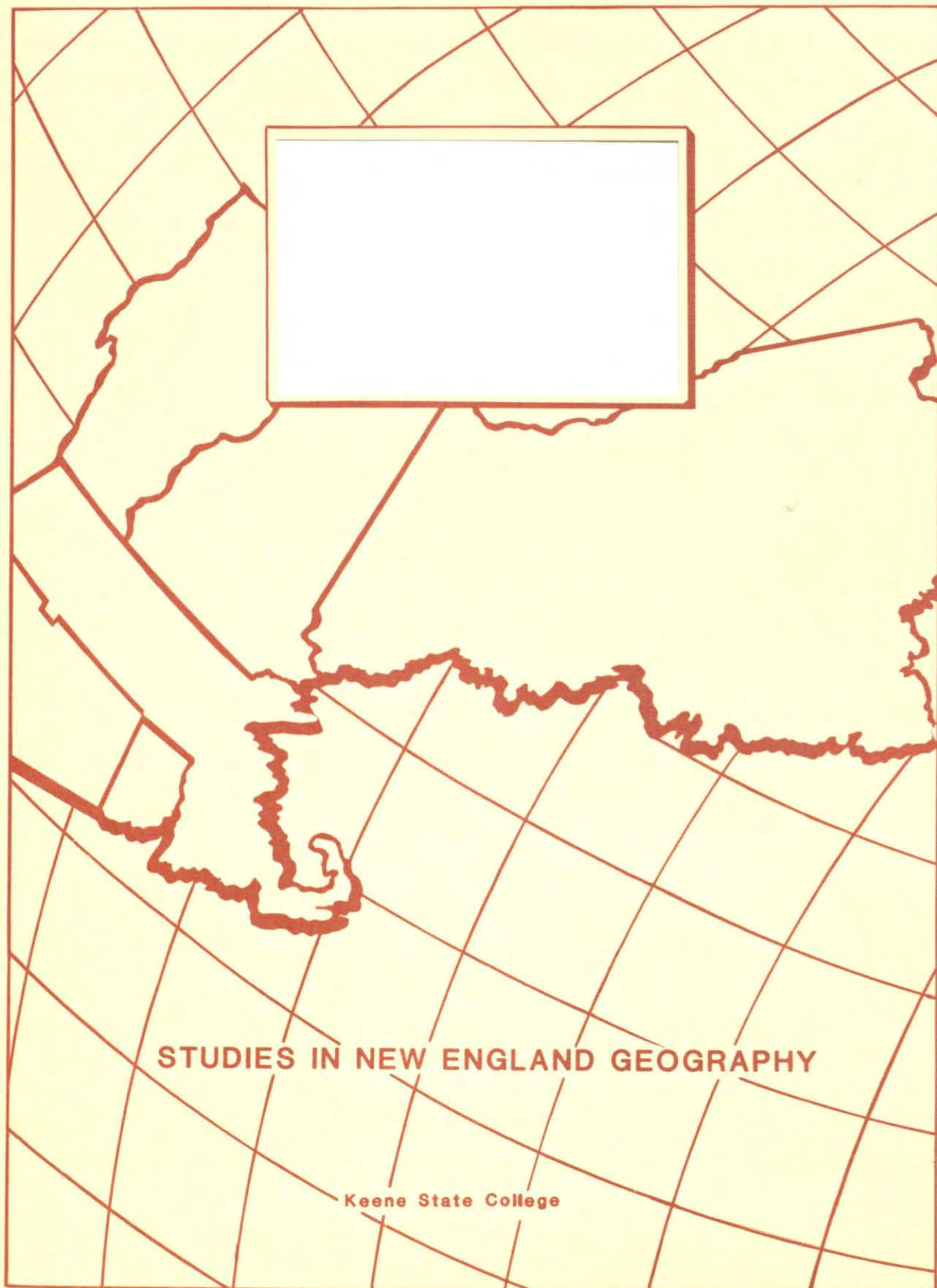




**STUDIES IN NEW ENGLAND GEOGRAPHY**

**Keene State College**

**The Maine Woods National Park:**

Landscape, Regional Identity, and the  
Promise of New England Geography

Blake Harrison  
Research Affiliate  
Howard R. Lamar Center for the Study of Frontiers and Borders  
Yale University  
50 Nash Street, 3R  
New Haven, CT 06511  
[bharrison@uwalumni.com](mailto:bharrison@uwalumni.com)

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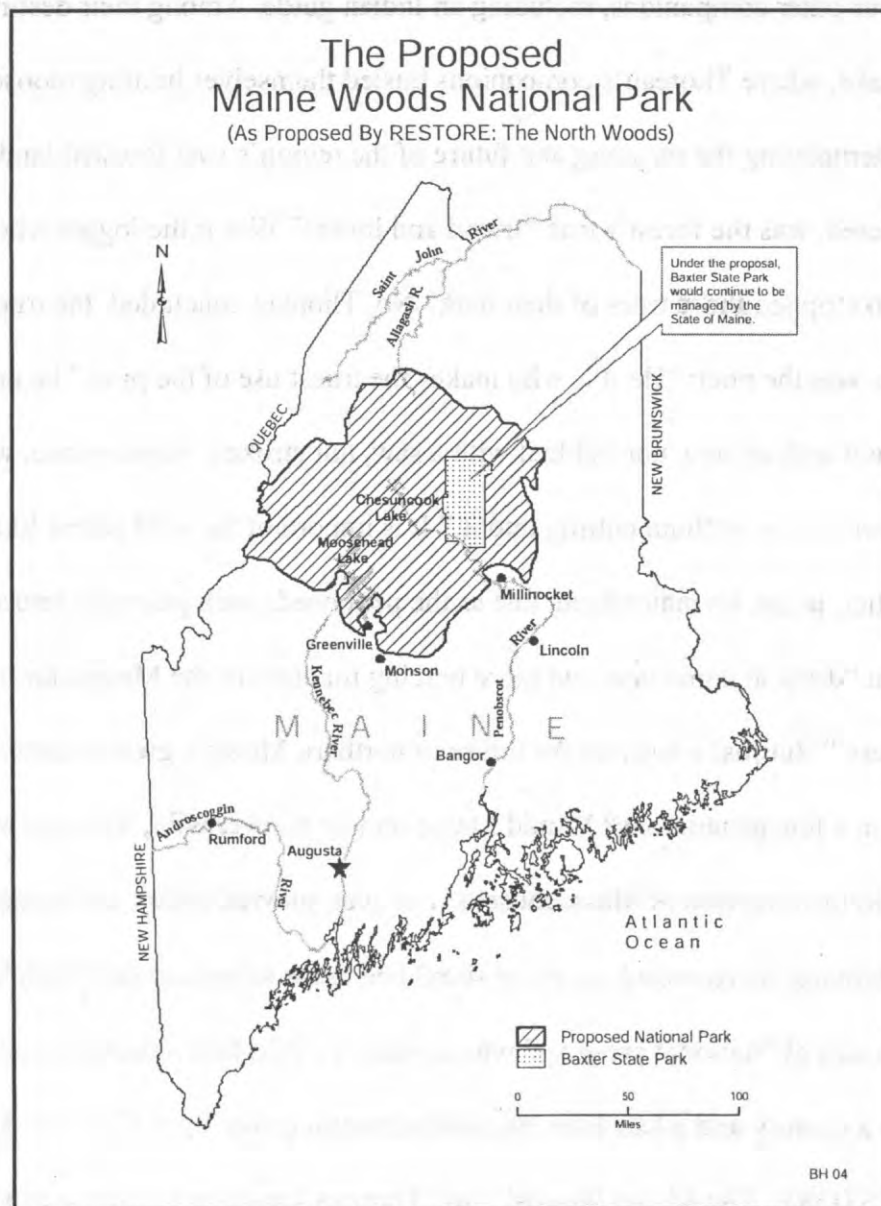
Dr. A. L. Rydant, Editor, *Studies in New England Geography*, Department of Geography,  
Keene State College, Keene, NH 03435-2001, 603.358.2508, [arydant@keene.edu](mailto:arydant@keene.edu)

## Introduction

In 1853, the naturalist and author Henry David Thoreau traveled deep into the Maine Woods with four other companions, including an Indian guide. Among their destinations was Chesuncook Lake, where Thoreau's companions busied themselves hunting moose while he spent time contemplating the meaning and future of the region's vast forested landscape. Who, Thoreau wondered, was the forest's true "friend and lover?" Was it the logger who cut its trees? The tanner who stripped those trees of their bark? No, Thoreau concluded, the true friend of Maine's forests was the poet: "He it is who makes the truest use of the pine," he argued, "who does not fondle it with an axe, nor tickle it with a saw, nor stroke it with a plane, who knows whether its heart is false without cutting into it." It is important for wild places like Chesuncook Lake to have their poets, he maintained, just as the poet needs such places in return—places where he might "drink at some new and more bracing fountain of the Muses, far in the recesses of the wilderness." But just what was the future of northern Maine's great forests? What would they look like in a few generations? Would Maine remain forever wild, Thoreau wondered, or was it headed in the direction of Massachusetts: cut over, plowed under, and settled as far as the eye can see? Perhaps, he reasoned, an effort should be made to protect the North Woods, to establish some sort of "national preserve" where visitors could find redemption and inspiration."<sup>1</sup>

Nearly a century and a half later, an environmental group from Concord, Massachusetts known as "RESTORE: The Maine Woods" used Thoreau's passing reference to a "national preserve" as a rallying cry for their proposal to create a national park in northern Maine (figure 1). If established, the Maine Woods National Park (MWNP) would encompass 3.2 million acres of forested land, making it larger than Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks combined.<sup>2</sup> If established, it would include the headwaters of six major rivers, one hundred miles of the Appalachian Trail, hundreds of lakes and ponds, and all of Baxter State Park (which would

continue to be managed by the State of Maine). And if established, the MWNP would profoundly transform existing relationships between landscape and identity in northern Maine.



**Figure 1:** The Proposed Maine Woods National Park

This paper has two main goals. Its first is to introduce and explore the often-intense debates that have surrounded the MWNP proposal since it was first put forward by RESTORE in 1994. The paper does not seek to quantify recreational or industrial patterns in northern Maine. Nor does it offer policy recommendations for planners or natural resource managers. Rather, it

focuses on the kinds of arguments and the kinds of language that different groups have used to stake out their positions, relying on qualitative discourse analysis to account for a range of conceptions about regional identity. I divide different responses to the proposal into what I see as five common “themes of debate.” These include discussions about: (1) economics; (2) environmental quality; (3) access and ownership of property; (4) heritage; and (5) social status. I derive this list from fieldwork, conversations and correspondence with people involved in the park proposal, and an analysis of the massive bank of public opinion that has accumulated over the last decade in both regional and national publications. Obviously, others might frame these themes of debate in different ways, but together, they provide a well-rounded overview of the kinds of issues people raise when they talk about the idea of a national park in northern Maine. Over the past decade, that idea has become a major regional and national debate—one with potential implications for tourism planning, national park policy, and the state’s forest products industry. The debates surrounding the MWNP share many links to land use issues in other parts of the United States, particularly the American West. Yet they carry a unique regional stamp based on local history, geography, and social relations. The complexity of the perspectives at work in these debates and their extension into academic and popular discussions about land use and social relations in the United States makes this story and others like it in New England worthy of further study.

My second goal is to define these themes of debate according to a shared analytical thread, and in so doing, to suggest why I think this and other similar stories in New England offer the region’s geographers a promising avenue for further study. Each of the five themes explored below shares a common link to the politics of regional identity—a politics defined by differences in how social groups shape, use, identify, and represent the regional landscape. In one sense, this rests on a fairly typical and long-standing claim made by geographers about

landscapes. As Peirce Lewis suggested in 1979, “Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible, visible form.”<sup>3</sup> In places like northern Maine, for instance, social actors shape the regional landscape according to a rural culture popularly defined by its associations with economic and recreational activities such as logging and hunting. But landscapes are more than reflective tablets on which cultures unwittingly inscribe apparently shared values and tastes. Instead, different social groups shape, represent, and exert control over landscapes in different ways based on their own particular agendas or perspectives about land and life. In this sense, social groups not only *shape* landscapes, they *use* landscapes to create and perform group and place-based identities and to navigate the social and cultural politics through which those identities are defined. Rather than being passive recipients of human activities and ideas, landscapes are central to how those activities and ideas unfold.<sup>4</sup>

What, then, does it mean to speak of regional identity, and how do landscapes become implicated in its production? As geographic studies of race, gender, ethnicity, and nation have taught us, no identity is ever static or free from contestation, but rather is always in the process of being renegotiated and redefined through the actions and interactions of different social groups.<sup>5</sup> There is nothing inevitable about regional identity, in Maine or elsewhere; it is not something that is simply *out there*, waiting for someone to come along and define it in precise terms. Of course, we can use combinations of natural and cultural resources to draw boundaries on a map defining where one region begins and another leaves off, and we can scale those boundaries to define whether we are talking about a region like “New England” or about smaller regions within New England such as the “Maine Woods” or “Down East Maine.” Indeed, when people think of northern Maine’s unique qualities—whether they live there or not—they often think of its working forests, its mills, and its small towns. They think of its recreational opportunities, its

shared problems, its proud heritage. They think of landscape. But different social groups interact with and define landscapes in different ways, thereby complicating our ability to define precisely the nature and boundaries of any region. We may certainly point to *dominant* conceptions of landscape and identity expressed in any region (one based, say, on a cultural economy of logging). But there are always those who think they have another, perhaps better way to use, manage, and control the landscape, and a better way to define regional identity (one based, say, on a new national park). Regional identity is always socially constructed, always being recreated through the interactions of diverse groups of people, all of whom act *through* as well as *on* the landscape.<sup>6</sup>

What this paper suggests, then, is that regional identity in northern Maine is not defined in the same ways by all who claim a stake in the area's future, largely because different groups approach the regional landscape with different objectives in mind. Because the MWNP proposal offers an entirely new way to define, manage, and experience landscape in northern Maine, it offers new ways to understand and represent regional identity as well. The task here is not to define the precise nature or boundaries of identity in northern Maine, but rather to explore how different groups have mobilized the landscape—whether through its use or representation—in support of their views about regional identity, and more specifically about the MWNP proposal.

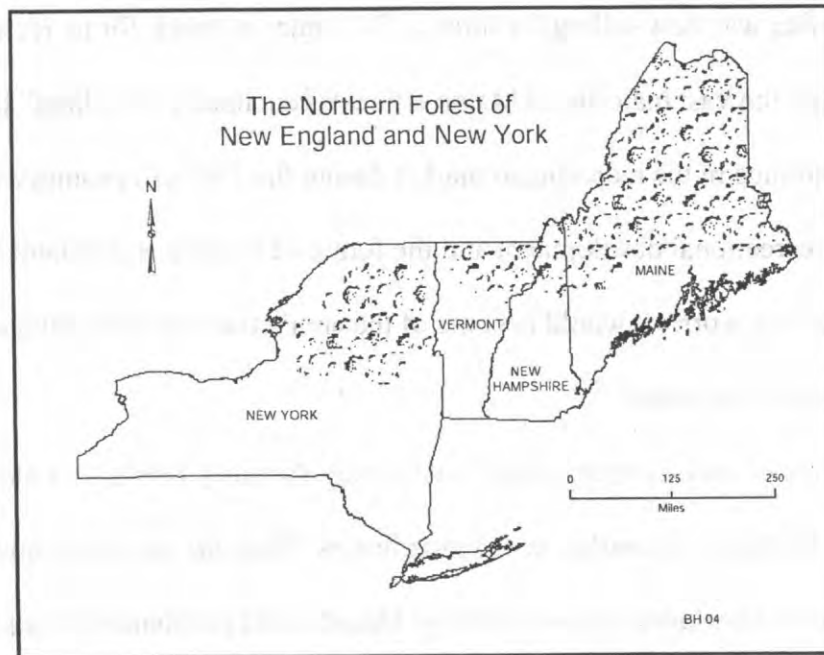
In recent years, historians have produced a number of valuable studies about the evolution of regional identity in New England.<sup>7</sup> Geographers have an opportunity to join these discussions more than they already have by deploying critical approaches to landscape and the production of both place-based identities and the gendered, racial, ethnic, and class-based identities of those who live throughout New England. Links between landscape and identity, such as those suggested by this study, can be found in other places and at other times; their significance is not limited to northern Maine, nor, for that matter, is it limited to New England.

Rather, the true significance of such links lies in the deeper questions about social power and geographic control toward which those links tend to point: Who has the power to define dominant conceptions of regional identity, and how do our interactions with our surroundings become implicated in the use, reproduction, or contestation of that power? Whose cultural practices and geographic spaces are incorporated into dominant conceptions of regional identity and whose are left out? And what does all this mean for our ability to create a more inclusive and equitable society—one in which the spaces, beliefs, and everyday needs of all social actors are respected and valued? Questions like these lie at the heart of larger debates all across New England about economic development, environmental quality, access to land, heritage, and social belonging, making the region, I believe, a promising site for continued critical studies of landscape and regional identity.

### **Background**

The proposed MWNP is located in the heart of the larger “Northern Forest” of New England and New York—a zone of spruce, fir, hemlock, maple, and beech stretching across 26 million acres from northern Maine to northern New York (figure 2).<sup>8</sup> Much of Maine’s ten-million-acre contribution to the Northern Forest is divided into hundreds of unorganized townships lacking permanent settlements and formal governments of their own. That lack of settlement and local governance, however, does not mean the area is unused. This is a region known for its “working forest,” a region whose economy is shaped profoundly by its associations with logging, wood-products manufacturing, and the pulp and paper industry. From the nineteenth century’s storied log drives and booming lumber trade to the twentieth century’s corporate empires and massive paper mills, land and life in northern Maine have long been defined by a forest-based economy. That economy has also produced distinctive patterns of land ownership in northern Maine. Since the nineteenth century, Maine’s forests have been controlled

largely by private investors, many of whom amassed tracts of land that were tens of thousands of acres in size. By the turn of the twentieth century, forest ownership in Maine was being increasingly consolidated among a handful of pulp and paper companies, including Great



**Figure 2:** The Northern Forest of New England and New York. Adapted from Stephen C. Harper, Laura L. Falk, and Edward W. Rankin. *Northern Forest Lands Study of New England and New York*. Rutland, Vt.: USDA, USFS, 1990.

Northern and International Paper—companies which purchased vast amounts of commercial timberland to supply their mills in towns such as Millinocket and Rumford. Great Northern alone owned over two million acres in the mid twentieth century, nearly 10% of the entire state of Maine. Today, national and international corporate giants like the Canadian company JD Irving and the Seattle-based company Plumb Creek own nearly two million acres between them.<sup>9</sup>

Although this pattern of industrial ownership and management has persisted throughout the twentieth century, signs of change were on the horizon by the 1970s and 1980s. Faced with aging mills, cutover lands, rising costs of production, and increased competition from both national and international markets, Maine's commercial timberland owners began searching for alternative ways to make a profit from their land. In many cases, that meant selling lakefront and

other desirable property for recreational home lots. With the demand for vacation homes in northern New England booming during the 1980s, many Northern Forest landowners sold parcels ranging from a few acres to tens of thousands. Land worth perhaps one hundred dollars an acre for its timber was now selling for three to five times as much for its recreational potential. Although the vast majority of Maine's forests remained a "working" landscape, there were enough rumblings in the recreational market during the 1980s to prompt a high-profile federal study on recreational development and the future of logging in northern New England. What, many observers worried, would become of the area's traditional logging economy in light of recent recreational land sales?<sup>10</sup>

The urgency of such concerns died down during the early 1990s, as a slowing national economy curbed the booming market in vacation homes. That did not mean, however, that the sale of commercial timberlands stopped entirely. Decades-old problems of costs and competition in Maine's forest products industry continued, and in fact, accelerated. Millions of acres of land changed hands during the late 1990s, as Fortune 500 companies like Great Northern restructured, were taken over, or merged with one another. Much of this land continued to change hands between pulp and paper companies, but more was purchased by real-estate developers and by investment companies whose vision for the land's future was not always made entirely clear. In addition, conservation groups and the State of Maine purchased tens of thousands of acres, often protecting their land from logging in order to provide for public recreation. Other land has been protected through the sale of conservation easements to land trusts and to the State of Maine—agreements which in some (but not all) cases have prohibited future logging.

Still other parcels of land were purchased by a wealthy businesswoman named Roxanne Quimby. Quimby sat on the board of RESTORE for a number of years, and in the late 1990s began spending her personal fortune on land in Maine with the intention of eventually turning

that land over to the federal government for use in the MWNP. Quimby had moved to Guilford, Maine in 1975, where she and her young family lived in a humble cabin for many years. In the early 1980s, she teamed up with a local beekeeper named Burt Shavitz (another transplant to Maine), and began selling natural beeswax products such as candles and lip balm. Their company, Burt's Bees, ultimately became a multimillion-dollar giant in the personal-care-products industry. Quimby sold the company in 2003 for approximately \$175 million, in part to purchase more land in Maine. Although Quimby severed her formal ties with RESTORE in 2002, she continued to purchase land for a national park and continued to support RESTORE's proposal. She now owns over 40,000 acres in the state and, as we shall see, has become an extremely contentious public figure in northern Maine.<sup>11</sup>

Corporate land deals, recreational sales, conservation easements, and Quimby's purchases are all part of an increasing complexity in ownership and management that has been developing in the Maine Woods for decades. Supporters of the MWNP argue that their plan would simplify this complexity by consolidating management and ownership in at least part of the region under one system. But that is not how opponents see the plan, and the intensity of their opposition over the past ten years makes the park feel like a distant possibility at best. Indeed, the National Park Service (NPS) has not given its support to the plan, largely because Maine's recent Congressional delegations and its past two governors have not either. Even if the NPS was interested in the plan, low estimates place the cost of the park at \$250 an acre; the cash-strapped NPS would have a hard time meeting that kind of price tag under the current political climate in Washington. Still, park supporters from Maine and beyond remain committed to the idea, while opponents search for the means to stop them. The struggles between them center on issues of environmental quality, economic development, public access, heritage, and social status—issues that speak to the links between landscape and the politics of regional identity in northern Maine.

## Five Themes of Debate

### 1. Environment

Supporters and opponents of the MWNP often frame their arguments according to environmental themes, linking the ecological integrity of the regional landscape and an anti-environmentalist backlash to larger discussions about the future of regional identity in northern Maine. To begin, park supporters, such as groups like RESTORE and the Forest Ecology Network, often deploy imagery of a spoiled forested landscape to make their case for its protection. In particular, they often represent the Maine Woods as having been fragmented by thousands of miles of roads, polluted by herbicides sprayed to control for certain species of trees, and denuded by extensive clearcutting. The growing efficiency and mechanization of logging, they warn, has increased rates of deforestation, particularly through the extensive use of clearcutting during the 1980s and 1990s. "In one short generation," RESTORE has argued, "an area the size of Delaware has been clearcut, tens of thousands of miles of logging roads have been built, and millions of acres have been sprayed with toxic pesticides."<sup>12</sup> With large companies facing pressure to maximize profits from their land holdings in Maine, park supporters argue, there seems to be no end in sight to this destruction.

At the same time, however, supporters use the region's largely unsettled landscape to paint a more hopeful picture of ecological recovery. Supporters argue that an end to logging coupled with the additional protections afforded by national-park status could return this vast, unsettled area to something more akin to its pre-European condition. As the nationally renowned writer and environmental advocate Bill McKibben has argued, northern Maine is the "country's greatest conservation paradox." The regional landscape, he suggests, is both "a picture of the world as once it was" and conversely, "a picture of the world as it sadly is—one more uglified

entry on the international profit-maximizing atlas, another British Columbia or Brazil or Borneo.”<sup>13</sup> Only a national park, he and others argue, can turn the latter picture into the former.

Arguments like this represent an attempt to rescript regional identity in northern Maine according to an idealized image of natural beauty. At times, RESTORE and its supporters define that image as a “working ecosystem” where the forest is left to operate on its own terms rather than on the terms of, say, a logging economy.<sup>14</sup> Opponents of the park, however, have a very different idea about what a phrase like “working ecosystem” actually means. From their perspective, ecosystems work best when they put the local population to work, which they add, is something that the Maine Woods has done for well over a century. Local residents assert that they have a long history of being good landscape stewards, and that their management strategies have typically used land to its full economic potential without lasting ecological harm. Indeed, even RESTORE concedes that residents once “took relatively good care of the land.”<sup>15</sup> But, the group quickly adds, Mainers have apparently turned their back on this heritage of conservation. As argued by RESTORE’s native-born Maine director, Jym St. Pierre, “For many generations, the Maine Woods was owned by those who knew and cared about Maine. However, as the global economy has grown, most of the land has been sold to timber corporations and investment companies driven more by short-term profit than by local concerns or long-term forest health.”<sup>16</sup>

For park opponents, such arguments suggest the unwelcome imposition of an environmentalist identity on northern Maine—one that would define the region as a home to wilderness rather than working forests. And that, for some, is entirely unacceptable: “A wilderness forest produces nothing,” Robert Voight of the conservative Maine Conservation Rights Institute has argued. “Who is going to stop this enviro madness, this social revolution, this destruction of our great Constitution? The fire of tyranny is raging.”<sup>17</sup> Voight’s gestures to “tyranny” and “enviro madness” hint at a more fundamental struggle to assert control over the

regional landscape as a means for preventing the infusion of environmentalist thought into the cultural identity of northern Maine. That kind of struggle moved to the forefront of many residents' minds in May 1998, when a group of protestors representing Earth First! and the Native Forest Network paid a visit to Lincoln, Maine. In what was part of a larger series of protests and actions in the area (including trespassing and vandalism), the protestors blocked the entrance to the Lincoln Pulp and Paper Company to protest the owner's use of chlorine bleach to process pulp. A few protesters climbed the mill's water tower and unfurled a banner reading "LP&P go chlorine free. Dioxin kills," while another—a 22-year-old man named Matthew Spurlock—was arrested for striking a passing vehicle with his fist. Residents took direct action to meet this perceived threat and to reassert control over their town. In mid-June, residents marked the day of Spurlock's arraignment by holding a "People-First! Pro-Community Rally" on the streets of Lincoln. About 120 people gathered to show their support for the town's largest employer, and to show their disdain for the environmental agenda that the protestors had brought to their town. The rally's organizer and participants (and it was distinctly called a "rally" in the Maine press, rather than a "protest," presumably to code it as a more acceptable public action) framed it as a defense against "ecoterrorists" and a "radical environmental industry" bent on undermining the town's way of life. As the rally's organizer succinctly put it: "It's a way to say you are not welcome in our community."<sup>18</sup>

Lincoln's rally was thus an overt attempt by residents to express their control over the physical landscape itself, and in so doing, to code that landscape with a decidedly anti-environmentalist identity. And although the actions of Earth First! members in Lincoln were not directly affiliated with RESTORE or the MWNP, many local residents make little distinction between the environmentally based critiques associated with each. We might frame the debates that surround these stories as a classic case of "preservationists" struggling with

“conservationists”—the former, in this case, wanting to create a park to protect the regional landscape for ecological and aesthetic reasons, the latter wanting to protect and manage the regional landscape for the sake of the forest products economy.<sup>19</sup> But we might also frame these debates on a more fundamental level as representative of a larger struggle to control the future of landscape and identity in northern Maine. Both sides see environmental themes of debate as central components in that struggle.

## 2. Economy

Environmental discourse associated with the MWNP—pro and con alike—shares close links to questions about regional economic development. For park supporters, the MWNP represents a valuable means for both expanding and diversifying the regional economy. The park, in RESTORE’s words, would:

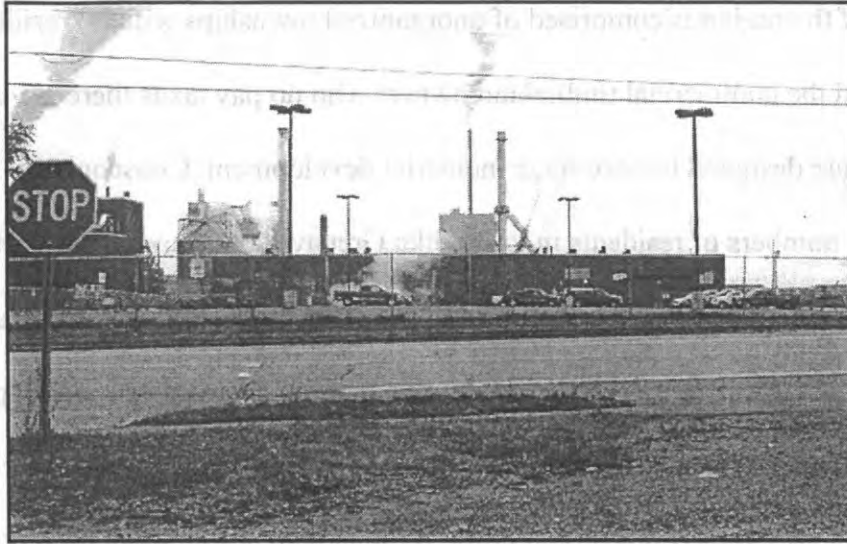
(1) supplement the troubled forest product industry while leaving four-fifths of Maine’s commercial timberland unaffected; (2) create new jobs restoring damaged forests, rehabilitating wildlife habitat, and managing the park; (3) draw new businesses and permanent residents seeking a healthy natural environment; and (4) expand the tourism economy.<sup>20</sup>

Two general patterns emerge from claims such as these. First, is a belief that the MWNP offers long-term solutions for a regional economy plagued by market instability and unsustainable logging. This perspective is expressed, for example, in a 110-page economic impact study commissioned by RESTORE and completed by Thomas Powers, Chair of the Economics Department at the University of Montana and a specialist in natural-resource economics and regional development. Powers concludes that Maine’s forest products economy, at least as currently practiced, is unsustainable over the long term. And while he does not suggest that logging in Maine be brought to a halt, he does advocate a diversification of the regional economy away from an over-dependence on forest products, and he sees the MWNP as central to that effort. National parks have been used in other places around the country to diversify and expand

upon preexisting economies, Powers argues, often with great success. There is no reason, he concludes, to assume that a national park could not do the same in Maine.<sup>21</sup>

Second, economic debates raise questions about how best to define the highest value of the regional landscape. To park supporters, for instance, the region's most marketable commodity is not timber but wild natural beauty. As RESTORE's executive director Michael J. Kellett and Maine director Jym St. Pierre argue in their 1996 economic report, "The healthy forests, unspoiled mountains, pristine waters, clean air, and diverse wildlife of the traditional Maine Woods have long made northern Maine an extraordinary place to live, work and recreate." But the authors turn more somber just two paragraphs later by noting, "If the qualities that make the Maine Woods special are not protected, the region may lose its potential economic advantage over other regions."<sup>22</sup> From this perspective, then, the region's economic identity is best defined through wilderness protection rather than resource extraction alone. And because commercial logging is prohibited in national parks, the MWNP would protect that wilderness condition while still allowing for logging to continue around the edge of the park.

Park opponents define the region's value and economic identity in very different terms (figure 3). While not all residents approve of clearcutting or the air and water pollution attributed to regional mills, many feel the MWNP will unfairly undermine and destroy commercial logging in favor of wilderness protection. The prohibition on commercial logging in national parks, they are quick to point out, would effectively put an end to the region's traditional economic structure. Moreover, they add, park supporters fail to understand or respect the cultural importance of the region's forest products industry. That industry is central to the cultural identity of people in northern Maine, they assert; a national park would redefine land use and land management in ways that made it impossible to pursue logging over 3.2 million acres, thereby undermining the culture of those who depend on that land for their livelihood.



**Figure 3:** Georgia Pacific, Old Town, Maine. For many residents of northern Maine, mills scenes like this are key features of the regional landscape, both symbolically and economically. Photo by the author.

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Concerns like these often inform the rhetoric used by opposition groups, perhaps the most notable of which is the Maine Woods Coalition. Established in 2001 by residents from the four counties affected by the park proposal (Somerset, Penobscot, Piscataquis, and Aroostook) the Maine Woods Coalition took as its *raison d'être* the complete destruction of the MWNP proposal. Two of the group's most important leaders, Gene Conlogue and John Simko are town managers in Millinocket and Greenville, respectively, while other members include business owners, loggers, and recreational groups.<sup>23</sup> In a statement by Simko, the group's former president, the Maine Woods Coalition believes that park supporters: "(1) do not understand what would happen to the lives and livelihoods of the residents and property owners of the region, (2) do not want to consider these concerns in their on-going efforts, and (3) do not appear to feel that the residents here should have a say about the future of this large tract of land."<sup>24</sup>

Behind such arguments lie two important economic concerns. First, town officials like Simko worry about the effects that a national park would have on taxes and public services in the handful of towns immediately surrounding the park. Taxes are already a problem for northern

Maine: much of the region is comprised of unorganized townships with no residents to generate tax revenue, and the commercial timberland owners who do pay taxes there are taxed at a special, lower rate designed to encourage industrial development. Consequently, it falls on relatively small numbers of residents in towns like Greenville to provide the tax base needed to support public services over a large area. The fear among some residents is that a national park would attract new visitors to towns like Greenville, thereby creating new and expensive demands for road maintenance, sewage treatment, fire protection, and police. What is more, the federal government pays no property taxes. Therefore, if the federal government buys commercial timberland and converts it to a national park, the region's tax base is expected to shrink even more, adding to the burden carried by residents in adjacent towns. The NPS does have a payment program designed to offset this loss in tax revenue, but opponents point to recent cutbacks in funding for the program as an indication that federal subsidies would never meet local needs.<sup>25</sup>

Second, opponents view the park as a threat to the number and quality of jobs in the region, and by extension to an entire "way of life" defined according to a forest-based economy. This sentiment is particularly strong in towns like Greenville, Monson, and Millinocket, all of which lie on the immediate border of the proposed park. Towns such as these could be considered "gateway communities" by virtue of their geographic position and by virtue of the kinds of issues that a national park raises for their economic identity. The term "gateway community" is used to describe towns located at or near the entrance to national parks or other protected areas—towns like West Yellowstone, Montana (Yellowstone National Park) or Gatlinburg, Tennessee (Great Smoky Mountains National Park). Such towns become key service centers for visitors to national parks, and as such are often held up as models of tourist-based economic development. Perhaps needless to say, such places have a great many problems as well. In addition to struggling with high taxes, unsightly development, and inordinately

expensive property values, residents in gateway communities are forced to forsake their traditional economic identities in favor of a tourist-based service economy. And that, for some, is a hard pill to swallow.<sup>26</sup>

Supporters of the MWNP emphasize the positive aspects of gateway-community status, arguing that towns surrounding the proposed park stand poised to benefit from its creation—a point with which some business owners would agree. But if you visit towns like Millinocket and Greenville, you can quickly sense a more widespread ambivalence and even outright hostility to the idea of becoming a gateway community. The trade-offs, a majority of residents seem to say, simply do not add up in favor of the park. Some argue that consciously trading an economy based on logging and manufacturing in favor of a tourist economy is just bad business. As Gene Conlogue told *People* magazine, “We’re not interested in trading jobs that pay \$20 an hour for trinket-selling jobs at \$6 an hour.”<sup>27</sup> Others like John Wentworth, President of Moosehead Manufacturing in Monson, Maine, echo that sentiment. Wentworth’s furniture business employs 200 and he is a widely respected member of the community. Not unlike Conlogue, Wentworth argues that a regional economy based on outdoor recreation is a “false economy,” particularly when viewed in contrast to a “value-added” economy such as wood-products manufacturing. There simply cannot be enough hikers interested in visiting northern Maine, he argues, for the park to pay the same kinds of returns to the community as manufacturing.<sup>28</sup>

Aside from being bad for business, some feel that the park’s economic consequences would be bad for what they see as the region’s traditional cultural identity. For many residents, that identity is rooted in a sense of tradition and pride, and is based on very different ways of defining and using the region’s forested landscape from those associated with tourism. Adding “value” to a commodity like furniture, for instance, means adding labor, and adding labor often means adding skill. That skill might be the skill of the logger, the skill of the machine operator,

or the skill of the designer. But in all cases, the creation of a tangible product—lumber, paper, furniture—can become a source of pride in one's self and one's region. A tourist economy based on service jobs in hotels, gas stations, and retail stores seems an affront to the skill and pride associated with logging and manufacturing, especially when people like Conlogue denigrate that economy as nothing more than "trinket-selling." Whether the regional landscape is defined more by wilderness and the production of fun or more by "working forests" and the production of manufactured goods remains an open question—one that should remind us of the degree to which economic concerns shape debates about the MWNP.

### 3. Access

In addition to economics and the environment, supporters and opponents frequently debate issues about public recreational access to land in Maine, both as it exists today and as it would likely change under the proposed MWNP. Access to both private and public land for recreation is a hotly contested issue throughout the United States, particularly with reference to hunting and snowmobiling, and particularly in the western United States, where motorized and non-motorized recreational groups collide with one another over access to federally managed lands such as national forests, wilderness areas, and national parks. (Perhaps the best example of this today is the national-level debate currently taking place over snowmobiling in Yellowstone National Park.) Debates about access in the Maine Woods are a bit different, however, in that the land in question is almost all privately owned. As Lary Dilsaver's recent study of Cumberland Island National Seashore has shown, federal acquisition of private land for national parks can be a long and complicated process, even in places where support for a park is comparatively high.<sup>29</sup> And as suggested earlier, the NPS has not yet expressed the kind of interest in the MWNP needed to begin thinking seriously about federal land acquisition in northern Maine. Nonetheless, even the prospect of federal ownership is enough to spark struggles over property rights,

governmental power, and a regional identity of which a tradition of public access to private land is a critical part.

Although land ownership in the Maine Woods is almost exclusively private, Maine's residents and visitors have long enjoyed largely free and open access to that land for hunting, fishing, hiking, snowmobiling, and other recreational uses. In a tradition that stretches back a century, commercial timberland owners have granted access to their land in part to keep local workers happy, and in part as an informal compromise with the state in return for paying property tax at a lower rate.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, many residents have come to define open access as a fundamental right—one rooted in the long history of the regional landscape itself. That impression runs particularly deep for the thousands of families who hold camp leases from timberland owners. For generations, Maine's paper companies have granted leases to local families, allowing them to build modest vacation homes, or "camps" on their land. While everyone recognizes that these leases are not guaranteed to renew in perpetuity, many leases have been in the same family for generations, and the affective bonds that have developed between those families and the land they lease (not to mention the money they have spent on buildings) almost makes the land feel like their own. In this way, recreational camps have become an integral part of popular conceptions of regional identity—one that is, once again, rooted in a tradition of public access to private land.<sup>31</sup>

None of this is to say that there are no rules associated with this public access; in fact, in recent years, access for certain types of uses (motorized ATV riding, for example) has become more controlled and restricted than ever before. During the 1970s, commercial landowners first began charging minimal user fees in an effort to cover the costs of managing their land for recreational use. In 1972, a handful of major landowners formed a management organization called the North Maine Woods to oversee the collection of user fees and the management of their

property for recreation (figure 4). Today, day-use and camping fees collected at roadside checkpoints help that organization maintain hundreds of campsites and thousands of miles of roads on over 3.5 million acres.<sup>32</sup> Most Mainers have become used to the idea of paying nominal user fees, and they are content to live with the North Maine Woods arrangement. Equally



**Figure 4:** Telos Checkpoint. Those who wish to use land managed by the North Maine Woods must pass through, register, and pay an entrance fee at roadside checkpoints like this one. Photo by the author.

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important, most recognize that public access to private land—even when there is a small charge—remains central to a multi-million dollar tourist industry based on hunting and fishing camps, guide services, snowmobiling clubs, and rafting. Without access to private land, these businesses simply could not exist.<sup>33</sup>

Park supporters are quick to argue that the future of public access to private land is under threat in Maine and that only federal ownership of land (and more specifically, only a national park) can guarantee the future of that access. Large landowners cannot be trusted with the public's rights, they suggest; sooner or later they are likely to deny residents and visitors alike the right to use their land.<sup>34</sup> There is, indeed, reason to be suspicious of contemporary access arrangements. On the one hand, commercial timberland owners are not required by law to

provide for public access; they are only required by tradition and public opinion. On the other hand, thousands, even millions, of acres now routinely change ownership each year in Maine, and with each sale comes the potential that new owners will prohibit public access. Some of this acreage has stayed within a larger corporate circle, such as the nearly million acres in the Greenville area now owned by the Seattle-based Plum Creek Timber company. But some of that land is sold for private recreational estates as well, many of which are quite large and some of which are owned by people with little interest in honoring traditional codes of public access. Securing access to a new owner's land—whether they are a corporation or not—takes time and energy. Some owners, like Plumb Creek make an effort to continue providing access to their land, but others do not. Snowmobile clubs, for instance, might have to renegotiate trail access across land with new, and at times reluctant owners. Or, residents might have to get used to the idea that land they had hunted for years is now off-limits to the public.

But just as park supporters caution against trusting private landowners with public access rights, park opponents caution against trusting the federal government with those same rights. For starters, they note, the NPS does not guarantee rights of access for *all kinds of recreational uses*, particularly activities like hunting and snowmobiling, which many residents of northern Maine consider to be central to their cultural identity, not to mention their tourist economy. One of the most vocal opponents of federal landownership, for instance, is the lobbying and advocacy group called the Sportsman's Alliance of Maine. George Smith, the group's executive director, has persuaded many to oppose the park by simply reminding them that hunting is forbidden in national parks. For Smith and other hunters, there simply must be a better way to "[secure] our future in the north woods without turning that land over to an overbearing federal government. We'll be making decisions in Millinocket and Augusta," Smith pledged, "not Boston and Washington, D.C."<sup>35</sup>

RESTORE has tried to calm such fears by altering their original park proposal to make room for a special—often vaguely defined—section of the park called a “preserve” and by renaming the proposal officially as the “Maine Woods National Park and Preserve.” This portion of the park, they argue, will be a place where hunting, trapping, and snowmobiling are permitted. They never make it quite clear in their publications just how large this section (or sections) of the park would be, although they specify that the public would determine their size and location.<sup>36</sup> Few hunters and snowmobilers, however, appear to be satisfied with that promise. And perhaps with good reason. After all, promises of a “preserve” section for the park could only become reality if the federal government agreed to set the park up that way. RESTORE can *suggest* that the preserve be included in any future negotiations about the MWNP, but they cannot control entirely the decisions that Congress and the National Park Service would ultimately make about how any future park is set up and managed.

Finally, concerns about recreational access in northern Maine also shed light on a more general, ideological resistance in the region to federal (and for that matter, state) governmental power. As Gene Conlogue has succinctly put it: “We don’t want the federal government owning the north Maine woods *under any circumstances* [emphasis added].”<sup>37</sup> Northern New England has a long tradition of opposition to Washington-based regulations and programs—a tradition that links the region to many parts of the American West, where powerful county supremacy movements and “wise use” groups rally against federal land use controls in favor of strict private property rights.<sup>38</sup> Property-rights groups also find a welcome audience in Maine, where public figures like Mary Adams rally against anything that infringes on the sanctity of private property, be it federal regulations or environmental controls. A long-time anti-tax crusader, Mary Adams formed a political action committee called Common Sense for Maine’s Forests during the late 1990s to oppose a proposed ban on clearcutting, and she has moderated a conservative on-line

forum called the Adams Report, which was more active during the late 1990s than it has been in recent years. The Adams Report was established to keep regional and national audiences up to date on the latest challenges to property rights and Maine's traditional way of life, which, at least as Adams defines it, is under attack from "liberals" from outside the state. As one resident expressed it: "Maine citizens are losing their sovereign rights... [and] their inherited and historical privileges to hunt, to gather, to recreate and to carve a living from their native land."<sup>39</sup>

That sense of "sovereign rights" is central in the minds of northern Mainers from all ends of the political spectrum to the region's cultural identity. Many see it as their job to protect the landscape traditions that make such rights feel possible—traditions such as private ownership of Maine's forests and continued public access to private property (figure 5). Indeed, to forfeit control of the regional landscape to public ownership—whether for a national park or some other purpose—would feel much like forfeiting control over one's natural rights and one's identity as a



**Figure 5:** Bumper stickers like this one suggest a prevailing opinion about land ownership among many residents of northern Maine. Author's personal collection.

resident of northern Maine. Impressions like these have tremendous power to script regional identity according to a feeling of oppression and persecution, and to instill a siege mentality and sense of fear among residents, possibly breeding further insularity, intolerance, and even violence.<sup>40</sup> They also have tremendous power, then, to bolster opposition to the MWNP or to any other measures that threaten local control over landscape and identity in the Maine Woods.

#### 4. Heritage

For property rights advocates, the MWNP and its associations with the federal government places an entire “way of life” under attack in northern Maine—a way of life that some forums, like the Adams Report, link to the region’s “unique heritage.”<sup>41</sup> But just how does one define that “unique heritage,” and who gets to do the defining? Some scholars have defined heritage as a conscious use of the past to advance a particular vision or agenda associated with the present. The ways in which one group or another defines and represents their past as “heritage” can say a great deal about how they feel about contemporary issues. Seen in this way, heritage can also clue us in to the social politics that underlie the construction of regional identity. The uses and meanings of heritage—like the identities they help to create—are never fixed or entirely agreed upon. Instead, they vary depending on the social and spatial contexts with which they are associated.<sup>42</sup> Those contexts often differ in important ways according to geographic scale.<sup>43</sup> In the case of the MWNP, for instance, topics of debate involving heritage raise questions not only about *who* gets to define heritage in northern Maine, but about *how* definitions of heritage differ based on the national or regional scales to which they are tied.

Northern residents who oppose the park often speak in terms of a shared regional heritage—one they typically define by invoking patterns already familiar to us: a tradition of conservation, certain types of recreation, a centuries-old forest economy, and public access to private land. People in northern Maine who support the forest products industry do so because they see that industry as being at the heart of their region’s heritage and because they want to see it continue as the heart of their region’s future. They support traditional patterns of access because those patterns have always matched local needs. Indeed, if residents failed to rally against the MWNP, some suggest, it would be tantamount to treason against the heritage of their families and local communities. “The people of Maine would break faith with our ancestors and

betray our children and grandchildren,” one resident notes, “were we to allow RESTORE to have its way.”<sup>44</sup> What residents who share this view urge, then, is a defense of a regionally specific conception of heritage. A national park is just that—national. How, some wonder, can something designed to serve the needs of a nation possibly reflect the heritage of those who live there?

By contrast, park supporters view the MWNP according to a nationally scaled conception of heritage, arguing that northern Maine is, in fact, a crucial regional link in the larger heritage of the nation as a whole. As RESTORE’s Program Coordinator, Kristin DeBoer, has argued, “Creating a national park in northern Maine would preserve one of Maine’s greatest assets, its wilderness heritage.” The significance of that heritage for DeBoer and others is not confined to the boundaries of Maine alone. She adds: “We have an historic opportunity to create America’s next great national park, and in so doing, [to] preserve an irreplaceable part of the natural and cultural heritage not only of Maine but of the nation.”<sup>45</sup> By this logic, the MWNP should be valued for what it has to teach all Americans about the nation’s wilderness past. In addition, Henry David Thoreau also figures prominently into this nationally scaled conception of Maine’s heritage. Supporters often draw on Thoreau’s national prominence and his arguments on behalf of wilderness protection to suggest the region’s importance to the entire cultural history of the nation.<sup>46</sup> By relying on Thoreau and by privileging a wilderness landscape, then, supporters deal in national rather than regional conceptions of heritage, redefining the meaning of the regional landscape according to a wider national scale.

Of course, some residents would have to wonder about definitions of regional heritage based on wilderness, proposed by non-residents, and extended outward from the region to the nation as a whole. How, for example, do arguments about the national importance of a wilderness landscape affect the resident’s ability to protect and maintain a working landscape geared towards meeting regional needs? Some residents would also have to wonder how

important a figure like Thoreau actually is to their own definitions of regional heritage. He was famous, of course, but he was not the only famous person to visit or write about the region. Nor was he even *from* Maine—a non-trivial point that we explore below.

### 5. Social Status

The difference in scale at which heritage operates in debates over the MWNP points to a related issue of social status—one defined by contrasts drawn by native Mainers between themselves and people from other states, and even between residents of northern Maine and residents of southern Maine. Based on what we have seen so far, one might get the sense that all Mainers oppose the MWNP. People from all parts of the state do indeed oppose the plan, although opposition runs highest along the immediate fringe of the proposed park. But many residents also support the park. Although no formal study has been conducted to show this, support from within Maine appears to be strongest in the wealthier, more populated southern part of the state (the “other state of Maine,” as some call it). Some of the most significant support also comes from environmental and recreational groups from outside the state. Indeed, many of the park’s most vocal supporters live elsewhere, making them subject to the libelous cultural charge of what Mainers often refer to as being “from away.”

The history of tourist development in New England is replete with stories of conflict between visitors and residents over control of landscape and identity in tourist towns.<sup>47</sup> In Maine, deep-seated cultural antagonisms towards people who are “from away” gives such debates a particularly strong resonance. As other researchers have argued, native-born Mainers have long been suspicious of non-natives, in part due to the state’s relative isolation and poverty, and in part due to the persistent influx of seasonal and permanent transplants, some of whom have at times criticized the state’s rural residents in less-than-favorable terms. Such feelings of being invaded and looked down upon have made some Maine residents unwelcoming, if not hostile,

towards non-natives, particularly people from southern New England. Being a so-called “true” or “real” Mainer—as defined by self-appointed keepers of that identity—requires generations of familial residency in the state, a familiarity and respect for local traditions, and for the least welcoming, certain racial and ethnic criteria based on “whiteness” and a northern-European ancestry.<sup>48</sup>

The idea of being able to brand something or someone as being “from away” therefore carries considerable cultural power among some in Maine—a cultural power based on excluding and discrediting people and ideas which lie outside certain socially constructed parameters. It is not hard to imagine, then, the disadvantage at which this puts RESTORE and their hopes for a national park in Maine. As one observer put it: “RESTORE...wasn’t born in Maine. It was hatched in Massachusetts. And as such, you can quickly see why real, live Mainers from all sorts of far-flung places have rejected the group’s proposal as non-native ranting and raving, and a major violation of the Maine Law of Being From Away.”<sup>49</sup> Some Mainers have expressed surprise at what they see as RESTORE’s total lack of understanding about northern Maine; how, some wondered, could the organization be so poorly informed as to think that their proposal would do anything but anger local residents?<sup>50</sup> Others resent what they see as RESTORE’s efforts to save Mainers “from themselves.” As one resident commented in a letter to the editor of the *Bangor Daily News*, “RESTORE continues its efforts to dictate the fate of our region from on high, and from far away....Meanwhile those who actually live in this area continue to work, summer and winter, toward economic revival from within.”<sup>51</sup> For still others, being “from away” in the context of the MWNP conjures up class-based differences relating to recreational tastes and property ownership. Although many non-residents come to state to hunt, fish, and snowmobile, many also seem more inclined towards activities like hiking, mountain biking, and cross-country skiing—activities which often come into direct conflict with the recreational

demands of local residents and other motor-sports enthusiasts. What is more, non-natives have traditionally had the wherewithal to buy land at prices that many locals could not afford, driving up property values and pricing poorer residents out of certain areas.

Perhaps more than anything, though, being “from away” conjures up a sense—right or wrong—that one is indifferent to the needs and concerns of local people. To some residents, Roxanne Quimby offers the best expression of this. Not only did Quimby back an unpopular park proposal initiated “from away,” she moved her company from Maine to North Carolina in 1994, leaving scores of her former neighbors out of work. That decision made her a turncoat in the eyes of some. As John Simko, Greenville’s town manager, has written:

Quimby, once a resident of Piscataquis County, has made her fortunes out of state, her company having left Maine’s most rural and at times poorest county to provide jobs for the good people of North Carolina. Now a wealthy would-be philanthropist, Quimby is exerting her ‘good will’ on the people who make their living in the North Maine Woods, suggesting that the best future for our area is more T-shirt shops and restaurants, offering no benefits, low wages and 10-month employment at best.

With no thanks to Quimby, Simko adds, Mainers are doing well enough: “The wood products industry is alive and well and living in Maine,” he argued. “Perhaps if Quimby had stayed in Maine with her business, she would understand that.”<sup>52</sup>

Quimby’s status dropped still lower when she organized a group called “Americans for a Maine Woods National Park.” The group’s 100 members, drawn from 30 states and the District of Columbia, include an impressive array of national and international figures, such as astronaut Buzz Aldrin; singers Harry Belafonte and Don Henley; environmental activist Julia Butterfly Hill; writers Barry Lopez, Bill McKibben, and Wendell Barry; politicians Stewart Udall and Gaylord Nelson; and Hollywood actors Jeff Bridges, Morgan Freeman, Ed Harris, Anthony Hopkins, Meryl Streep, and the late Christopher Reeve. The group’s goal is to raise support for the park by taking the issue to a national audience far beyond the boundaries of Maine.<sup>53</sup>

Park opponents organized an almost immediate response to the group's formation. In June 2003, 300 residents held a mock "film festival" in Millinocket where they showed home movies, engaged in political theater, and made speeches condemning the group. The film festival's organizers invited members of Americans for a Maine Woods National Park to come to Millinocket for the festival, and expressed their sarcastic sadness to the press when, surprisingly, none showed. Gene Conlogue, Millinocket's town manager, called the group's high-profile members "solutions looking for problems," adding "I would like to think that these people who would take my livelihood away would at least come meet me face-to-face." By contrast to Hollywood activism, then, this was billed as a local, homegrown demonstration intended to show that local people would stand up and fight against what they saw as misguided interests "from away." As one local businesswoman described the affair, "This is Maine people fighting for what Maine people want."<sup>54</sup>

Admittedly, Hollywood stars make fairly easy targets. They can be portrayed as living self-interested, glamorous lives in places far away and very different from northern Maine. But, park supporters wonder, where do such criticisms of powerful interests "from away" leave the corporate giants who own so much of northern Maine's acreage and who have so much control over the region's economic landscape? Control over the regional landscape, they warn, has passed entirely into the hands of the insensitive and faceless multinational corporations who dominate the forest products industry. As players in a global economy with headquarters in far away places and loyalties to stockholders in urban skyscrapers, such corporations are (for park supporters at least) the consummate expression of being "from away." It is entirely misguided, they argue, to think that Maine's large commercial timberland owners care about Maine people or the Maine "way of life."<sup>55</sup>

Arguments like these may ring hollow among free-market audiences in Maine and beyond, but they again draw our attention to the ways in which the regional landscape may be woven into debates about the construction of regional identity. How one defines what it means to be a “true” Mainer has a great deal to do with one’s personal relationship to the regional landscape and one’s professed commitment to its protection. But how one chooses to demonstrate that relationship and that protection—whether, in this case, through opposition or support for the MWNP—says a lot about whether one’s views will be delegitimized as being “from away.” If you support the MWNP, the argument often goes, you side with interests “from away,” and even if you are a native, your status as a “true” Mainer is in doubt. Therefore, by trying to assert control over whom and what are considered acceptable components of the regional landscape, different groups have, once again, tried to assert control over the future of regional identity in northern Maine.

### **Conclusion**

It is hard to say with certainty what Thoreau would think of the MWNP, or even the national park system itself, which evolved after his death in 1862. But perhaps he would be pleased to find that northern Maine has not become like Concord, Massachusetts, despite its long history of logging and despite its lack of formal protection under what Thoreau called a “national preserve.” Instead, northern Maine has retained a distinct regional identity—however defined, however valued—reflected, in part, by the combinations of economy, land use, and culture that are etched into the landscape itself. The identity to which these etchings contribute, however, is by no means a foregone conclusion, nor is it likely to feel entirely the same in a generation, regardless of whether or not the MWNP is established. Regional identity is always the product of discussion and debate among different social groups, all of whom bring changing perspectives about landscapes to bear on how they interact with their surroundings and with one another. In

this way, landscape remains an important part of the negotiations—the politics—through which northern Maine’s regional identity continues to evolve.

The MWNP proposal represents a significant challenge to entrenched notions about landscape and identity in northern Maine—one which has prompted people from both inside and outside the region to take a serious look at the future of land management in the Maine Woods. The park’s place in that future as of late 2004 certainly remains a possibility, but in many ways, it seems like one that is growing more distant all the time. In the past few years, ownership patterns and the geography of protected lands in the Maine Woods has grown increasingly complex, and with that complexity come new challenges to the creation of the MWNP. Large land sales to non-industrial owners like Roxanne Quimby and the Appalachian Mountain Club, coupled with the extensive use of conservation easements by the State of Maine and by private land trusts, have produced a complicated and fragmented map of protected lands across terrain that some still hope will become the MWNP. As that map becomes more complex, it becomes more logistically difficult (and some argue, unnecessary) to convert land in the region to federal ownership and national-park status. Increasingly, then, groups connected to the MWNP are advocating a more moderate approach to land use in the Maine Woods—one that is neither “all park” nor “all logging” and one that better reflects the growing diversity and complexity of ownership and protected lands in the region. Perhaps, some wonder, there is a better way to attract still more hikers and wilderness enthusiasts to the region without creating a park that prohibits logging and without rescripting the regional economy entirely in the image of tourism. Perhaps there is a better way to accommodate snowmobiling and hunting for visitors and residents alike without alienating people “from away” who, many Mainers will readily tell you, are so important to the creation and maintenance of a healthy and diversified regional economy. Perhaps landscape and regional identity can evolve in ways that respect the views of many

different groups while still protecting the integrity of the natural world. Some see great potential in such hopes, not just for northern Maine, but for places all across New England where people are struggling to define their relationships to the land and to one another.

When Americans think of regions in the United States, New England often comes readily to mind. We seem to accept that New England has a definable identity, even if we do not always ask critical questions about what that identity means. And when we think of New England, we often think of smaller regions located within it: “Cape Cod and the Islands,” “the Berkshires,” “the Maine Woods.” We accept that these places are real. We accept that they feel different from other places; northern Maine has not become eastern Massachusetts, as Thoreau feared it might. I believe there is great promise in asking more questions about how those identities are made and remade, about who they empower and disempower, and about how they are influenced by social struggles to define and control landscapes—struggles such as those associated with the MWNP. In the end, such questions are not just academic inquiries about regions and landscapes. They are questions about our own relationships to those landscapes and to those with whom we share them. They are questions, that is, about ourselves, both as geographers and as New Englanders.

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## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Henry David Thoreau, “Chesuncook,” in *The Maine Woods*, ed., Joseph J. Moldenhauer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1972), 121, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Since they first proposed the park, RESTORE has renamed it The Maine Woods National Park and Preserve, reflecting the addition of a “preserve” to the plan where hunting and snowmobiling would be permitted. I discuss this preserve later, but use MWNP to refer to the proposal more broadly throughout the essay. The popular press (and even RESTORE itself at times) typically uses the shortened name.

<sup>3</sup> Peirce F. Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 12.

<sup>4</sup> See James S. Duncan and Nancy G. Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Tim Cresswell, “Landscape and the Obliteration of Practice,” in *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, eds., Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage

Publications, 2003), 269-281; Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (December 1997): 660-680; Steve Pile and Michael Keith, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Forest, "A New Geography of Identity? Race, Ethnicity, and American Citizenship," in *American Space/American Place: Geographies of the Contemporary United States*, eds., John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith (New York: Routledge, 2002), 231-263; Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); David Hooson, ed., *Geography and National Identity* (Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishers, 1994); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose, eds., *Constructions of Race, Place, and Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). Also see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> My thinking here has been influenced by works such as Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 13-30; Anssi Paasi, "Region and Place: Regional Identity in Question," *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (August 2003): 475-485; John Agnew, "Regions on the Mind does not Equal Regions of the Mind," *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (March 1999): 91-96.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph A. Conforti, *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); William H. Truettner and Roger B. Stein, eds., *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1999); Stephen Nissenbaum, "New England as Region and Nation," in *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*, Edward L. Ayers, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Stephen Nissenbaum, and Peter S. Onuf (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 38-61; Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> On the Northern Forest, see Lloyd C. Irland, *The Northeast's Changing Forests* (Petersham, Ma.: Harvard Forest; Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1999); David Dobbs and Richard Ober, *The Northern Forest* (White River Junction, Vt.: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 1995); Christopher McGrory Klyza and Stephen C. Trombulak, eds., *The Future of the Northern Forest* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> On the history of Maine's North Woods and its forest products industries, see Neil Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest: A History of Maine's Wildlands* (Gardiner, Me.: Tilbury House Publishers, 2001); Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, Joel W. Eastman, eds., *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present* (Orono: The University of Maine Press, 1995), esp. chapters 12, 17, 18, 22, 23; Richard W. Judd, *Aroostook: A Century of Logging in Northern Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1989); Michael Williams, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>10</sup> Dobbs and Ober, *The Northern Forest*, xx-xxii; Lloyd C. Irland, "Land, Timber, and Recreation in Maine's Northwoods: Essays by Lloyd C. Irland," (Maine Agricultural and Forest Experiment Station, University of Maine, Miscellaneous Publication 730, March 1996), 45-56; Klyza and Trombulak, eds. *The Future of the Northern Forest*, 39-41; 94-97; Stephen C. Harper, Laura L. Falk, and Edward W. Rankin, *Northern Forest Lands Study of New England and New York* (Rutland, Vt.: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> Dana Wechsler Linden, "Dear Dad," *Forbes* 152 (6 December 1993): 98-99; Roxanne Quimby, "How I did it" as told to Susan Donovan, *Inc.* 26 (January 2004) 76-78; Jane Tanner, "Grass Roots Business: From Beehive to Kitchen Table to Mass Production," *New York Times* 16 February 2003.

<sup>12</sup> "Maine Woods National Park and Preserve: An Idea Whose Time has Come," in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve* (16 page tabloid) ([Concord, Ma.]: RESTORE: The North Woods, n.d.), 8.

<sup>13</sup> Bill McKibben, "The Maine Woods," *Patagonia Holiday* 2002.

<sup>14</sup> George Wuerthner, "Preserving a Working Ecosystem," in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve*, 5.

<sup>15</sup> "Top 10 Common Questions and Answers," undated flier produced by RESTORE and in the possession of the author.

<sup>16</sup> Jym St. Pierre, "Shhhh. I Want to Tell You a Secret. Ready?" in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve*, 2. Also see Roberta Scruggs, "Land Lover Sees Conservation as Part of Maine's Heritage," *Portland Press Herald*, 4 July 2001; Jym St. Pierre, "The Maine Woods—A Wilderness Under Siege," in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve*, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Voight quoted in Ted Williams, "Thoreau's Dream," *Sierra* 84 (March/April 1999): 61.

- <sup>18</sup> Mary Anne Lagasse, "Protester Arrested at Lincoln Mill," *Bangor Daily News*, 5 May 1998; Mary Anne Lagasse, "Mill Backers Rally in Lincoln," *Bangor Daily News*, 17 June 1998.
- <sup>19</sup> On conservation and preservation conflicts in American culture, see Stephen Fox, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and his Legacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).
- <sup>20</sup> "Top 10 Common Questions and Answers."
- <sup>21</sup> Thomas Michael Power, *The Economic Impact of the Proposed Maine Woods National Park and Preserve* (Hallowell, Me.: RESTORE: The North Woods, 2001).
- <sup>22</sup> 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* (Concord, Ma.: RESTORE: The North Woods, 1996), 1.
- <sup>23</sup> For more on the group, go to: <http://www.mainewoodscoalition.com>.
- <sup>24</sup> John Simko, "Possible Platform Positions for the Maine Woods Coalition," 2001. Go to: <http://www.mainewoodscoalition.com/platformpositions.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> On gateway communities, see Jim Howe, Ed. McMahon, and Luther Propst, *Balancing Nature and Commerce in Gateway Communities* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997).
- <sup>27</sup> Richard Jerome and Anne Driscoll, "Green Acres," *People* 56 (15 October 2001): 73.
- <sup>28</sup> Murray Carpenter, "Maine Woods: Two Visions, One Town," *Northern Sky News* 26 (June 2004): 12.
- <sup>29</sup> Lary M. Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004).
- <sup>30</sup> Nathan R. Lipfert, Richard W. Judd, Richard R. Wescott, "New Industries in an Age of Adjustment, 1865-1930," in *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, 431. The cultural roots of public access to common lands in Maine actually stretch back for centuries. For more information, see Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- <sup>31</sup> On the camp tradition in Maine, see Rolde, *The Interrupted Forest*, 53-56.
- <sup>32</sup> *North Maine Woods*, 2004 sportsman's guide. For more on the North Maine Woods, go to: <http://www.northmainewoods.org/index.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> Roberta Scruggs, *Landowner Relations: A Practical Guide to Preserving Public Access to Private Land* ([Augusta, Me.]: Sportsman's Alliance of Maine, [2002]).
- <sup>34</sup> Michael Kellett, "Preserving Public Access," in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve*, 6.
- <sup>35</sup> George Smith, "No National Park" 2003. Position paper published on the Sportsman's Alliance of Maine website. Go to: <http://www.samcef.org/No%20National%20Park.htm>. Also see Jeff Clark, "Forever Private?" *Down East* 43 (August 1996): 52.
- <sup>36</sup> "Top 10 Common Questions and Answers," "Questions and Answers for Hunters, Anglers, Snowmobilers and Camp Owners," undated flier produced by RESTORE and in the possession of the author. RESTORE has argued that leaseholders would, under their proposal, be allowed to continue their leases.
- <sup>37</sup> Misty Edgecomb, "Park Backers Want Study of Feasibility," *Bangor Daily News*, 27 April 2004.
- <sup>38</sup> Harvey M. Jacobs, "The 'Wisdom,' but Uncertain Future of the Wise Use Movement," in *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict over Property Rights*, ed., Harvey M. Jacobs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 29-44.
- <sup>39</sup> John C. Franchella, "Sovereignty is not Just a Tribal Issue," *Bangor Daily News*, 27 May 2004. Also see Erich Veyhl, "Feudalist Kingdom: What's Really Going on with Roxanne Quimby and Her Allies?" *Magic City Morning Star* (Millinocket, Maine), 18 January 2004.
- <sup>40</sup> As one recent study has shown, that sense of persecution runs through the wise use movement as a whole. See James McCarthy and Euan Hague, "Race, Nation, and Nature: The Cultural Politics of 'Celtic' Identification in the American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94 (June 2004): 387-408.
- <sup>41</sup> The Adam's Report's mission statement claims to "inform and inspire the people of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont in their common efforts to preserve the freedom and unique heritage of the Northern New England way of life for the 21st century." Go to: [http://www.adamsreport.com/frame\\_mission.html](http://www.adamsreport.com/frame_mission.html).
- <sup>42</sup> For examples of heritage studies in geography, see Brian Graham, G.J. Ashworth, J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000); Steven D. Hoelscher, *Heritage on Stage: The Invention of Ethnic Place in America's Little Switzerland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).

<sup>43</sup> On scale and social debate, see Derek H. Alderman, "Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American Community," *Area* 35 (June 2003): 163-173; Don Mitchell, "Controlling Space, Controlling Scale: Migratory Labour, Free Speech, and Regional Development in the American West," *Journal of Historical Geography* 28 (January 2002): 63-84; Sallie A. Marston, "The Social Construction of Scale," *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (June 2000): 219-242.

<sup>44</sup> Scruggs, "Land Lover Sees Conservation as Part of Maine's Heritage."

<sup>45</sup> Kristin A. DeBoer, "America's Next Great National Park," in *Proposed Maine Woods National Park & Preserve*, 4. Also see St. Pierre, "Shhhh. I Want to Tell You a Secret. Ready?"

<sup>46</sup> For example, see Williams, "Thoreau's Dream," 62.

<sup>47</sup> I explore this further in Blake Harrison, *Tourism and the Reworking of Rural Vermont, 1880s-1980s*. Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003. Also see Blake Harrison, "Tourism, Farm Abandonment, and the 'Typical' Vermonter," *Journal of Historical Geography*, in press; Brown, *Inventing New England*.

<sup>48</sup> Maine's insider/outsider cultural politics is a theme running through numerous essays in Judd, Churchill, Eastman, eds., *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*. Thanks also to James P. Melcher of the University of Maine-Farmington, for giving me access to his insightful paper, "Away Game: The Political Implications of 'Being From Away' in Maine Politics" (2004 Updated Version of Paper Presented at the 2002 New England Political Science Association, Portland, Me.) For related arguments about "typical" Vermonters, see Harrison, "Tourism, Farm Abandonment, and the 'Typical' Vermonter." Also see David Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>49</sup> John Holyoke, "RESTORE Opponents get Boost from Gov.-Elect Baldacci," *Bangor Daily News*, 10 December 2002.

<sup>50</sup> For examples of these opinions, see Jeff Clark, "Forever Private?" *Down East* 43 (August 1996): 50-53.

<sup>51</sup> Erik Stumpf, "RESTORE in the Clouds," *Bangor Daily News*, 7 May 2003.

<sup>52</sup> John Simko, "Querying Quimby," *Bangor Daily News*, 15 August 2002.

<sup>53</sup> *National Parks* 77:5-6 (May/June 2003): 2-3; "Americans for a Maine Woods National Park," *North Woods Vision: The Newsletter of RESTORE: The North Woods* (Fall 2003).

<sup>54</sup> Misty Edgecomb, "'No-Park Army' Rallies in Protest," *Bangor Daily News*, 30 June 2003.

<sup>55</sup> See Michael J. Kellett, "Maine Woods National Park: The Best Way to Restore the Wild," *Wild Earth* 10 (Summer 2000): 60-64; DeBoer, "America's Next Great National Park;" McKibben, "The Maine Woods."